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The Israel of the Alps. A complete history of the Waldenses of Piedmont, and their colonies; prepared in great part from unpublished documents. By Alexis Muston ... Tr. by the Rev. John Montgomery ... London, Blackie, 1866.
2 v. plates, fold. maps. 23 cm.

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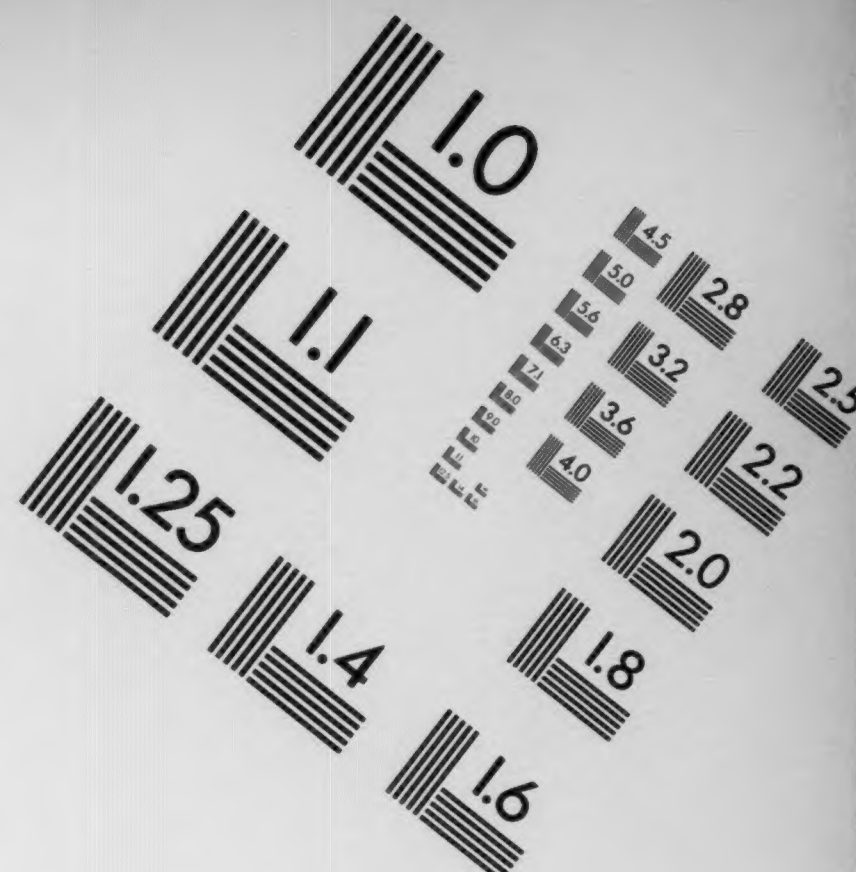
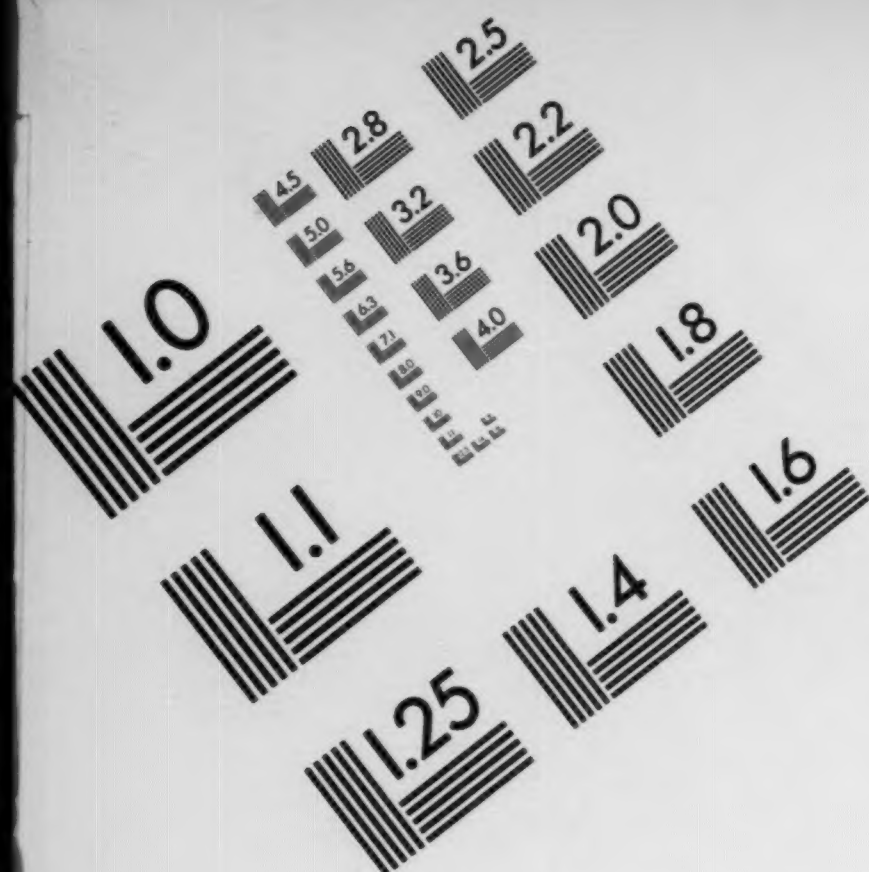


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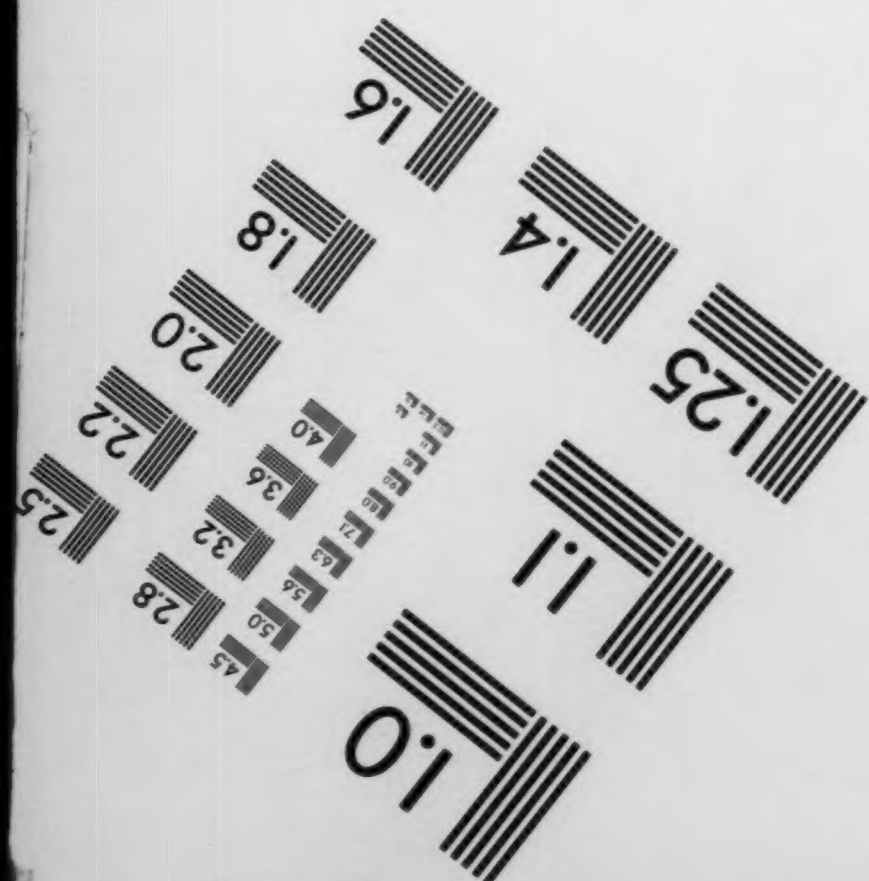
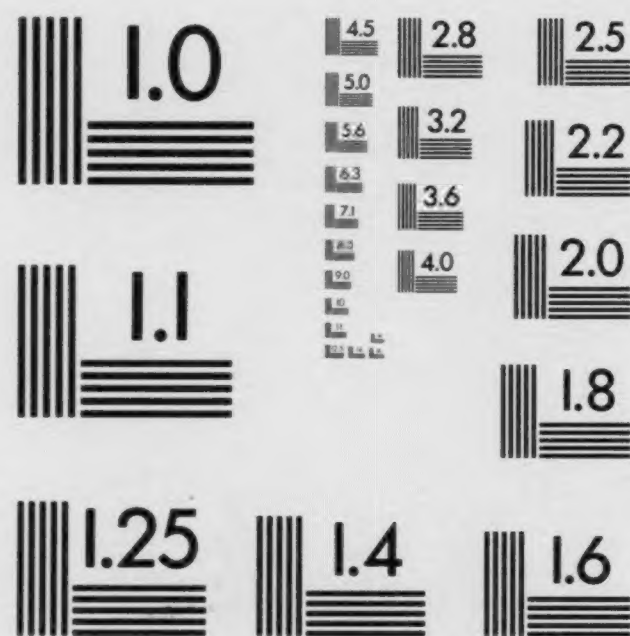
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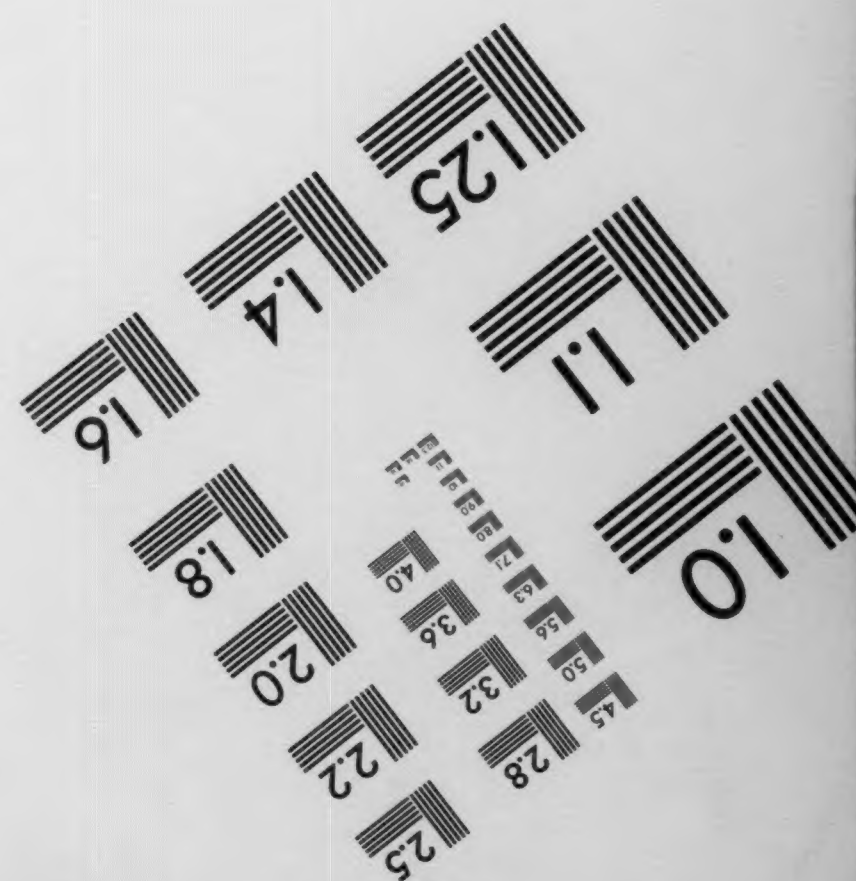
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HISTORY OF THE WALDENSES.









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THE ISRAEL OF THE ALPS.

A COMPLETE
HISTORY OF THE WALDENSES
OF PIEDMONT,
AND THEIR COLONIES;

PREPARED IN GREAT PART FROM UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS.

By ALEXIS MUSTON, D.D.,
PASTOR OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCH AT BOURDEAUX, DRÔME, FRANCE.

TRANSLATED

By THE REV. JOHN MONTGOMERY, A.M.

WITH NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS.

VOL. I.



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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

"No people of modern times," says Boyer, "exhibits so much analogy to the ancient Jewish people, as the Vaudois of the Alps of Piedmont; no history has more abounded in marvels than theirs, no church in martyrs."

These words sufficiently explain the title of the present Work, *The Israel of the Alps*.¹ Let me state its origin and its object.

For more than fifteen years, I have been occupied with assiduous researches into the history of the Vaudois. My intention was to have taken up again the volume published in 1834, and to have carried out the work on such a scale as would have made it amount to eight or ten volumes octavo.

But a work of such a size could not have served to supply the actual wants of the public. I proposed, therefore, to publish separately the *Sources of the History of the Vaudois*, with the principal historic documents, and a rapid but complete sketch of the history itself. On the one hand, however, circumstances have compelled me to renounce the idea of publishing the *Sources*; on the other, I have found that a complete summary of the history of the Vaudois could not be comprehended in a single volume, because the unpublished part of that history is as considerable as that already known, or perhaps even more so.

The question of the origin of the Vaudois and of the organiza-

¹ The choice of this title has been influenced by another consideration. The author of this work had commenced, in 1834, the publication of a *History of the Vaudois*, of which only the first volume has ever appeared. If he had given to the present work the title of a *History of the Vaudois*, it might have been confounded with the previous work, from which it is in reality quite distinct. The volume published in 1834, by Levrault, at Strasburg (where it is still to be found, as well as at Reinwald's, in Paris), contains a description of the Vaudois valleys, with dissertations, and a great number of quotations relative to the origin and doctrine of the Vaudois. This large amount of matter has not been again embodied in the *Israel of the Alps*. The previous volume also contains a map of the valleys, and fac-similes of the principal authors who have treated of Vaudois history. Far from being a sort of former edition of the present work, the previous volume would rather serve as an introduction to it, rendering it more complete.

tion of their church, prior to the Reformation, required to be re-examined. The primitive character of their doctrines had not been completely determined, for want of documents. The particular histories of the Vaudois of Le Queyras, of Barcelonette, of Val-louise, and of Freyssinières, had never been written in a connected manner; the histories of Merindol and of Cabrières had been often written, but never elucidated; it was likewise necessary that the documents connected with the judicial proceedings which preceded and followed the decree pronounced by the court of Aix, on the 18th of November, 1540, should be subjected to a fresh scrutiny, which, to the best of my knowledge, had been attempted by no one.

Details relative to the Vaudois martyrs, will be found in this work collected for the first time. The very interesting history of the churches of Saluces was almost unknown, and here forms half a volume.*

There was a gap betwixt the close of the very full chronicle of Gilles, and the period at which Léger commences his documentary history. A second gap occurred betwixt Léger and Arnaud; and from that writer to our own days, no considerable collection of new documents was to be met with.

Very many histories of the Vaudois had, indeed, been written, general or particular, extensive or brief. Each of them contains interesting facts, or presents interesting historic views; but nowhere is there to be found a collection of documents, arranged with just regard to the proportionate value of historic facts. There have been few events in our history of so great importance as those which led to and those which followed the official re-establishment of the Vaudois in their own country; yet the most complete historians have hitherto scarcely taken the least notice of them. A whole volume of the present work is devoted to these remarkable facts, which occupy only a few pages in the works of my predecessors. The expulsion of the inhabitants of the valleys, in 1686 and 1687, was not narrated in detail, except in contemporary pamphlets, which have now become very rare; the expulsions of 1698 and 1730, have not been so narrated at all. The first part only of the history of the Vaudois colonies in Germany had been written, but not in the French language. The whole of this history will be found in *The Israel of the Alps*. That of the Vaudois of Prague who, at one time, were themselves alone more numerous than the inhabitants of all the other Vaudois valleys put together, had never been written in any language; eight chapters are devoted to it in this work. Finally, from 1730 to our own days, new historic

* [The original is in four volumes.]

phases have brought the Vaudois under the indirect influence of the philosophy of the eighteenth century, under that of the French Revolution, that of the Austro-Russian invasions, and that of the empire of Napoleon. Nothing of all this had been related as its historic importance deserved; and it is only since the Restoration, that documents have been printed which begin to throw a sufficient light upon the destinies of the Vaudois church.

In the present work, all these gaps have been filled up; and if it be thought that these volumes surpass the limits of an abridgment, I would say, Gather together the works which have been written on the Vaudois—run over their tables of contents—compare it with that of the present work, and see if these volumes do not comprehend more variety of matters than all the other books which have been written on this subject, which, however, would of themselves, form a large library, as any one may satisfy himself, by casting a glance over the *Bibliography* with which *The Israel of the Alps* concludes. PERRIN (an 8vo volume of 248 pages) has only furnished me with matter for two half chapters; GILLES (a 4to volume of more than 600 pages), has furnished me with three complete chapters and seven half chapters; I have derived a whole chapter and four half chapters from LÉGER (a folio volume of 212 and 385 pages); from ARNAUD (an octavo of 407 pages), I have derived two chapters and a half; and the whole of the German authors who have written on the Vaudois colonies, have supplied me only with what amounts to about three half chapters. All the rest has been drawn from works exclusively relating to particular parts of the subject, or from unpublished documents.

Whatever judgment may therefore be formed of the present work, I venture to think, that it must be admitted to have really given a new aspect to the history of the Vaudois; and that *The Israel of the Alps* not merely contains the most complete history of the Vaudois which has hitherto been published, but that, were all which has hitherto been published collected together, it would be equivalent only to a very limited portion of what is here presented. As far as the nature of the work permitted me, I have always allowed the authors from whom I had occasion to quote, to speak in their own words—not merely in order to afford the reader a gratification which otherwise he could have found only by searching into rare books or manuscripts, but more especially in order to give greater variety to the narrative, and to restore as far as possible the impress of contemporary emotions.

It has often happened that I have discovered errors in the works which I have consulted, even in those of greatest reputation and

learning; I have corrected them, according to the best of my information, but without taking any particular notice of them; for this would have produced no change in the page which contained the error, and I would have thought it somewhat at variance with that gratitude which we owe to writers who have devoted their labours to subjects in which we are most warmly interested.

The number of these inaccuracies forbids me to presume that my own work can be exempt from them. I would be very thankful if any one would put it in my power to remove them. If it had not been printed as fast as it could be prepared, I would already have corrected some slips,¹ and would likewise, I doubt not, have changed some strong expressions here and there, which the horrible character of the facts narrated has drawn involuntarily from my indignant pen. These reflections of a writer's own feelings may render his style more animated, but are scarcely compatible with the calm dignity of history. Besides such errors of style, and errors of the press, there must unquestionably be many other imperfections discoverable in this work. But as it is the first which presents the history of the Vaudois in a complete form, and is certainly the most accurate of all yet in existence upon that subject, I hope for some indulgence as due to the long and laborious researches which it has cost me.

These researches have been prosecuted most of all in the *State Paper Office of the Court of Turin*. The papers there preserved having been put into my hands only in bundles unarranged, I have taken notes from them and quoted them with few exceptions according to a running number which marks the order in which I received them. The *Diplomatic Archives* of France supplied me with many precious documents, for which I am indebted to the kindness of M. Guizot, then minister of foreign affairs. The *Records of the Council of State* of Geneva, have been made available for *The Israel of the Alps*, by the obliging attentions of the minister, M. le Fort. I obtained access to the *State Paper Office* of the Grand Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt, through M. Du Thill, then minister of the interior. The archives of Baden, of Stuttgart, of Frankfort, of Berlin, and of the principal cantons of Switzerland, have also been consulted, either by myself in person or by correspondents. The records of the old *Court of Accounts* at Grenoble, those of the *Senate* and of the *Court of Accounts* at Turin, have likewise augmented my store of materials. I have been indebted for numerous documents to the municipal archives of Pignerol, of

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Lucerne, of Fenestrelles, of Briançon, of Gap, and of some other towns both of Piedmont and of France. And here I ought to express my deep-felt gratitude to my relative and friend, M. Aillaud, professor at Pignerol, who searched for me the archives of the *Intendance* of that city. Access to those of the bishopric was obtained for me by the author of *Historical Researches concerning the Origin of the Vaudois* (see the *Bibliography*, section II., § iv., No. 9). Without referring in this place to anything else than the researches which he facilitated, I value too highly the privilege of having been enabled to complete them in such a manner, not to testify a just sense of gratitude to him on that account.

I have derived much assistance from the admirable collection of rare pamphlets, comprising also a number of valuable manuscripts, contained in the *Royal Library* at Turin. I owe an expression of my thanks to MM. De Promis, Des Ambroix, De Cocillo, De Saluces, Duboin (son of the celebrated civilian, whose great collection he still continues to increase), Bonnino, deputy-keeper of the records of the Court of Accounts, and Sclopis, author of *The History of the Laws of Piedmont*, who have facilitated my researches by their communications, their kind offices, or their advice. The learned M. Cibrario, member of the historical commission for the *Monumenta Patriae*, and of the Academy of Sciences at Turin, has with similar kindness taken an interest in my labours. He has, moreover, been at the trouble of making some researches himself, and sending me several documents of very great interest, which otherwise I could not have procured.

At Paris, I have found no less disposition to assist me. M. De Salvandy, then minister of public instruction, caused a very important manuscript to be placed at my service, which, without his authority, I could not have consulted. M. Michelet was kind enough to point out to me in the national archives of France, some documents hitherto unknown.¹

¹ A voluminous record of an investigation concerning the hardships inflicted by John de Roma upon the Vaudois of Provence. The following is the title marked upon a detached slip—"[Cayer de procédures, &c.] :—Record of proceedings in 1533, in virtue of a commission from Francis I., King of France, of date 12th February, 1532, against John de Rome, of the order of the Jacobins, who, after having been expelled from Avignon by the Cardinal de Clermont, withdrew into Provence, where, without being legally recognized or authorized, he performed the functions of an inquisitor, and conducted himself towards the lieges of that province in an outrageous and vexatious manner, contrary to all public order."

This manuscript, which, according to another note, used to be contained in a bag, and was not included in the *Inventory* under the head of the *Government of Provence*, consists of eight quires of paper, of small folio size. On the back is affixed the rescript of Francis I., which authorizes the prosecutions. The deposi-

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M. Sordet, keeper of the records of the *Hôtel de Ville* at Geneva, and Professor Diodati, curator of the library there, as well as the pastors Lavit, Claparède, Vaucher-Mouchon, &c., have, in the most obliging manner, facilitated my researches. I have been permitted to consult the *Archives of the Venerable Company*, known under the name of the *Archives of St. Peter*. The distinguished historian, Professor Merle D'Aubigné, has assisted me, both by giving me the benefit of his information and by communicating documents in his possession. And, finally, I am indebted to M. Lombard-Odier, banker, for a copy of an interesting manuscript, the work of a proscribed Vaudois in 1729. I am not less bound, however, to express my thanks to my young fellow-countrymen, MM. Tron, Geymonet, Parise, Bert, Rivoire, and Janavel, then students at Geneva, who were kind enough to employ themselves in transcribing for me everything that I required. M. Monastier, an author, who, like them, is a native of the valleys of Piedmont, and has produced a recent and much-valued history of the Vaudois, communicated to me notes and extracts which he collected when engaged in his own labours. Another native of the valleys, M. Appia, in whom the French church at Frankfort recently lost an eminent and venerated pastor, most freely made me welcome to the whole resources of his rich collection of documents connected with the history of the country of his birth, and gave me the benefit of all his information, his advice, and his reminiscences. I regret that this just tribute of my gratitude can only be paid to his memory. A venerable Vaudois pastor, the late M. Mondon, the successor of Scipio Arnaud in one of the Vaudois colonies in Germany, but whose removal from this world preceded by a long time that of M. Appia, expressed the same interest in my undertaking. To him I owe the use of the first sheets of the original manuscript of the *Return*, now deposited at Berlin.

In the Vaudois valleys, the gentlemen holding offices connected with the Table have, in more instances than one, placed at my disposal official documents and notes most valuable for their accuracy; and the pastor M. Joshua Meille, and his son-in-law, M. Volle,

tions of the witnesses commence on the first page of fol. 84.—*National Archives of France*, compartment J, No. 851.

An unpublished letter of Margaret of France, Duchess of Savoy, dated from Turin, 1 June, 1566 [*"Thurin ce premier jour de juing 1566"*], and relative to the Vaudois, has also been communicated to me by Professor Ch. Bonnet; but too late to be of much service. It will be published, along with other valuable documents, the fruits of the researches of that learned professor, in a *Life of Renée of France, Duchess of Ferrara*, which will shortly gratify the impatient expectations of all who are acquainted with his patient and admirable labours.

have in other ways contributed to the increase of my collection of unpublished papers. I am bound to make the same acknowledgment in regard to M. Gay, of Le Villar, and M. Antoine Blanc, of La Tour, as well as to my friend M. Amédée Bert, whose *Historic Scenes*, recently published, have excited in Italy so great an interest in favour of the Vaudois.

Amongst foreigners, the reverend Dr. Todd, of Dublin, and above all others, the reverend Dr. Gilly, of Durham, have laid me under particular obligations by transmitting to me information which they alone were able to furnish.

Finally, I owe the warmest expressions of gratitude to Professor Schmidt, author of the *History of the Cathari*, who has been kind enough to look over the proof-sheets of the *Bibliography of The Israel of the Alps*; as also to MM. Mailhet, Arnaud, and Olivier, who have gone over the manuscript and the proof-sheets of the whole work.

I cannot mention all the public libraries to which I have been more or less indebted in the preparation of this work. Those of Lyons and Grenoble contain ancient Vaudois manuscripts in the Romance language; as do also those of Geneva, Zürich, and Dublin. Those of Avignon and of Carpentras possess other manuscripts, which, although more modern, are not less interesting.

M. Frossard, author of a *History of the Vaudois of Provence*, and M. Barjavel, author of the *Historical Dictionary of Vauchuse*, have augmented, by the fruits of their studies, the notes which I had already collected on the subject treated of by the first of these writers.

I have attempted, in various ways, to have researches made at Prague, in order to discover, if possible, some documentary traces of the relations anciently subsisting betwixt the Vaudois and the evangelical churches of that country; but these attempts have been fruitless.

The charter-chests of a number of families have been opened to my investigations—amongst others, those of the Counts of Lucerna—but at a time when I could not go in person to examine them. I have not the less pleasure in recording here the respectful expression of my gratitude.

It would have been equally desirable to have seen, if possible, the episcopal records of Suza and of Saluces—those of the Archbishopric of Turin, and of the Inquisition formerly existing there—those of Aceil, of Carail, of Dronier, and of other towns, in which the Vaudois had numerous adherents in days of yore—as well as those even of the Holy Office at Rome. And I have no doubt that there are still many sources of information altogether un-

known to me. However, I have succeeded in forming, I believe, the most numerous collection of historical documents, relative to the Vaudois, which any historian has as yet possessed. I am especially happy in having been enabled to fill up the lamentable blanks which have hitherto existed in that memorable history.

But the operation of accumulating a great mass of historical materials is no more the distinguishing function of the historian, than the operation of bringing together the materials of a building is the distinguishing function of the architect. With the same materials may be erected either a monument of striking beauty, or one of the most commonplace description. What gives its proper character to a work of art, is its leaving in the mind a precise idea corresponding with the purpose for which it was intended. France possesses two such works, the smallest and the greatest of their kind, I believe, in Europe—the *Maison carrée* of Nîmes, and the Cathedral of Strasburg, of which both the one and the other leave a distinct idea, an abiding impression, in the mind—an impression which will remain in the memory of the traveller more vivid and perfect than that of the street in which, perhaps, he has long had his abode. Unity, harmony, and proportion distinguish those things of which our minds thus readily take hold. Without these qualities in the completed work, a great collection of materials is nothing else, in history or in architecture, than a mere heap: these alone give the work a higher character, whether it be great or small. I do not deny that I have been ambitious that my little work should exhibit these characteristics.

Hitherto, the chronological method has been almost exclusively followed in all the histories of the Vaudois. This method consists in relating, year by year, all which occurs in the different countries, or different series of facts with which we have to do. It appears, at first sight, the most natural, and would be in reality the best, if each fact had neither cause nor effects. On the contrary, it is only the linking together of these causes and effects that renders our view of any fact complete; but as the origin of events is often to be traced far back, and the consequences stretch far into the future, the chronological method breaks up the connection, cutting asunder the exhibition of a fact and its consequences, by the account of a contemporaneous fact which has no relation to it. It follows that blanks are concealed from observation amidst these incomplete exhibitions of historic facts; and these blanks are often involuntarily produced by the very pen of the writer, who is compelled, by the chronological succession, to pass from one fact to another, instead of proceeding in a continuous manner with the

development of the same fact. This development, then, becomes like a broken picture, whose fragments are scattered at great distances. It is what might be expected, that the reading of histories written after this method ordinarily leaves in the mind none but very confused historic ideas, or rather leaves it without precise and dominant ideas.

The analytic method, on the contrary, after having classified the events, exhibits them in all their amplitude. Their aspect is presented entire and distinct, and consequently the mind of the reader more readily lays hold of the unity of the whole group. But this method is necessarily very tedious and difficult. After the documents have been collected, a selection and critical examination must be made: those which may serve as sources of historic information must be placed by themselves, and valid authorities must be distinguished from doubtful testimonies. It is then expedient to arrange them all in chronological order, with the view of having a general representation of the whole subject which is to be investigated. After this, the whole must be divided into distinct epochs, in order to detach from the historical picture the different outlines which are afterwards to be filled up with details. It is then necessary to fix upon the series of documents in each epoch, relating to facts of the same nature, and to withdraw from the group those which relate to things of a different kind. Finally, it remains to arrange these different series of documents, with a view to the historic exhibition of the facts which they tend to establish, so that these facts shall elucidate each other. All these things have been done for the *History of the Vaudois* which I now give to the public, of which, perhaps, I may say that the plan has cost me more time and trouble than anything else in the work. I venture to hope that its simplicity would prevent this from being perceived. Whatever may be the scale upon which it may yet happen that the *History of the Vaudois* shall be again taken up—whether it shall be extended to ten volumes or reduced to one—this plan, I believe, will always be found suitable.

The two chapters which treat of the Vaudois martyrs, are the only ones in this work which I have borrowed, without modification, from my original publication. Numerous notes have been appended to those which I have had to compose entirely from unpublished documents—such, in particular, as the two first chapters of the fourth volume—[Part II., Chapters xviii. and xix.]—the matter for which, although presenting little variety, was very considerable in amount; and, in general, all those which treat of the history of the Vaudois from 1690 to 1814.

If circumstances should permit me, hereafter, to publish entire the documents which I have used as authorities, the suppression of which has, more than all other things, contributed to restrict this book to moderate dimensions, I will have accomplished almost all that I would desire or think it in my power to do with regard to the history of the Vaudois.

An examination of the various arguments by which it has recently been attempted to disprove the existence of the Vaudois previous to Valdo, will be found in the Bibliography at the end of this Work.¹ In some instances, I did not possess the means of verifying, for this Bibliography, the titles of certain works with which I was unacquainted. I have not, however, on that account, thought it necessary to refrain from noticing them, according to the indications of them which I had obtained.

Something would, no doubt, have been gained, with regard to a number of important questions concerning the original sources of the history of the Vaudois, had they been here subjected again to the fiery trial of a better sustained and more profound analysis. Many things may yet remain to be said concerning the origin of the Vaudois, and their relations with the other sects of the middle ages. But the present work was meant to contain statements of fact rather than dissertations, and to have dwelt in this way upon particular points would not have consisted with its plan. A desire to present as condensed a historic narrative as possible, and an ambition to fill up the immense blanks which still subsisted in the modern history of the Vaudois, have been paramount in directing the preparation of these volumes. I have been obliged to carry on my labours in a little village, destitute of any learned library, and at a great distance from the printing-office. This will account for *errata*, a mere allusion to which will certainly be enough to obtain for them the indulgence of intelligent readers, who will easily rectify slight imperfections.

I have thought it my duty to indicate, at the head of each chapter, the authorities and sources of information particularly connected with each, and I conclude *The Israel of the Alps* with a list of the works which form general sources of information, relating throughout to the whole history of the Vaudois. Notwithstanding the large number of authors contained in this list, there are but few of them who can be regarded as authorities, the greater part having

¹ Concerning the opinion which would make the Vaudois derive their origin from Valdo, see *Bibliogr.*, part I. sect. II. § iii. article 24. Concerning the antiquity of the Vaudois MSS. in the Romance language, see part II. sect. I. § i. Concerning the *Noble Leyceon*, see the same section, § iii., MS. 207, art. 5, &c.

done nothing but copy from one another. Besides, with the exception of the earlier ones, who have derived their information from original documents, and of a few subsequent writers, who have brought the aids of an exact criticism to the elucidation of obscure points, the rest are only of inferior interest. Yet there is none of them to be despised, for they may be found to present valuable details of fact, and new views of passages of history.

If I had written, as was my original intention, a critical and documentary history of the Vaudois, I would have quoted almost all these works, and made parts of them the subject of discussion. Having attempted nothing here but to narrate events as completely and as briefly as possible, I have confined myself to the authorities upon which I depend for them—all discussion has been avoided, and all means of abridgment have been studiously employed.

The mere substance of official documents has almost always been given—speeches have not been given at full length—narratives of judicial examinations have been transformed into simple dialogues, by which means the diluting phrases, “Being then asked,” “He replied,” &c., have been avoided. Occasionally in place of mentioning in succession the written communications of a negotiation, I have suppressed them altogether, saying merely, “It was then proposed,” “It was replied,” &c. And when the documents which I had before me proved respecting any historic personage, and upon the authority of sure witnesses, that such a personage had spoken to such or such an effect, had made such or such an answer, or had brought forward such or such considerations, I have thought it right to substitute for the narrative form that of direct address, making the person himself speak instead of relating what he said. This method was common with the historians of antiquity; and whilst I have been very reserved as to the use of it, I have always attended with the greatest care to the exact accuracy of the words, as expressing the thought which they were meant to convey. I shall perhaps be told that it is the duty of the historian neither to abstract nor to add. But in what sense? What sort of text is it of which not a single word may be changed? When he has before his eyes a number of different accounts of the same event or series of events, a number of documents, of which each by itself is insufficient, but which taken together present the subject in a clear enough light—when he has to pursue his search for the truth through a heap of judicial records, police reports, diplomatic notes and private correspondence, contemporary publications bearing the stamp of party spirit, narratives intentionally falsified or involuntarily left incomplete,

journals varying in the accuracy of their information, &c.—is it not from the comparison, the combination, and the persevering and critical examination of all these confused elements, that history must be framed? It is as important, in such a case, that the materials should be rightly estimated and classified, as that they should be of large amount.

I shall not say more on this subject. There are, of course, in this book, imperfections which I am aware of, and others of which I am ignorant. I can only offer, by anticipation, the expression of my gratitude to those who may be pleased to point out to me any improvements of which it may be susceptible. But if I am accused of being inaccurate, upon the sole ground of my having departed from the ideas hitherto prevalent, I must reply—Look to the sources from which my information is derived, and inform yourselves, before you pronounce an opinion.

I am far from concealing that my sympathies are with the oppressed and against their oppressors; but I have never been consciously inaccurate; and in every instance in which the facts of history have called me to say anything to the credit of the adversaries of the Vaudois, I believe that I have done it as fully and as frankly as possible.

There exist already a large number of histories of the Vaudois. They are all incomplete. Another recapitulation would have served no purpose. I assigned myself the task of writing their history, so as to make it complete. That undertaking presented difficulties which it may well be believed were not small, as no one had yet surmounted them. In default of other good qualities, the long and fatiguing labours which I have been obliged to undergo, in order to attain my object of presenting the truth without blanks, may perhaps obtain for me the approbation of my readers and of the Vaudois who love their native land.

I have prayed God to support me in my labours; and I pray him now to render them serviceable to my native country and to the truth.

ALEXIS MUSTON.

BOURDEAUX (DRÔME), 18 September, 1850.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE translation of this work was undertaken in the belief, which remains unshaken in the translator's mind, of its being the most complete and interesting history of the Vaudois yet given to the world. The lively and graphic style, of which the English reader may perhaps find here but an imperfect representation, although it adds much to the value of the work, is far from being its chief merit. The author has evidently devoted no small amount of labour to its preparation, both in the acquisition and in the arrangement of his materials. He has added to the stores of historic information previously accumulated, and has elucidated points that were formerly obscure, by his researches amongst documents inaccessible to previous historians. He has also, more fully than any previous author, brought the whole history of the Vaudois into one view—not only that of the Church in the Piedmontese valleys from the earliest period to the present day, but also that of the Vaudois inhabiting the French territory, of the Vaudois settlement in Calabria, and of the colonies which Vaudois exiles founded, who sought a refuge from persecution in different parts of Germany.

Few subjects have greater claims to the regard of all Christians than that of which this work treats. Even if the opinion were admitted, against which Dr. Muston contends, that the Vaudois derived their name and their origin as a distinct Christian community from Peter Waldo, the merchant of Lyons, who became a preacher of righteousness, and a witness against the corruptions of the Church of Rome, in the end of the twelfth century, it would be impossible to regard without deep interest that light shining in the midst of darkness throughout so many centuries, and the testimony so long maintained, amidst so many conflicts, by these Reformers before the Reformation. But the interest with which we contemplate the Vaudois (or *Waldenses*), is greatly increased when we acknowledge them as possessing a still higher antiquity—

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as giving his name and, in part at least, his knowledge of the truth to Waldo, instead of deriving theirs from him—as forming a connecting link between the primitive church and the churches of the Reformation.

The reader of Vaudois history cannot read with unmingled pleasure. History records no deeds of cruelty more atrocious, no persecutions more terrible. But scenes which the benevolent mind would fain shut out from its contemplation, are yet invested with the highest and most enduring interest by the triumphs of faith, or possess a very great historic value as manifestations of the spirit of Popery, and as proofs of the identity of the Church of Rome with that Babylon of the Apocalypse, in which, when the Lord makes inquisition for blood and proceeds to the judgment long deferred, shall be found “the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth.”

The high testimonies of approbation which Dr. Muston's work has received from the historians Thierry and Michelet, the late lamented Dr. Gilly, and others most competent to judge, have already in part been made known by the publishers in their prospectus of this translation. The translator may be permitted to add, that the manner in which Dr. Muston's work has been treated, even by those continental writers who, in magazines and in works recently published, have argued in support of opinions contrary to his, on the important question of the origin of the Vaudois, has been such as to exhibit their high sense of its importance. Dr. Herzog, in his recent work on this subject (*Die romanischen Waldenser, ihre vorreformatorischen Zustände und Lehren, u. s. w.*), describes Dr. Muston's history as containing a rich store of precious materials. Constant reference has been made to it in the whole of the recent discussions concerning the Vaudois.

To the question of the origin of the Vaudois, the translator has ventured to devote an Appendix. He would have been glad to have entered more largely into this subject than he has been able to do—the necessary limits of the work preventing him. His desire, however, was not so much to adduce any argument of his own, which he could scarcely pretend to do, as to exhibit the state of the controversy on the Continent concerning the historic apostolicity of the Vaudois—a question of great interest and importance, although certainly not of so great importance as some have ascribed to it. This he has in some measure endeavoured to do; and imperfect as it is, he is not without hope that the appendix devoted to this subject, may be of use in directing attention to facts and arguments with which, if he may judge from all he has

seen in print, very few persons in this country seem to have much acquaintance.

It may be proper, and yet, perhaps, it is not quite necessary, for the translator here to say that he does not hold himself responsible for every sentiment contained in the work which he has translated, nor wish to be understood as assenting to it. He differs from the author in some instances in which he has not thought it requisite to append any note; but in no case did he think it warrantable to change what the author had written. Dr. Muston has been allowed to speak for himself, and to say to the British public what he originally thought fit to say to that of France and Switzerland. On various points, religious, political, and historical, the translator would have expressed himself otherwise; but he remembered that the work was Dr. Muston's and not his, and he is confident that it will find general approbation among the religious public of Britain, for the evangelical, liberal, and generous sentiments with which it is pervaded.

The work, as now issued, is not, however, a mere translation of the *Israel of the Alps*, as published six years since in France, but possesses, at the same time, the character of a second edition. Some corrections and additions have been made by the author, and maps and plates now accompany the work for the first time. The plates are chiefly, as will be seen, from sketches by Dr. Muston himself.

The translator has only to add, that concerning the form and spelling of proper names, he felt considerable difficulty. The French form, generally used in the original, is sometimes the least familiar to British readers. It has been thought best to prefer the most familiar form—French or Italian, as it might be. And if a perfect uniformity has not in all cases been preserved, it is hoped that no difficulty will thence arise to the reader.

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PART SECOND.

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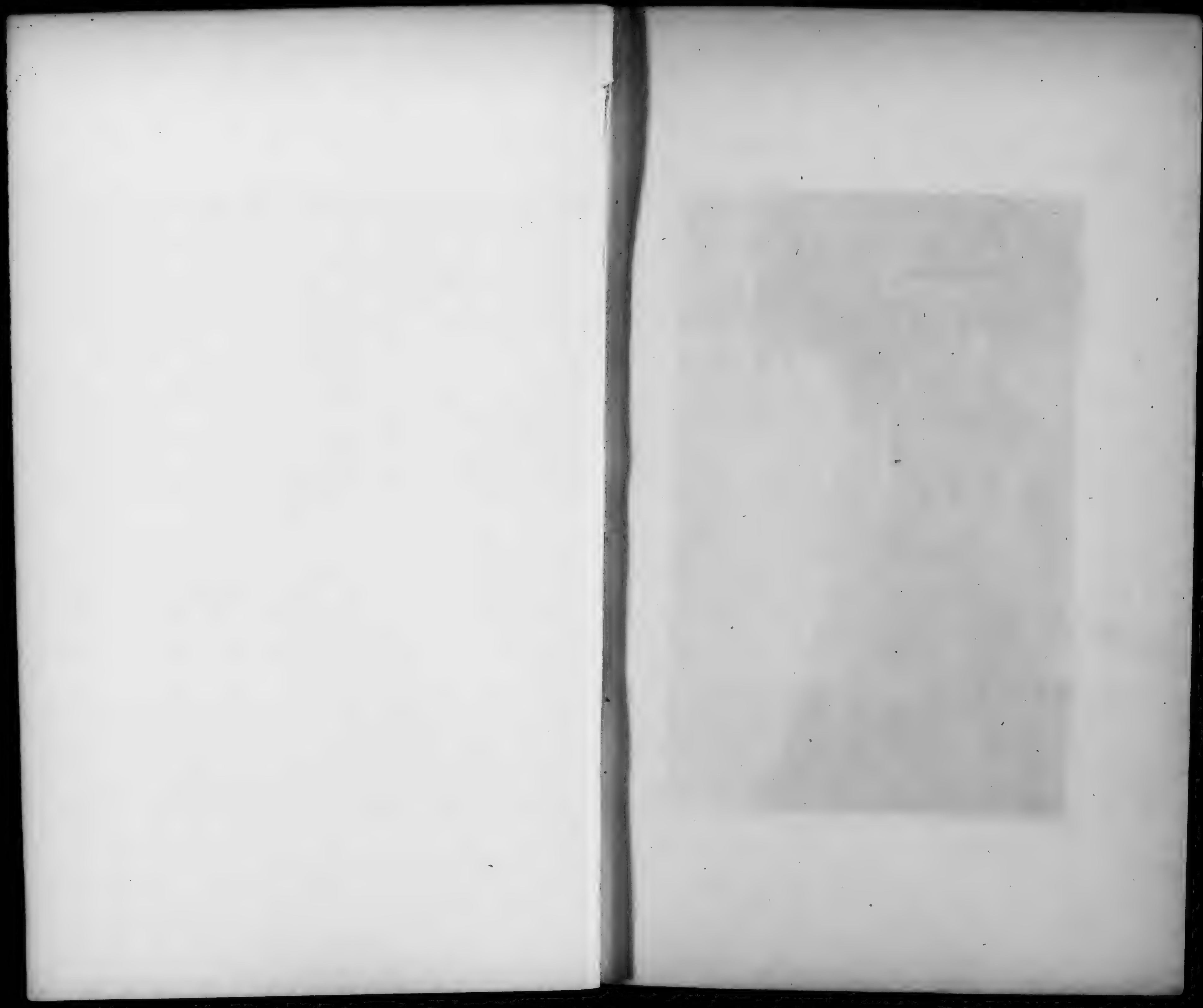




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THE TOWN OF ST. JOHN'S
NEW BRUNSWICK
FROM THE RIVER













THE
ISRAEL OF THE ALPS.

INTRODUCTION.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE ORIGIN OF THE VAUDOIS.

THE origin of the Vaudois forms one of the most interesting questions of ecclesiastical history. I regret that the narrow limits of this work, and the want of sufficient resources of learning within my reach, do not permit me to treat it so thoroughly as I would have desired. It merits a lengthened and profound discussion; it is a subject much richer than it at first sight appears. A man of learning, and possessed of the necessary means for the investigation of this question, would doubtless find his labour abundantly rewarded.

All that I can do at present, is to lay before the reader a few considerations, such as have occurred to me in my studies, and which have sufficed to determine my own opinion on this point. There are, however, persons of high standing, who do not agree with me concerning the existence of the Vaudois anterior to Valdo. The passages which I proceed to quote are extracts from private correspondence; I hope their publication will not be thought an indiscretion, but rather a tribute of respect to the learning of the writers, and an evidence of my own impartiality.

"I believe," says M. Schmidt, "that the Vaudois Church has no need of any attempt to exalt her reputation, by placing before her historic period a sort of fabulous period, remounting to the days of the apostles; that church appears to me to have sufficient claims to respect, when she is regarded as tracing her origin to a simple layman of Lyons, whose piety, moderation, and courage may always be an example to us. To have clearly asserted the doctrine of the gospel three centuries before the Reformation, and to have maintained it thenceforward with heroic fidelity, in the midst of

persecutions and of martyrdoms, is, in my estimation, so honourable, that I have not even a wish to embellish this indisputable fact, by the addition of a long period which is not certain at all. . . . Having, then, the positive fact of Valdo, why should I not be satisfied with it, at least so long as it cannot be *proved* that there were Vaudois before him?"¹ "On the point now under consideration, the most eminent ecclesiastical historians of Germany, MM. Gieseler and Neander, have long ago renounced the opinion which refers the origin of the Vaudois to the days of the apostles. They trace them back only to Valdo. . . . You bring forward the edict issued by Otho IV. in 1209, and thence conclude that the Vaudois must have been numerous and ancient in the valleys of the Alps. Numerous let it be granted that they were, although in strictness it might be disputed. . . . But as to their being ancient, that is, more ancient than Valdo, I do not think that it follows. Valdo began his career at Lyons about 1170; nine years afterwards he solicited from Pope Alexander III. authority to preach. After the lapse of other five years, in 1184, Lucius III. pronounced an anathema against his disciples. From 1184 to 1209 is a period of twenty-five years, or rather from 1170 to 1209 are thirty-nine years; during this interval of nearly forty years, the Vaudois may have spread far enough, and in fact they did; only consider the facility with which the adversaries of Rome then propagated their doctrines; consider, in particular, the state of mind then prevailing throughout Upper Italy. . . . I shall say nothing of the arguments which you deduce from the Milanese ritual, and from the Epistle to the Laodiceans. . . . How I think on these points you may see from my last letter."—He reckons these arguments insufficient.—"All the certain facts, established by historic documents, are without exception subsequent to 1170, that is to say, to the appearance of Valdo. Prior to this epoch, there is not so much as one. Produce me the least possible fact anterior to this epoch, and I lay down my arms."² "You quote to me a bull of Urban II., mentioning the *Vallis Gyroniana* as a focus of heresy in 1096. In the first place, allow me to say, I have never maintained that there were no manifestations of an anti-catholic spirit before the days of Valdo. But in order to establish a true historic connection, a perfect identity of doctrines, it would be necessary to know that heresy of which the focus was in the aforesaid valley. . . . Even admitting that the heresy in question was analogous to the Vaudois doctrines, this would only prove that before Valdo there were

¹ Letter from M. Schmidt, author of the *History of the Cathari*, Strasburg, April 23, 1850.

² From the same, May 26, 1850.

already persons who believed something similar to what he afterwards believed; but to conclude, therefore, that he derived either his birth or his doctrine from these men, is to make a great *salvus in probando*."¹

The reader will here observe that M. Schmidt grants almost all that I desire, for it is by no means necessary to prove that Valdo was descended from the Vaudois; it is enough if the Vaudois be acknowledged to have existed before his time.

I think it my duty also to quote the words of M. Gieseler on this subject, from a letter which he was kind enough to address to me:—"In the first place, you remind me that, according to the testimony of authors comparatively recent, Peter de Bruys was sprung from a certain valley, which Urban II., in the year 1096, describes as infested with heresy; and thence you think yourself entitled to infer, that the doctrine which Bruys held in common with Valdo, flourished in that valley before Valdo's time. Indeed, it cannot be doubted that before the days of Valdo, Peter de Bruys and Henry condemned the errors of the Catholic Church, as well as the monstrous opinions of the Cathari, and sought to return to the pure doctrine of the Holy Scriptures. Nor is it improbable that Peter sowed the seeds of his doctrine in his native valley, and left followers there; and thus we can explain how Urban might call that valley full of heretics. And it is also likely enough, that of the remaining disciples of Peter and Henry, many joined the Valdenses (Vaudois), in whom they found the same zeal for the doctrine of the Bible; and thus it probably came to pass, that no trace of the Petrobrusians and Henricians appears at any subsequent period. But that the Vaudois themselves existed before the days of Peter de Bruys, and that Peter himself was one of them, I can by no means admit. For, in the first place, he taught many things very contrary to the doctrine of the Vaudois. He denied that infants ought to be baptized, and that the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ was celebrated after its celebration by Christ himself. He required monks to marry. On the other hand, it is well known that the Vaudois did not at first oppose the doctrine and institutions of the Catholic Church, and that they sought only the free preaching of the simple doctrine of the gospel. Moreover, they held celibacy in high estimation; and their leaders themselves lived in celibacy."² Such is the principal argument of M. Gieseler in this letter, of which a part only is here given. The opinions of Neander, Herzog, and Schmidt on this point are substantially

¹ Letter from M. Schmidt, author of the *History of the Cathari*, Strasburg, July, 10, 1850.

² Letter dated Gottingen, June 20, 1850.

the same. I cannot discuss it here; but I must observe, 1st, that the doctrines of Bruys are more extreme than those of the Vaudois; 2d, that doctrines held in protestation against the Romish Church existed before the birth of Bruys, in the very valley in which he is said to have been born;¹ 3d, that Bruys may have derived from the valley of his birth, and which was one of the Vaudois valleys of Dauphiny, the germs of that opposition to the Romish Church which became the leading characteristic of his own opinions, after these had become independent of the influences predominant around him in his earliest years; 4th, that the extremeness in the opinions of Bruys, discordant with the moderate character of the Vaudois, may itself have led him to withdraw to a distance from them, in order to make proselytes elsewhere; 5th, that this spirit of moderation, which it is generally acknowledged that the Vaudois have displayed, is the usual fruit of time and experience; and that if it was already manifested among them in the days of Bruys, it would be an evidence of the long previous existence of those whom it characterized; and, 6th, that whilst the antiquity of the Vaudois would explain the calm maturity of their doctrines, the excitable character of Bruys would account for the violent extremeness of his. All analogies appear to me to be in favour of my opinion.

In these various letters the difficulty has also been represented to me of deriving the name *Vaudois* from *Vaux*, or *Valdenses* from *Vallis*, as well as the vagueness of the expressions of Otho IV. in his edict of 1209, and the want of documents anterior to the 12th century. I have examined most of these objections in other parts of this work. My readers will estimate for themselves the value of these objections, and of the answers made to them. But I think it right still to add here a few of the reasons which lead me to regard the Vaudois of the Alps as of greater antiquity than the days of Valdo of Lyons.

In the first centuries of the Christian era, each church founded by the disciples of Christ had a unity and an independence of its own. They were united by the same faith, but that faith was not imposed by authority upon any one. Each of these churches thus had its independent organization, as each individual may have his particular constitution and mode of life, whilst the general characters of human life are common to all men. That desire for a visible unity, which characterizes all human governments, impelled the Emperor Constantine to seek the union of all the Christian churches of the empire under a uniform legislation. The spirit of domination soon extended from the civil government to the ecclesiastical;

¹ See Chap. i., and notes.

the institution of patriarchs¹ preceded that of the papacy;² the latter was slowly matured,³ and the exclusive character which its organization finally assumed, caused the separation which then took place between the Eastern and Western churches.⁴

Scarcely had this rupture taken place when Popery stirred up the Crusades,⁵ and soon afterwards those internal persecutions by which it effected the destruction of the Albigenses.⁶ But down to this time the Bible had been read in the vulgar tongue in France;⁷ and in Piedmont⁸ the diocese of Milan maintained its independence, the Ambrosian ritual preserved there the recollections of the 4th century, and the Vaudois could still find shelter and peace behind this venerated shield.⁹

St. Ambrose did not acknowledge any authority on earth as superior to that of the Bible;¹⁰ and he wished that for the study of it, men would recur to the original text.¹¹ If any passage appeared obscure, he did not admit that the word of man should interfere with the word of God in order to determine its sense, but he recommended the Christian to endeavour to decide for himself the doctrinal import of obscure passages, by comparing them with other passages of Scripture relating to the same subject.¹² The Bible was to be elucidated only by its own light. Moreover, he declared that nobody could pretend to call himself the successor of St. Peter, unless he had the faith of St. Peter; and he said with regard to a certain

¹ It was the second Council of Constantinople, in 381, which gave the title of *patriarchs* to the bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch.

² It was Boniface III. who received for the first time, in 1607, the title of *Ecumenical Bishop*, or Universal Pontiff.

³ The principal institutions of Catholicism, the celibacy of the priests, ecclesiastical investiture, &c., are to be referred to the days of Gregory VII., who was elected pope in 1073, although the establishment of some of them had been attempted before.

⁴ This schism, long foreseen upon account of a number of increasing differences which the autonomy of the Christian churches at that period still permitted to subsist, may be regarded as completed in 1054, by the excommunication which Leo IX. pronounced against the Patriarch of Constantinople.

⁵ The first Crusade was preached by Urban II. to the Councils of Placentia and of Clermont, in 1095 and 1096.

⁶ In 1209.

⁷ The Council of Toulouse, held in 1129, prohibited the reading of the Bible in the vulgar tongue.

⁸ See in the Bibliography at the end of this work (Part II. sect. i. § 11), what relates to the translations of the Bible made by the Vaudois into the vulgar tongue.

⁹ The diocese of Milan originally comprehended Liguria, Emelia, Flaminia, Venetia, the Cottian Alps (where the Vaudois valleys are), the Grajan Alps, and Rhetia, now the country of the Grisons.

¹⁰ St. Ambros. *De fide, ad Gratianum*, lib. i. c. 4. This and the following citations are extracted from a series of articles entitled "Origini et dottrine della Valdesse," published in the journal *La Buona Novella*.

¹¹ *De Spiritu Sancto*, lib. ii. c. 6, and *De Incarnatione*, c. 8.

¹² St. Ambrose, Sermon XIII. on Psa. cxviii.

pope, Pope Liberius, that he was a decided Arian.¹ The sinner, according to him, is justified only by the merits of Christ;² we can derive no merit from our own works,³ the sacraments confer no grace of themselves, they are only the visible sign of that which we receive from the Saviour.⁴ St. Augustine, who was the disciple of St. Ambrose, admitted only two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and there is no reason to believe that his master ever acknowledged a greater number. Nor was the worthy Bishop of Milan any more a believer in the bodily presence of Christ in the Eucharist,⁵ or in the renewal of his sacrifice at each celebration of the sacrament of the Supper.⁶ It may readily be believed that he must have rejected as idolatrous all worship rendered to other objects than the Divine Being;⁷ and as to the worship of images, he called it Paganism.⁸

St. Ambrose occupied the see of Milan for twenty-three years, he died in the year 397, and the influence of his evangelical doctrines long continued to be felt in his diocese. Nor did he stand alone in the maintenance of these doctrines. One of his contemporaries, Philastrius, Bishop of Brescia, condemned also, like him, the worship of images,⁹ maintained the authority of the Bible, rejected that of Rome,¹⁰ rejected also all pretension to meritorious works,¹¹ and added to the influence of St. Ambrose by that which he himself exerted. His successor, Gaudentius, and Rufinus of Aquileia, maintained the same doctrines.¹² The latter, a simple priest, having been condemned by Pope Anastasius, as a partizan of the followers of Origen; the Bishop of Aquileia, to whose authority he was immediately subject, maintained him notwithstanding in the post which he occupied, thus affording us a proof of the ecclesiastical independence which the north of Italy enjoyed at that period. This bishop, who is called by St. Jerome one of the best instructed and most pious prelates of his time, did not, any more than his predecessors, recognize any authority superior to that of the Bible,¹³ and it ought to be observed that in explaining the passages on

¹ *De Pœnitentia*, lib. i. c. 6.

² *De Jacobo et Vita Beata*, lib. i. c. 5, 6, &c.

³ *De bono mortis*, c. 2.

⁴ *De Spiritu Sancto*, lib. iii. c. 2. *Epist. lxxxiv.*, lxxi., &c.

⁵ *Comment. in Luc.*, lib. x. c. 14.

⁶ *De officiis*, lib. i. c. 14.

⁷ *De fide, ad Gratian.*, lib. i. c. 7.

⁸ *De officiis*, lib. i. c. 26. *De fuga sæculi*, c. 5.

⁹ *Hæreses*, c. 49.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* c. 40, 41.

¹¹ *Ibid.* c. 47.

¹² As to Philastrius, see his letter to Benevolus, and his sermons; the second of which is certainly intended to combat the notion of the real presence of the body of Christ in the Eucharist. As to Rufinus; on the authority of the Bible, see *Apud Cypr.* pp. 552 and 553; on the objects of faith, see his treatise on the Creed, &c.

¹³ *Sti. Cromatii Sermones*, serm. II. pp. 162, 175, &c.

which it has since been attempted to found the doctrine of purgatory, he makes no mention of that popish dogma.¹ His successor, Niceas, who lived about the year 420, also formally rejects the whole theory of personal satisfaction and expiation, acknowledging the right to pardon sins as belonging to God alone, and the merits of Christ as obtaining pardon for us.²

The end of this century was disturbed by the invasions of the barbarians. Aquileia and Milan were ravaged by Attila; the Huns, the Heruli, and the Goths successively burst into Upper Italy; and we need no written testimonies to convince us that Rome, with difficulty able to defend herself, could not then extend over these countries an authority to which they had not been subjected before, and from which we afterwards find them free.

In the commencement of the following century, St. Laurence, who was translated from the see of Novara to that of Milan, about the year 507, declares, contrary to the opinions at present received among Papists, that repentance is the only means by which we can obtain the pardon of our offences, and that pardon cannot come to us by the intercession of any creature whatever, nor by any human absolution, but only by grace and the love of Christ. Finally, says he, we must trust in God rather than in men.³ Ennodius, in his *Life of St. Epiphanius, Bishop of Pavia*, in relating the circumstances which attended the death of that prelate, makes no mention of confessor, or absolution, or indulgence, or cross, or banners, or images, or holy water, or litanies, or any of the other things which are so prominent at the present day in the popish ceremonial on such an occasion.

About the middle of the 6th century, a part of the bishops of Upper Italy⁴ refused to adhere to the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon, held in 553; and in 590, nine of them separated themselves from the Roman Church, or rather they solemnly renewed the protestation of their independence of it. The bishops being then elected by the people of their diocese, we may presume, without doing any violence to history, that the latter were imbued with the same doctrines and with the same spirit.

The permanence of this state of things in Upper Italy, is attested in the 7th century by a new Bishop of Milan, Mansuetus, A.D. 677. To combat the opinion that the pope is the head of the church, he directs attention to the fact that the Councils of Nice, Constan-

¹ *Sti. Cromatii Sermones*, serm. II. p. 166.

² *Ad virginem lapsam*, inserted in the works of St. Ambrose.

³ See, in Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta*, the three discourses of this bishop, which are still extant. Pp. 20-40.

⁴ Those of Venetia, Istria, and Liguria.

tinople, Chalcedon, and many others, had been convoked by the emperors, and not by the pope. This bishop himself was not afraid to condemn Pope Honorius as a Monothelite;¹ and thus gives us a new proof of the independence then enjoyed by the diocese of Milan, across which the Vaudois would have been obliged to pass, in order to reach Rome.

The kingdom of Lombardy itself was solicitous for the preservation of this independence. Thus everything contributed to its maintenance; and it may be supposed that, satisfied with the first successes obtained in the towns, Rome thereafter paid less regard to the relics of independence which might still subsist in the mountains. We know, moreover, that ancient manners and ancient liberties have at all times been less easily eradicated from such situations.

However, we are not reduced to the necessity of supporting this idea by mere inferences; and the 8th century still presents us with examples of resistance to the pretensions of the papal see in Upper Italy. As these pretensions are more strongly urged, we find the resistance also becoming more vigorous in the following centuries, and we can follow its traces quite on to the 12th century, when the existence of the Vaudois is no longer doubted by anybody.

The Council of Narbonne, at which a number of bishops of Upper Italy were present, recommended to the faithful no other prayers than the *Pater* and the *Credo*. The Council of Frankfort, at which also Italian prelates were present, formally condemned the worship of images. St. Paulinus, Bishop of Aquileia, maintained, like his predecessors, the symbolical character of the Eucharist,² the nullity of satisfactory works,³ the sovereign authority of the Bible in matters of faith,⁴ and the efficacious mediation of one only mediator between God and man, even Jesus Christ.⁵

But the grasping ambition of the Church of Rome, overcoming by degrees the resistance made in quarters nearest to its centre of action, forced back towards the chain of the Alps, the limits, still becoming narrower, of that independence inherited from past ages, which had at first opposed it over the whole of Upper Italy. This independence was defended, in the 9th century, by Claude of Turin; in whom, at the same time, we behold the most distinguished advocate of evangelical doctrines whom that age produced. Whilst the Bishop of Milan⁶ contented himself with deploring the corruption of the Roman Church,⁷ by which he had been

See the investigation of this fact in the *Buona Novella*, i. 293.

¹ In his book *against Felix D'Urgel*, written by order of Charlemagne, p. 1766.

² Ibid. p. 1792. ³ Ibid. p. 1795. ⁴ Ibid. p. 1790. ⁵ Angilbert.

⁶ See an extract from these complaints in the *Buona Novella*, i. 326.

reduced to subjection, but in whose iniquities he did not take part, the Bishop of Turin boldly declared against the innovations which she had so long sought to introduce into the sphere of his influence and power. The numerous works of this prelate on different books of the Bible,¹ had prepared him for defending it against the attacks of Popery; and strong in the might of truth, Claude of Turin owned Jesus Christ as the sole Head of the church,² attached no value to pretended meritorious works, rejected human traditions, acknowledged faith alone as securing salvation, ascribed no power to prayers made for the dead, maintained the symbolical character of the Eucharist, and, above all, opposed with great energy the worship of images, which he, like his predecessors, regarded as absolute idolatry.³

Thus the doctrines which characterized the primitive church, and which still characterize the Vaudois Church at the present day, have never remained without a witness in the countries inhabited by the Vaudois; and if men had been silent, the Bible would have spoken. In the 10th century, Atto, Bishop of Vercell, still appears as their defender; he maintains the authority of the word of God, and does not admit that of the fathers of the church, except in so far as they agree with it; insisting that the church is founded only upon the Christian faith, and not upon the pre-eminence of any apostle or pontiff—that the pope has no administrative authority beyond the see of Rome, and that all the faithful ought to partake of the Eucharist.⁴

But the oppressive tendencies of the Church of Rome manifested themselves in the cruel measures of which the Jews were then the victims. Ignorance and superstition made rapid progress. The light of human learning passed for a time to the midst of Mahometanism. The conflicts in Spain and in Italy against the Mahometan power, were for a little while an obstacle in the way of the pontifical despotism.

In the 11th century, although there were already numerous monasteries in Lombardy, the vows of those who entered them

¹ In 815 he wrote three books on Genesis and a commentary on St. Matthew. Next year he published a commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, and, soon after, another commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians. In 821 he wrote four books on Exodus; in 823, a commentary on Leviticus. There is also ascribed to him a commentary on the book of Ruth, but none of his works have been printed except his commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians.

² *Comment. in Galat.*, Bibl. PP. i. 810.

³ On these various points see the same work of Claude on the Galatians, pp. 789–844; the extract which Mabillon gives from his commentary on Leviticus, and also a citation by Meyer, lib. iii. c. 14, as referred to in the *Buona Novella*, i. 528.

⁴ In D'Achery, *Spicileg. vet. auct.*

were not yet rendered irrevocable by any other authority than that of their own consciences; and in the 12th century all the priests of Upper Italy were still free from the yoke of the celibate. This independence, so long disputed by Rome and maintained by the Lombard clergy, was a protecting shield for the Vaudois valleys.

Thus we see that the Apostolic Church of Italy, disowned and proscribed by papal pride, gradually retired from Rome, withdrew into Upper Italy, and sought a retreat in the wilderness to preserve her purity. We see her first sheltered in the diocese of Milan, where Popery still pursues her. She then retires into the diocese of Vercell, and thither also the hostile pretensions of Popery are extended. She takes refuge in the diocese of Turin, but Popery still gains upon her, and at last she seeks an asylum in the mountains. We find her in the Vaudois valleys!

The inhabitants of these valleys, previously unregarded, became an object of attention from the 12th century, not because they were new opponents of Rome's domination, but because they remained alone in their opposition. Rendered distinct by her isolation, their church found her own pale a separate one for this reason only, that she herself had never changed. But as they did not form a new church, they could not receive a new name; and because they inhabited the *valleys*, they were called *Vaudois*.

Let us now see how these events are reflected in their own writings.

St. Peter and St. James, in addressing their epistles to the *Catholic Church*, show us that it was something very different from *Catholicism*. They meant by the Catholic Church the whole body of Christians of that time—Christians who were apostolic. Now the Vaudois, in their most ancient works, written in the Romance tongue, at a date when there existed schismatical sects which have now disappeared, speak of themselves always as being in union with the Catholic Church,¹ and condemn those who separate from

¹ Aquesta nostra fe catholica se conten en li articles de la fe e en le sacrament de la sancta gleysa.—[This is our catholic faith, which is contained in the articles of faith, and in the sacraments of the holy church.]—Vaudois MSS. of Geneva, No. 208, fol. 3.

Non te conselha daquilli que son devis de la sancta gleysa.—[Take heed not to follow the counsel of those who are separated from the holy church.]—MS. 209, Treatise on Repentance.

Nos creen qu'el meseyme Dio eslegis a si gloriosa gleysa . . . ma quilla sia sancta e non socza.—[We believe that God himself has chosen unto himself the glorious church . . . that it may be holy and undefiled.]—MS. 208, de li Articles de la fe, § 5.

Sobre totas cosas nos desiren lonor de Dio e lo perfekt de la sancta gleysa, e que nos sian fedels membres de Yeshu Xrist.—[Above all things, we desire the

it,¹ but, at the same time, the doctrines which they set forth in their works are only those of the primitive Catholic Church, and not at all those of later Catholicism. The successive corruptions which gradually constituted it, were everywhere introduced by small degrees, and did not for a long time reach the threshold of their secluded valleys.

When they did become known there, the Vaudois boldly stood up *against that variety of invented things*,² which they called a *horrible heresy*,³ and unhesitatingly pointed them out as the cause why the Church of Rome had departed from the primitive faith.⁴ They no longer give to Popery the name of the *Catholic Church*, but speak of it as the *Roman Church*; and then also they openly separated from it,⁵ because it was no longer the primitive church,

honour of God and the profit of the holy church, and that we may be faithful members of Jesus Christ.]—MS. 208, fol. 14.

Crezen la sancta gleysa esse funda tant fermament sobre la ferma peyra, que las portas d'enfern, non poissan per alcuna maniera prevaler en contra ley.—[We believe that the holy church is so firmly founded upon the rock that the gates of hell cannot, in any manner, prevail against it.]—Geneva MS. 208, fol. 15.

¹ Pren conselh de le bon preyre, daquelle lical son conjoint a la gleysa antica e apostolica, ressemilhan dobras de sanctita e de fe. Ma non te consellur daquilh que son devis de la sancta gleysa.—[Take counsel from good priests, from those who are united to the ancient and apostolical church, in the similarity of works of holiness and of faith. But take not counsel from those who separate from the holy church.]—Geneva MS. 207, Treatise on Repentance.

Cum le sant doctor dion
Alcuna cosa, o affermant
Sobre oppinion tant
Coma fe, hereticant.

—[When the holy doctors say anything, or affirm upon *[human]* opinion as a matter of faith, they fall into heresy.]—Geneva MS. 208, fol. 15.

² Circa la varieta de las cosas emergent.—Vaudois MSS. in library of Trinity College, Dublin, C. V. 22, fol. 180, and Geneva MS. 208, fol. 14.

³ La horrenda heretication.—Ibid.

⁴ Aycz es la causa del departiment de la Gleysa Romana.—(Dublin MSS. C. V. 25.) *Here is the cause of the deviations of the Roman Church.* In recent copies, and in works printed since the Reformation, this title is to be found in the following form, *Aycz es la causa DEL NOSTRO departiment de la Gleysa Romana*, i.e., Here is the cause of our separation from the Roman Church; and the work, in fact, has for its object to cut off all connection with that church, so that, without violence to its contents, either of these different forms may be adopted.

⁵ The following are the first lines of the last-quoted work, according to the MS. of Dublin, class C. V. 25.—(I am indebted for this communication to the obliging kindness of the learned Dr. Gilly, author of so many remarkable works on the Vaudois, and who has just published, from the original MSS., their ancient translation of the gospel according to St. John):—

Al nom del nostre Segnor Yeshu Xrist! Amen.—[In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ! Amen.]

La causa del nostre departiment de lunita de la costuma de la Romana Gleysa, e de totas cosas semblant en part o en tot en aquellas cosas, lasquals contradigon a la verita: es de doas manieras. Luna causa es la verita saludivos: lautra la falsita

such as theirs had been left to them by their fathers, but a corrupt church, delighting in vain superstitions.

Here, let me remark, we have one of the strongest intrinsic proofs of the apostolic descent of the Vaudois, for the Church of Rome was also, in its origin, the Apostolic Church, being under the guidance of St. Paul, and if the Vaudois had been separate from it from the beginning, they could not have been apostolic themselves; if they had separated from it at a later period, without previously having had any independent existence, their existence would only have dated from that separation. But, on the contrary, they had existed from the commencement of the common life; that life had been preserved amongst their mountains; they might probably believe that it was also preserved elsewhere, and when its corruptions became so striking, that the primitive apostolical character of the Church of Rome was completely effaced, they refused to give it the name of Catholic, and showed in what it had departed from true catholicity.

It may, perhaps, be said, that there were no Christians in the Alps in the time of the apostles. But the Apostolical Church did not die with the apostles; in the era of the martyrs the seeds of it were sown all over Italy. The Ambrosian office, which the Vaudois were reproached for having retained after it had been abolished elsewhere,¹ was not set up except in the 4th century; and the Epistle to the Laodiceans, which they preserved in some of their manuscripts,² also leads us back to the same date.

Thus the name Vaudois, in its original use, did not designate a particular sect, but merely the Christians of the valleys. When this name had become a term of reproach among the Papists, the ignorance of the middle ages made it synonymous with *magician*

contraria a la salu.—[The cause of our separation from the ritual unity [unity of the customs] of the Roman Church, and from all things, in whole or part, having resemblance thereto and contrary to the truth, may be viewed in two ways. The one is [a regard to] the truth which saves: the other, to the falsehood which is contrary to salvation.]

La verita pertenen a la salu es de duas maneras: luna essential, o substancial, l'autra ministerial; josta loqual cosa e la falseta, es departia parelhament en falseta substancial, e en falseta ministerial.—[The truth pertaining unto salvation may be viewed in two ways, in its substantial essence and in rites; and wherever falsehood is found, it will be found equally as falsehood in substance and falsehood in rites.]

Farther on they distinctly use the word *Reformation* in respect of all the abuses which have been introduced into the church, pronouncing it to be necessary, if that church wishes still to be called Christian. Still farther on they plainly point it out as the *Antichrist*.—See Perrin, pp. 253-295.

¹ Fournier, *Hist. des Alpes*, &c.—MS. of Gap, p. 263.

² *Bible Vaudoise*, public library of Lyons, No. 60.

or *infidel*;¹ but the Vaudois themselves called themselves only by the name of Christians, and above all, endeavoured to merit it.

That the Vaudois, notwithstanding their small number, remained the representatives of the universal church, and were the precursors and not the disciples of the Reformation, is entirely owing to the word of God, the gospel of Christ. It may be that they did not understand it always so well as the Reformers; that they shared in some of the religious forms of the Romish Church; that they even admitted doctrinal articles which we do not admit at the present day (the distinction, for example, betwixt mortal and venial sins); it is not their infallibility for which we would contend, but that which gave them their strength, their unity, their perseverance in the gospel, in one word, their individuality as a church, at once Catholic when viewed in reference to the Bible, and Protestant when viewed in reference to Catholicism; their maintenance of the absolute authority of the word of God, and of the doctrine of salvation by Jesus Christ. The Vaudois, therefore, are not schismatics, but the continued inheritors of the church founded by the apostles. This church then bore the name of Catholic, and was persecuted by the Pagans. Afterwards, becoming powerful and persecuting in its turn, it underwent a vitiation of its very nature in Catholicism, whilst it was preserved in the Vaudois valleys simple, free, and pure, as in the time of persecution.

We find, accordingly, that the writers nearest to the time of Valdo do not speak of the Vaudois as if they were the disciples of that reformer, but present them to our notice as if they derived their origin from their valleys.² Moreover, it was in these valleys that, according to writers of the same country, opponents of the Vaudois, Peter de Bruys, the precursor of Valdo, was born;³ from

¹ See Jacques Duclerc, *Memoires sur la Vaudoiserie d'Arras*.—MS. of the ancient library of the abbey of Saint Waast, at Arras, fol. G. Even Joan of Arc was condemned as a *Vaudoise*.—See Mézeray, Michelet, &c.

² *Dicti sunt . . . a valle densa.*—(Bernard, *Contra Valdenses et Arianos* in Gretzeri Opera, t. xii., prefatory part of the work.) *Valdenses . . . eo quod in valle.*—(Eberhard, *Liber Anti-hæresis*, c. xxv. This writer elsewhere calls the Vaudois by the simple name of *Mountaineers*, which still further confirms the idea that he regarded them as originally belonging to their mountains.—See *Max. Bibl. Patrum*, vol. xx. col. 1039.)

³ Father Albert, (in his *History of the Diocese of Embrun*, i. 56), and the Jesuit Fournier, (in his *History of the Maritime or Cottian Alps*, and particularly of their metropolitan city, Embrun, a MS. in fol., of which the original, in Latin, is at Lyons, and the translation, which I quote, in the library of the Little Seminary at Gap), also Raymond Juvenis (author of unpublished *Historical Memoirs* and *Procureur du Roi*, at Gap, about the end of the 17th century), say that Peter de Bruys derived his descent from the Val-Louise, one of the Vaudois valleys of Dauphiny.

which it would follow that the doctrines common to these two reformers must have been known in these valleys before the appearance of Valdo. These doctrines, in fact, are already alluded to before that period, and even in official documents.¹

The name of Valdo seems to have been neither a baptismal² nor a family name.³ If it was only a designation, we may suppose that it was given in consequence of his connection with the Vaudois of the Alps,⁴ and his propagation of their doctrines. But even if a Christian at Lyons named Valdo,⁵ had participated in these doctrines, and had left his disciples the name of *Vaudois*, it would not follow that the Vaudois of the Alps were the disciples of Valdo. We even find this name and these doctrines in a poem in the Romance tongue anterior by half-a-century to Valdo. But the date of the poem has been disputed; it shall be examined in a subsequent part of this work.⁶

The edict of Otho IV., of date A.D. 1209, ascribes to the Vaudois of Piedmont a notoriety and an influence so great, that it may

¹ The Val-Louise is mentioned as *infested with heresy* so early as the year 1096, in a bull of Urban II., cited by Brunet, Seigneur de l'Argentiére.—(*Collection of Acts, Papers, and Proceedings relative to the perpetual emphyteosis of the Tithes of the Briançonnais*, p. 55.) In this bull the Val-Louise is called *Vallis Gyrontana*, from the name of the *Gyron*, or *Gyr*, a torrent which flows through it. Concerning the different names of this valley, see at the commencement of chap. iii. of part I. of this work.

² Because he was called *Peter*.—"Predicto Petro, quidam se adjunxit qui dictus erat Johannes, et erat de Lugduno."—Philichdorffius, *De Hæresi Valdensium*, c. i. *Bibliotheca Max.* PP. t. xxv. 278.

³ Family names were not in use at that period. Individuals received some designation derived from their profession, their personal appearance, or their character, as, *James the Weaver*, *Thomas the Red*, *Richard Cœur-de-Lion*, &c.

⁴ In his character of a *foreign merchant*. To this notion is objected the difficulty of deriving the words *Valdo* and *Valdenses* from *vallis*, a valley. But how many words have we which have not followed, in their formation, the rules of an exact etymology? These arbitrary derivations were especially numerous in the middle ages. The objection would be of force only if that disputed derivation were the fact supposed in a hypothesis of our framing, but it existed already in the days of Valdo. *Valdenses . . . dicti sunt . . . a valle densa*.—(See note at bottom of p. 13.) Moreover, Eberhard de Bethune calls the Vaudois *Vallenses*, giving the same etymology of the word.—(See note above referred to.) De Thou calls them indifferently *Vallenses*, *Valdenses*, or *Convallenses*.—*Histor. lib. xxvii.*, &c.

⁵ The name of Valdo was not rare in the middle ages. In 739 we have *Valdo*, Abbot of St. Maximin, at Trèves; in 769, and in 830, the same name occurs again amongst the *freemen*, subscribers for donations to the abbey of Wissembourg; in 786 lived *Valdo*, Abbot of Richenau, near St. Denys; in 881 *Valdo*, Bishop of Freisingen; in 907 *Valdo*, member of the Synod of Vienne; in 960 *Valdo*, Bishop of Como, &c.—Letter of M. Schmidt, May 26, 1850.

⁶ *La Nobla Leyczon*, bearing the date A.D. 1100. For discussion of the subject of this date, see in the Bibliography of the *Israel of the Alps*, part I. sec. ii. § 3, art. xxiv., and part II. sec. i. § 3; MS. 207, art. v.

be presumed they were already of long standing in the country.¹ Supposing that the disciples of Valdo had taken refuge in the Alps about the end of the 12th century, it would be very difficult to admit that they could have so filled both the Vaudois valleys of Dauphiny and those of Piedmont in less than one generation, as to have acquired that influence which is ascribed to them, alike by this edict on the one hand, and by that of Alphonso of Arragon, Marquis of Provence, on the other.² It would be impossible to account for such an increase, save on the supposition that the new refugees had already in that country brethren of their own religion;³ whilst their settling in that country can hardly be explained but by supposing the previous existence of their brethren in religion there.⁴ On either of these suppositions, the Vaudois of the Alps must have been prior to the disciples of Valdo.

The idiom of the *Nobla Leyczon* being the language of the Alps, and not that of the Lyonnais,⁵ this poem must have been written by inhabitants of the mountains, and not by strangers. But since it cannot have been composed, except between the years 1100 and 1190⁶—since in 1100 the disciples of Valdo of Lyons were not yet in existence—since in 1190 scarcely six years had elapsed from the time of their banishment from Lyons,⁷ and it is not probable that in so short a time they could have acquired a new language, so as all at once to endow it with the most perfect works which it had yet produced—since, moreover, in the precarious position in which they were placed, they must have had something else to do than to write poems—and, finally, since in the *Nobla Leyczon* there is no mention of Valdo nor of his disciples, not even an allusion to their existence, I am compelled to believe that it is

¹ See *Monumenta Patriæ*, III. col. 488. The fault found with the Vaudois in this decree is in these words, *Zizaniæ seminant*, which, according to the notion of some, would seem to indicate that their presence in that country was recent, but, in my opinion, would rather imply that their activity had increased.

² In 1192, according to D'Argentré (*Collectio judic. de novis errorib. t. i. fol. 83*),—in 1194, according to Eyméric (*Directorium Inquisit. p. 282*), Alphonso II. was Marquis of Provence. The Vaudois are named in that edict. We may therefore consider them as existing in Provence at that date.

³ Without this it can scarcely be explained how they could have known that they would find an asylum there.

⁴ That is, if the disciples of Valdo did indeed take refuge in the Alps.

⁵ See the Bibliography of the *Israel of the Alps*, part II. sec. i. § 1, art. vii. and § 2, MS. 7. ⁶ The same Bibliography, part I. sec. ii. § 3, art. xxiv.

⁷ In 1179 Valdo presented to Pope Alexander III. a translation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue, and was present at the Council of Lateran, where divers heretics were condemned. But it does not appear that Valdo was of the number, as Mapes, Archdeacon of Oxford, who was present at that council, reports that the Pope embraced Valdo and granted him part of the things which he demanded. This is

not among the disciples of Valdo that we are to look for the author of that poem.

In fact, if the Vaudois of Lyons had found it necessary to write such a work, it is evident that they would have written it in the language which was familiar to them, that is to say, in the idiom of the Lyonnais, and not in that of the Alps. And, even supposing that they could have known the latter idiom, I confidently say that they would not have employed it, at least, not unless there had been already in the Alps natives who held the same doctrines with themselves, for otherwise, these natives would have been their adversaries, and the disciples of Valdo, whose object it was to conceal themselves, would have avoided the language of their adversaries, rather than made choice of it. Whence I conclude, that these poems were not their productions;—that they are to be ascribed to natives of the Alps who spoke that language;—and that these natives were Vaudois anterior to Valdo.

Their history is only a portion of the great history of the martyrs; they acquired new importance, from century to century, by the very calamities which they endured. Their importance, always religious, does not secure their title to a place in the political records of the nations; yet the place of this people, so small in numbers, is one of such prominence in the records of human opinion, that the course of their history through calm and storm up to the present day, is to be traced with the greatest interest.

Their existence, by exceptional provision, under an oppressive and violent government, has now terminated. The era of the martyr people has lately been brought to a close by the hand of modern liberty. Let us trust that we may look upon the past as a history concluded, and that a new career opens up to the Vaudois of glorious progress in the future. May they always carry along with them the true spirit of Christianity!

confirmed by the *Chronicle of Laon*, according to which it even appears that Valdo had obtained authorization for preaching, but under certain reservations. Moneta also gives us to understand the same thing.—(Authors cited by Gilly, *Romaunt Version*, Introd. p. lxxxix.-xciv.) But these reservations were probably not attended to; and Valdo was condemned in the Council of Verona (by Lucius III., in 1184), when the emperor engaged to exert himself for the extirpation of heretics. It was in consequence of this condemnation, between 1185 and 1188, that Valdo was expelled from Lyons with his disciples.

PART FIRST.

HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS, FROM THEIR ORIGIN TO THE TIME WHEN THEY WERE CIRCUMSCRIBED WITHIN THE VALLEYS OF PIEDMONT ALONE.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN, MANNERS, DOCTRINE, AND ORGANIZATION OF THE VAUDOIS IN ANCIENT TIMES.¹

The Vaudois in the Early Ages—their Ecclesiastical Independence—their *Barbas*, or Ministers and Missionaries—their Adherents in different parts of Italy—their Church Government, and Mode of Worship—their Doctrine—Sacraments, Confession, &c.—Persecutions—Persecution by the Emperor Otho IV. in 1209.

THE Vaudois of the Alps are, in my opinion, primitive Christians, or descendants and representatives of the primitive church, preserved in these valleys from the corruptions successively introduced by the Church of Rome into the religion of the gospel. It is not they who have separated from Catholicism, but Catholicism which has separated from them by changing the primitive religion.

Hence arises the impossibility of assigning any precise date for the commencement of their history. The Church of Rome, which at first also was a part of the primitive church, did not change all at once; but as it became powerful, it adopted, along with the sceptre, the pomp, the pride, and the spirit of domination which usually accompany the possession of power; whilst, in the retirement of the Vaudois valleys, that primitive church was reduced to an obscure existence, retaining its freedom in its isolation, and thenceforth little tempted to abandon the pure simplicity of its first days. The independence of the diocese of Milan, to which the Christians of the Alps then belonged, and that of which the episcopal see of Turin

¹ AUTHORITIES.—Ancient Vaudois MSS. in the Romance language, deposited in libraries—of Lyons, No. 60; of Grenoble, No. 488 (ancient shelves, 8595); of Geneva, Nos. 43, 206, 207, 208, 209; and of Trinity College, Dublin, class A. IV. 13, class C. V. 13, 21, 22, class C. IV. 17 and 18.

gave evidence, by opposing the worship of images in the 9th century,¹ must have contributed to their security in that situation.

The Vaudois have been represented as deriving their origin from Valdo of Lyons, and it is indisputable that that reformer had disciples to whom he left the name of Vaudois; but this is not sufficient to prove that the Vaudois of the Alps derive their origin from him. Many circumstances, on the contrary, seem to establish their existence anterior to his time,² and perhaps it was from them that he derived the name by which he is now known.³

The Vaudois valleys could not always preserve that unnoticed independence in which their security consisted. Catholicism having gradually attired itself in new forms of worship unknown to the apostles, made the contrast daily more striking between its pompous innovations, and the ancient simplicity of the Vaudois. In order, therefore, to reduce them to the despotic unity of Rome, there were sent against them the agents of a ministry equally unknown to apostolic times. These were the inquisitors.⁴ In consequence of the resistance which they encountered in these retired mountainous regions, the valley of Lucerna was placed under ban.⁵ But this measure served only to make more manifest the line of demarcation betwixt the two churches; for whilst the Vaudois had not schismatically separated themselves from the Catholic Church, whose external forms they still retained, they had their own clergy, their own religious service, and their own parishes.

Their pastors were designated Barbas.⁶ It was in the almost inaccessible solitude of a deep mountain-pass that they had their school, where the whole influences of external nature were opposed to anything soft and yielding in the soul.⁷ They were required

¹ See, in particular, the *Life of Claude of Turin*, who occupied the episcopal see for more than twenty years after having declared against these innovations.—Basnage, *Church History*, ii. 1308.

² BERNARD DE FONTCAUD (de fonte calido), who died in 1193 (Herzog, *De orig. et pristino statu Wald.*, &c., p. 2), wrote *Contra Valdenses et Arianos*. He makes no mention of Valdo in this work. The Vaudois are classed with the Arians, but not confounded with them. EBERHARD, or EVRARD DE BETHUNE (*Biblioth. Max.* PP. t. xxiv.), the time of whose death is unknown, but cannot be far from that of the preceding author, speaks of the Vaudois without speaking of Valdo, from which it may be inferred that he knew nothing of the latter, who was probably his junior, and that the Vaudois of whom he speaks are anterior to Valdo.—See the Bibliography at the end of this work, part I. sec. ii. § 3, art. xxiv.

³ In consequence of his probable connection with the Vaudois valleys, for he was a foreign merchant, and his name was Peter.

⁴ Driven from the Valley of Angrogna in 1308, they reappeared in that of Lucerna in 1332.—Brief of John XXII., July 20, 1332.

⁵ In 1453, by Nicolas V.—See the concluding chapter of the Bibliography.

⁶ A title of respect; in the Vaudois idiom literally signifying an *uncle*.

⁷ This pass, situated in the valley of Angrogna, is called *Pra du Tour*.

to commit to memory the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, the general epistles, and a part of those of St. Paul. They were instructed, moreover, during two or three successive winters, and trained to speak in Latin, in the Romance language, and in Italian. After this they spent some years in retirement, and then were set apart to the holy ministry by the administration of the Lord's Supper, and by imposition of hands. They were supported by the voluntary contributions of the people. These were divided annually in a general synod: one part was given to the ministers, one to the poor, and the third was reserved for the missionaries of the church.

These missionaries always went forth two and two, to wit, a young man and an old one. The latter was called the *Regidor*, and his companion the *Coadjutor*. They traversed Italy, where they had stations organized in many places, and secret adherents in almost all the towns. At Venice they reckoned 6000;¹ at Genoa they were not less numerous. Vignaux speaks of a pastor of the valley of Lucerna, who was away from it for a period of seven years.² The Barba Jacob was returning from a missionary tour in 1492, when he was arrested by the troops of Cattaneé on the Col de Coste-Plane, as he passed from the valley of Pragela to that of Freyssinières;³ and the records⁴ of judicial investigations directed against the Vaudois from 1350 to 1500, and so often quoted by Bossuet,⁵ make mention also of the characteristic circumstance of these habitual journeys.

What a delightful and truly festival time it must have been to these scattered Christians, when the missionary pastor came amongst them, expected all the year with the certainty of the regularly returning seasons!—a time soon past, but fraught with blessings, and in which the fruits of the soul and the harvest of the Lord made progress towards maturity.

Each pastor was required to become missionary in his turn. The younger ones were thus initiated into the delicate duties of evangelization—each of them being under the experienced guidance of a man of years, who, according to the discipline of his church, was his superior, and whom he was bound to obey in everything, as matter of duty, and not merely out of deference. The old man, on his part, thus made his preparation for repose, by training for

¹ Gilles, p. 20.

² Quoted by Perrin, p. 241.

³ Perrin, p. 241, marginal note 4.

⁴ These records formerly belonged to the private library of Colbert, from which they passed to that of the Marquis of Seignelay. Bonnet and Lelong quote them in their dictionaries. I know not what has become of them. A manuscript in folio, in the library of the Little Seminary of Gap, contains a number of fragments of them, which I have consulted. ⁵ *History of Variations*, b. xi. § ci. et seq.

the church successors worthy of it and of himself. His task being accomplished, he could die in peace, with the consolatory assurance of having transmitted the sacred trust of the gospel into prudent and zealous hands.

Besides this, the Barbas received instructions in some trade or profession, by which they might be enabled to provide for their own wants. Some were hawkers, others artisans, the greater part physicians or surgeons, and all were acquainted with the cultivation of the soil and the keeping of flocks, to the care of which they had been accustomed in their early years. Very few of them were married; and their perpetual missions, their poverty, their missionary tours, their life always spent amidst warfare and dangers, make it easy to understand the reason of their celibacy.

In the annual synod, which was held in the valleys, inquiry was made concerning the conduct of the pastors, and changes of residence were made amongst them. The Barbas actually employed in the ministry, were changed from place to place every three years—two of them always exchanging places with one another, except the aged men, who were no longer removed. A general director of the church was named at each synod, with the title of president or moderator. The latter title became more prevalent, and continues to this day.

The Vaudois Barbas were bound to visit the sick, whether sent for or not. They nominated arbiters in disputes; they admonished those who behaved ill, and if remonstrances produced no effect, they went the length of excommunication; but it was very rare. Their preaching, catechizing, and other exercises of instruction and devotion, were generally similar to those of the Reformed churches, except that the worshippers pronounced, with a low voice, the prayer which preceded and that which followed the sermon. The Vaudois had likewise hymns, which they only sung in private; which, moreover, agrees with what we know of the customs of the primitive church.

Their doctrines were equally analogous, or rather were remarkably identical with those of the apostolic times, and of the earliest fathers of the church. They may be briefly summed up in these few words:—*The absolute authority and inspiration of the Bible*¹—

¹ Nos creen . . . tot czo qu'es contenu al velh e al novel Testament esser segella e autentica d'l sagel d'l sant Sperit . . . e tota la ley d'Xt. istar tan ferma en verita que una letra o un point d'ley meseyma, non poissa mancar ni defalhir.—[We believe that all which is contained in the Old and New Testaments is sealed and authenticated by the seal of the Holy Spirit, . . . and that the whole law of Christ is so firmly established in truth, that not one letter nor one point of it can be lacking or fail.]—Vaudois MS. of Trinity College Library, Dublin, C, V, 22,

*the Trinity in the Godhead*¹—*the sinful state of man*²—*and free salvation by Jesus Christ*³—but above all, *faith working by love*.⁴

It may, perhaps, surprise many to be told that, before the Reformation, the Vaudois never disputed with the Romish Church the number of the sacraments which it received.⁵ They, in fact, contented themselves with remarking that Jesus Christ instituted only two of them; and as the gospel, upon which they always founded, had not formally indicated that number, nor even made use of the word *sacrament*, it was very natural for them to acquiesce concerning this point in the decision of the church, as they afterwards did in that of the Reformers.⁶

under the title *Tresor e lume de fe*, fol. 176, *et seq.*, and in No. 208 (unpaged) of the Vaudois MSS. of Geneva.

¹ Lo premier article de la nostra fe es que nos creyen en un dio payre tot poissant, . . . local dio es un en trenita.—[The first article of our faith is, that we believe in one God, the Almighty Father, . . . which God is one in Trinity.]—Authorities as above. Dublin, fol. 180.—Geneva, *de li articles d'la fe*: See also the catechism, *Interrogations menors*, published by Perrin, &c.

² Nos sen concepu en pecca e en miseria. Larma tray soczura de pecca. Pecca, soczura, enequita sovent, pensen, parlen, eobren fellonosament.—[We are conceived in sin and in misery. The soul carries along with it a defilement of sin. Sin, defilement, and iniquity attend us; we think, speak, and act wickedly.]—*La Barca*. MS. of Geneva, No. 207, and of Dublin, No. 21.

³ This point of doctrine is the special subject of the fourth article of faith set forth in the Dublin MS. No. 22, and Geneva MS. No. 208.

L' hereta celestial, el meseyme, Xrist, filh de dio, promes donar a li veray cootivador de la fe.—[Jesus Christ, himself the Son of God, promises to give the heavenly inheritance to those who truly continue in the faith.]—Geneva MS. 609.

Nostra salu . . . e premierament en la eslecion e donacion de gra delle sua gracia, fayent agradivole, . . . secondament en la participacion del merit de notre Segnor Salvador Yeshu Xrist.—[Our salvation is primarily in the election and free gift of his grace, making us agreeable to him. Secondly, in the participation of the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.]—MS. of Dublin, C, V, 25, first piece: *Ayczo es la causa del despartiment de la Gleysa Romana*.

⁴ Non possibla cosa es ali vivent, complir li comandament de dio silh non han la fe: e non puon amar luy perfectament ni cun carita silh non gardan li seo comandament.—[It is impossible for any in this life to fulfil the commandments of God if they have not faith; and they cannot love him perfectly, nor with a proper love, if they keep not his commandments.]—Vaudois MSS. of Geneva, No. 208, fol. 2.

⁵ The Vaudois MS. of Dublin, C, V, 22 (left-hand side of fol. 181), contains a tract *de li set sacrament*. This is partly found in the MS. 208 of Geneva, fol. 17-26, and in MS. 209, fol. 9, where marriage is called *lo cart sagrament* de la gleysa*, with this observation:—

Enayma el fo aiosta non despartivolment al cal eles desser garda sant e non socza.—[Although it has been added, not according to an exact classification, yet it ought to be kept holy and not polluted.]

⁶ The passages of the Vaudois writings in the Romance language, which have been

⁷ The diversity of orthography, which may be remarked in the same words of different quotations, is owing to the difference of copies, or of the era at which they were made; sometimes, but rarely, to the negligence of the copyists; and often to the uncertainty of the orthography itself, before the language was properly formed.

They admitted *Confession*;¹ but let us observe in what circumstances. Confession, say they, is of two kinds; the first must be made to God from the inmost heart; without which, no one can be saved.² The second kind is that which is made with audible voice to the priest, in order to receive counsel from him; and this confession is good, when that of the heart has preceded it. But, alas! many confide only in the latter, and fall into perdition.³

They admitted the sacrament of *Repentance*, but again let us note how. "Acts of repentance are excellent, and becoming on the part of every sinner; but they must proceed from abhorrence of sin, and sorrow for having committed it. Otherwise it is a false repentance, and a false repentance alienates a man from God as much as a true repentance brings him near to him."⁴ Such a false repentance is that which reposes upon vain satisfactions; for what good thing

already published, and which have tended to give currency to a different opinion, either on this question or on the following, must have been modified in the copies which have served as the basis of these publications, for they do not correspond with the primitive text of the most ancient MSS. Many proofs of this might be adduced, but the plan of the present work forbids. It is sufficient for me to guarantee the correctness of my own quotations, which have all been taken from the original MSS.

¹ See Dublin MS. 22, fol. 243, *et seq.*; Geneva MS. 209, fol. 17,—and 207, concluding treatise *de la Penitencia*, fol. antepenult.; and concerning *absolution*, which they did not admit, see Dublin MS. 22, fol. 383.

² Al repentent se conven la confession, local es en dui modo. La primera es interior, czo es de cor al Segnor dio. . . . E senca aquella confession, alcun non se po salvar.—Geneva MS. 207, final treatise, article *Quartament*.

³ La segunda confession es vocal, czo es al preyre, per pilhar conselh de luy, e aquesta confession es bona, cun aquella primera . . . sere devant anna. Ma oylas! moti home despreczan aquesta interior . . . e solament se confidan a la vocal, e aquella creon que lor sia abastant a salu . . . e cagio en desespercion.—Subsequent part of the same paragraph. See also Geneva MS. 209, treatise *de la Penitencia*, with some modifications in the terms. The same treatise is to be found in the sixth shelf of MSS. at Dublin, art. 37.

⁴ Such is the general import of the treatise on *Repentance*, Dublin MS. 22; Geneva MS. 207, at the end, and MS. 209, at the beginning.

En ayma lome sapropria a dio e al regne de li cel per la vera penitencia; enayma el se delogna de dio e del regne de li cel per la falsa penitencia.—[As much as man draws near to God and to the kingdom of heaven by true repentance, so much does he alienate himself from God and from the kingdom of heaven by a false repentance.]

La vera es habandonnar li pecca comes et plorar lor, e degitar totas las caysons de li pecca, e doler se senca fin, e annar a dio de tot lo cor. . . .—[True repentance is to forsake sins which we have committed, and to mourn over them, and to avoid all occasions of sin, lamenting [*the commission of sin*] without ceasing, and going to God with the whole heart.]

Donca lo repentent deo irar lo pecca . . . e aquilh que non han en odi li pecca de li autre, e non desvian lor segont lo lor poer . . . aitals non son veray penitent, &c. (the beginning and end of the treatise.)—[He who repents must therefore hate sin . . . and he who does not abhor it even in others, turning them from it to the utmost of his power . . . such a man knows nothing of true repentance.]

can you do that you were not bound in duty to have done? and if you do not those things which you ought, what shall you substitute for them? The whole world could not deliver us from our sins; but he alone has made satisfaction for them, who is both Creator and creature at once, namely Christ.¹

Therefore, with good reason, they add that idolatry has no other cause than these false opinions by which Antichrist takes away grace, truth, authority, invocation, and intercession from God, in order to ascribe them to the ministry and to the works of his own hands, namely, the saints and purgatory.²

The Vaudois, however, do not cease to recommend *almsgiving*,³ as a means of fighting against sin, by the giving up of those riches which might have served as its instrument, and by the help of the prayers of the poor thus solicited.⁴ It is with the same object that they recommend *fasting*, by which a man is humbled;⁵ but fasting without charity is like a lamp without oil, it smokes and does not

Encara al pentent conven la satisfacion, e aquesta es de grev condicion . . . per laqual alcun punis la cosa non raczonivol laqual el fey; e aquesta satisfacion perman en tre cosas czo es en oracion, en dejunis e en almosinas, &c.—[There is still one thing of great importance pertaining to him who truly repents, to wit, satisfaction . . . by which there are some who punish the unreasonable thing which they have done; and this satisfaction consists in three things, namely, prayer, fasting, and alms.]—Same treatise *de la Penitencia*.

¹ En tant sistent punicion o venianca quant es aquel contra loqual l'a pecca. Donca la pena o loffenca es non mesurivol, e non mesurivol es dio contra loqual ha pecca. Donca oylas, non deoria peccar per alcuna cosa, ni encar per tot lo mont. Car tot le mont non poeria deslirar del pecca. Donca lo es manifest que alcun de si non po satisfar per lo pecca; ma aquel sol satisfare, local es creator e creatura czo es Xrist, local a satisfait per li nostra pecca.—[The pardon or punishment ought in reason to be according to the greatness of him against whom we have sinned. Wherefore there is no more proportion betwixt the punishment and the offence, than there is betwixt God and the sinner. [The offence is infinite against an infinite God.] Wherefore, alas! a man ought not to commit sin for the sake of anything, not even of the whole world, for the whole world could not deliver us from sin. It is, therefore, manifest that no one, of himself, could offer satisfaction for sin; but that he alone could satisfy who is both creator and creature at once, to wit, Christ, who has satisfied for our sins.]—Extract from Geneva MS. 209, obtained through the obliging attention of M. Tron, minister, native of the Vaudois valleys. It is to be found, also, at the end of MS. 207, and in the Dublin MS. 22, fol. 358.

² Non es alcuna altra causa didolatria sinon falsa opinion de gratia, de verita, de authorita, d'evocation, d'entrepellacion [*intercession*], laqual el meseyme Antechrist departie de dio e en Li menestier e en las authoritas e en las obros de las soas mans, e a li sanct e al purgatori; e aquesta enequita de Antechrist es dreitament contra de la fe, e contra lo premier comandament de la ley.—Vaudois book of *Antichrist*, quoted by Perrin, p. 287, Leger, p. 81, and Monastier, p. 355.

³ *De l'almosina*, Geneva MS. 209, p. 21, and in the *Vergier de consolacion* which concludes the volume. See also the *Liber Virtutum* of MS. 206, and this last-named treatise in the Dublin MS. 22.

⁴ Geneva MS. 209, p. 40.

⁵ Id. art. *Remedi contra li pecca*.

give light.¹ *Prayer* is, according to them, essentially implied in love;² and they add that patience, and constancy, and gentleness, and resignation, and charity, are the seal of the Christian.³ As for those who would devolve upon others the care of their salvation, seeking the prayers of priests and of monks, masses, indulgences, *neuvaines*, &c., they forget the word of God, which declares that every one shall bear his own burden.⁴ They recommend, indeed, that men should go to the priests, who have *the power of binding and of loosing*;⁵ but let us take notice how they understand this, "that is to say, who know how to give good advice for a man's deliverance from the bondage of sin."⁶ Not that they expect any

¹ Lo dejuni senza lalmosina non es alcun ben; ezo es senza lalmosina de carita et es pardonar a li seo enemis e prager per lor; lo dejuni senza lalmosina es enayma la lucerna senza holi, laquel fma e non luczis.—[Fasting without almsgiving does no good: to wit, without the almsgiving of charity, which consists in pardoning our enemies, and praying for them. Fasting without almsgiving is like a lamp without oil, which smokes and does not give light.]—Geneva MS. 209, fol. 20.

² Aquel non laissa de aurar loqual non laissa damar; e aquel laissa de amar local laissa de aurar.—[He ceases not to pray who never ceases to love; and he ceases to love who ceases to pray.]—Vaudois MS. of Geneva, 209, fol. 8. This admirable sentiment is much more just than that of M. Courier, so often quoted, *He who works, prays*, and it is more evangelical! In this quotation may be seen an example of the variableness which then prevailed in orthography; *local* and *loqual*; *damar* and *de amar*.

³ Donca, non basta a lome de junar et orar et far autras cosas; car aquestas cosas son petitas; ma sufrir patientament ezo que dio permet, play plus a dio que aquellas cosas que lome eilegis de si, eun ezo sia que aquellas cosas aiudon.—[Wherefore it is not enough for a man to fast, to pray, and to do other *such like* things; for these things are small. But to suffer patiently what God permits, pleases him more than these things which are of the choice of man himself; however these things contribute to it.]—Geneva MS., end of the volume, and Dublin MSS., vol. vi. § 11.

⁴ La penitencia es vana local es derecho feria e socza plus greoment. Car li geyment non profeitan alcuna cosa se li pecca son replica. Moti scampan lacrimas non deffalivolment e non deffalhon de peccar. Cum lome retorne al pecca la cayson es aquesta: car el non es converti a dio de tot lo cor. Es decebivol aquesta penitencia permanent en comprament de messas preypals, en communion annuals e en hinficar capellas . . . &c.—[The repentance is vain, which *[admitting of relapse]* is again more seriously broken and defiled; for lamentations are good for nothing, if the man falls back into sin. Many cease not to shed tears, and cease not to sin. When a man falls again into sin, the reason is that he has not been converted to God with his whole heart. That repentance is deceitful which is limited to the purchase of presbyterial masses, to annual communions, and the decoration of chapels.]—Passages extracted from the first four paragraphs of the treatise *de la Penitencia*, Geneva MS. 207, at the end.

⁵ Aquel que se vol verament pentir quera lo prever local sapia ligar e desligar.—[He who would truly repent should go to the priest, who knows how to bind and to loose.]—*De la Penitencia*, art. iv. § 2.

⁶ Ligat e desligat, ezo es ben conoisse lo pecca, e ben conselhar.—[To bind and to loose, signifies, to discern sins well and to give good counsel *[to the sinner]*.—Geneva MS. 209, art. *de la Penitencia*.

absolution from them, for this they designate a delusive thing;¹ but because, they say, as a sick man seeks the best physician who can assist nature in him, and free him from his malady, even so the sinner ought to seek the best counsellor in order to get quit of sin;² and that feeling of guiltiness, the strength of which attests the sensibility of the soul in which it is experienced, presses so sore amongst these rustic and ancient Vaudois, that they never cease to bring forward the expression of it again and again in their different works. "We have turned aside from the path of truth. The light of righteousness shines not in us." "The sun of understanding is covered with clouds; iniquity holds us fast in its trammels."³ "I am weak for that which is good, and strong for that which is evil."⁴ "In the name of God, my brethren, renounce the world, that you may follow the Lord."⁵ "The works of man are of little avail for salvation."⁶ Such is their mode of speaking. They like-

¹ . . . So cre satisfar par li seo pecca per ezo que li es encharja del preire. . . . Aquesta penitencia decebivol perman en assolucion preipals. . . .—[. . . He supposes he has made satisfaction for *[the guilt of]* his sins, because he has intrusted the priest with them. . . . Such is the delusive repentance which priestly absolution engenders.]—Same treatise, *De la Penitencia*, No. 207, art. ii. and iii.

² Coma fay lo malate per recobrar la sanita corporal, cerca lo melhor mege . . . &c.—[As the sick man does in order to recover his bodily health, seeking the best physician . . . &c.]

Enayma spiritualment per lo bon conselh de li bon preire . . . &c.—[So spiritually, by the counsels of good priests* . . . &c.]

Car silh refudan desser ressemilhadors de li apostol, ilh faren a vos come iuda.—[For if they refuse to be like the apostles, they will serve you like Judas.]—Same treatise; but in MS. 209, for the last leaves of MS. 207 have been torn off, and are wanting.

³ Nos haven erra de la via de verita, e lo lume de justicia non luczis a nos, e lo solelh dentendament non nasque a nos. Nos sen lacza en las vias denequita e sen anna en las vias greos, e haven mesconoyu la via del Segnor.—MS. 207, last treatise, § vi. The following is a literal translation of these last phrases:—"The sun of understanding has not risen [been born] for us; we are entered into the ways of iniquity, and have walked in evil ways, and have not known the ways of the Lord."

⁴ Temeros soy a far ben e forment pareczos.

E ardi a far lo mal e mot evananczos.

—[I am timorous, and very slow to do good; but courageous and very forward to do evil.]—Vaudois Poems. *Confession of Sins*. Dublin MSS. C, V, 21.

⁵ Prego vos caramente per l'amor del Segnor,

Abandonna lo segle serve a dio cum temor.

—[I pray you affectionately, by the love of the Lord, to abandon the world, and to serve God without fear.]—*Lo Novel Comfort*. Geneva MS. 207, and Dublin, 21, first part.

⁶ Cant lome ha sapiencia e non ha lo poer

Dio li o reconta perfait cant el ha bon voler;

Ma cant elha poiscenza e grant entendament

Li profeta mot poc cant al seo salvament.

* It is not to be taken for granted that this word *priest* was exclusively applied to the Catholic priests; it was probably also a general designation which the Vaudois gave to their pastors; for, in respect to the consecration of these pastors, it is said that they were received into the office of the priesthood, *en l'office del preverage*.—*Book of George Morel*. Dublin MSS. C. V. 18.

wise add that it is impossible for man to perform his duties without faith. "Yes, I know that thou canst do nothing by thyself; but call upon the Lord for help, and he will hear thee."¹

Finally, let us take notice that the Vaudois acknowledged, like the Catholics, the distinction rejected by Protestants, betwixt mortal sins and venial sins;² but that they were very far from meaning by these terms to extenuate the heinousness of any sin, because they said of sin in general, "Sin annihilates man, and brings him down from the position which he ought to occupy."³ These terms, moreover, which may be traced to a very high antiquity in the annals of the church, might be thought to derive countenance from that passage of St. John, "All unrighteousness is sin; and there is a sin not unto death."⁴

The Vaudois had also their own *houses of retirement from the world*.⁵ In the number of the thirty-two propositions which were

—[When a man has understanding and has not power, God accounts him perfect, if so be that his will is right; but when a man has [mere] power and [barren] knowledge, this avails him very little for his salvation.]—*La Novel Sermon*, another Vaudois poem, contained in the same MSS., published entire by Hahn, and fragments of it by Raynouard and Monastier.

¹ Non possibla cosa es a li vivent complir li comandament silh non han la fe. (Geneva MS. 508, fol. 2.) Yo say que tu non poyres far ayezo de tu meseyme; ma apella dio, lo teo ajudador, e el esauzire tu, si tu seres fidel e istares curios [desirous] de la toa salu.—Geneva MS. 209, fol. 20.

² For this see the same MS. 209, fol. 20 and 21; MS. 208, *exposicio de li X comandament*, at the exposition of the fourth commandment; MS. 207, *sensec de la penitencia*, art. vi. § 2. This word *sensec*, which has sometimes been translated *sentiment* or *sensation*, signifies merely *followeth*. It is a form of expression frequently employed in passing from one subject to another; thus, after having treated of spiritual almsgiving (prayers, counsels), the author writes, *ara sensec della lmosina corporal*, "Here followeth of corporal almsgiving."

³ Lo pecca non es alcuna cosa natural, ma es corrupcion del ben, e defet de gracia, car lo pecca aniquilla lome e lo fay defalhir del bon esser.—[Sin is not anything natural [having its existence in the proper nature of things], but is the corruption of good, and want of grace; for sin annihilates man, and deprives him of all good existence [well-being].—*Qual cosa sia pecca*. Geneva MS. 209, fol. 21.

⁴ 1 John v. 17.

⁵ *Alcun d'nos ministres d'levangeli, ni alcunas de las nostras fennas non se maridan*.—Exhibition of the practices and doctrines of the Vaudois Church before the Reformation, presented by the Vaudois deputies to the Reformers.—*Book of George Morel*. MSS. of the Bible in Trinity College, Dublin, C, V, 18. (Dr. Todd, the librarian, has given, at considerable length, a monograph of this MS. in No. 113 of the *British Magazine*, p. 397, *et seq.*) Another passage may still be given from this MS. relative to the ordination of the Barbas,* and to the subject of this note:—*Tuit aquilh lighal se recebon entre de nos en l'offici del ministier evangelic*

* The Barbas, or Vaudois pastors, do not appear to have had a particular dress. An eye-witness describes them as clothed in a long white woollen robe (which probably means nothing more than an ample garment, with long skirts).—National Library of Paris, MSS. of Brienne, vol. 204.—*Informations of 25th October, 1544*; deposition of the third witness.—Others have seen some of them wearing a gray dress.—*Judicial Investigations concerning the Vaudois*; MSS. of Trin. Coll. Lib., Dublin, C. V. 19, vol. ix. § 18; and in Allix, "*Some Remarks*," &c., p. 318.

ascribed to them, and which were affixed upon the gates of the cathedral of Embrun, in 1489, the following occurs, "They deny that a Christian should ever take an oath." I cannot say, however, that they have anywhere made so absolute a declaration on this subject; but it is certain that they considered it as a fruit of perfection, that truth should never need from the lips of man the guarantee of any kind of oath. The perfect man, said they, ought not to swear;¹ and these words imply, on the other hand, the lawfulness of oaths, from the very absence of perfection, for no one is perfect here below.

Their opposition to the Church of Rome was always founded upon the Bible;² the character of a Christian, according to them, was to be found in the Christian life, and the Christian life was a gift of the grace of God.

The Barbas went once a year to each of the scattered hamlets of their parishes,³ in order to listen to each person apart in a *private confession*. But this confession had no other object than to obtain the salutary counsels of Christian experience, and not a delusive absolution.

venent la plus part del gardament de las bestias e del coltivement della terra, e de heta de 25 o alcuna vez de 30 anz, e al pos tot seneza letras. E prove li predit requerent entre de nos, trez o quatre mecz dyvern, per trez o quatre anz, si ill son de manieras convenivols e agradvols . . . Apres aquestas cosas, li predit requerent son amena en alcun luoc, alcal alcunas nostras fennas, lasquals son nostras, serons* en Jeshu Xrist vita en vergeneta; e en aquest luoc li predit demoron un an el alcuna vez dues; e poi en apres aquest temp consuma, son recepu cum lo sacrament de la eucharistia, e cum limposicion de las mans en l'offici del preverage e della predication; e en apres aiczo li trameten predicar duy a duy.

These ideas, so precisely expressed, serve to corroborate what we have said before. Part of these details may be found in Schultetus, *Annales Evangelii Renovati*, and in Ruchat's *History of the Reformation in Switzerland*, t. iii.

¹ Neun perfect non deoria husar de jurament.—Chap. xvi. of the *Vergier de Consolation*, Geneva MS. 209; and Dublin MS. C, IV, 27.

² In no polemical writing of the time will we find so large a number of quotations from the Bible as in those of the Vaudois. Many of the passages which they quote are at the present day differently understood, but nowhere was the authority of the Bible ever more respected.

³ *Plebeculam nostram semel singulis annis quia per diversos vicos habitant, adimus, ipsamque personam in confessione clandestine audimus*.—Exhibition of the customs of the Vaudois Church, made by its deputies (George Morel and Peter Masson) to the Reformers.—Quoted by Schultetus, *Annales Evangelii Renovati*, p. 299. We may suppose that the *district examinations* prevailing at the present day in the Vaudois Church are a relic of this custom. Each pastor is bound to go annually to each of the principal hamlets or *quarters* of his parish, to conduct there a separate religious service, to receive communications, and to give the most confidential advices, according to circumstances.—A. M.

* To follow on, to *continue*; hence the word *series*. This, therefore, is not an error of the transcriber, as has been supposed, and a proposal made to read *servon* (*serve*); moreover, it is impossible to say, *servon en Jeshu Xrist*. The translation of the passage is, *spend their life in virginity in Jesus Christ*.

Such was, in its principal features, the state of the Vaudois Church of the middle ages. In a poem in the Romance language, entitled *La Nobla Leyczon*, and which is of the date of the end of the 11th century, or the commencement of the 12th, the Vaudois are said to have been already persecuted upon account of their customs and their doctrines. We may form a ready notion of that war of a corrupt world against a people, the severe purity of whose manners condemned at once its disorders and its superstitions. "If there be any one of whom it is said, that he will not slander, nor swear, nor lie, nor be guilty of dishonesty, or theft, nor give himself up to dissoluteness, nor revenge himself upon his enemies, they call him a *Vaudois*, and exclaim 'Death to him!'"¹ But these were, unquestionably, nothing more than the results in particular and isolated instances of that hostility which the spirit of evil always excites in the hearts of worldly persons and impenitent sinners, against the visible fruits of evangelical sanctification.

The first measures of a more general character, adopted by the secular authorities for the destruction of the Vaudois, do not appear to have been earlier than the year 1209. At that epoch Otho IV. was elected Emperor of the West, at Cologne, by a part of the empire, and crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. This ceremony took place in 1198; but, in 1206, he was defeated by Philip of Swabia, his rival, and retired to England, to the court of King John, his uncle. He returned two years afterwards, having heard of the death of his rival. He was then recognized by the diet of

¹ I give the text of the passage according to the different versions:—

. e nos o poen ver
Que si n'i a alcun bon que ame a teme Jeshu Xrist
Que non volha maudire, ni jurar, ni mentir
Ni avoutrar, ni aucir, ni penre de l'autrui,
Ni venjar se de li seo enemis
Ilh dion qu'es Vaudes e degne de punir.

—(Raynouard, *Selections from the Original Poetry of the Troubadours*, ii. 73-103, v. 367-372 of the poem.) This version agrees with that of the Geneva MS. 207; that of the Cambridge MS. published by Morland, pp. 99-120, presents the following text, with which I have contrasted, in italics, the different readings of the version published by Léger, pp. 26-30:—

. e nos o poen veyr
Morland: Que sel ama alcun bon quel vollia amar Dio e temer Jeshu Xrist
Léger: *Que sel se troba alcun bon que vollia amar Dio e temer Jeshu Xrist*
Que non vollia maudire ne jurar [*ni jura*] ni mentir
Ni avoutrar, ni aucir [*aucire*] ni penre de l'autrui
Ni veniar se de li sio enemio
Illi diczon [*dison*] quel es vaudès [*Vaudès*] e degne de punir [*murir*].

The text of the *Nobla Leyczon*, published by M. Hahn (*Geschichte der Waldenser und verwandter Sekten*, Stutgard, 1848), agrees with that of Raynouard.

Frankfort; and in the following year he repaired to Rome, in order to be crowned emperor by Pope Innocent III., who had always favoured him in opposition to Philip. On this journey he passed through Piedmont; but Thomas, the then reigning Count of Savoy, had taken part against him in his disputes with Philip, who, in recompense for his support, had given him the towns of Quiers, Testona, and Modon. Otho IV., irritated against the old partizan of his rival, thought good to avenge himself of him by weakening his power within his own states, and for this purpose he gave to the Archbishop of Turin, who was a prince of the empire,¹ authority to destroy the Vaudois by force of arms. So that the long course of successive persecutions through which they were to pass, was not commenced by the Duke of Savoy, but by his enemies; and when, at a later period, the house of Savoy itself adopted the same methods of cruelty and depopulation, it was never of its own spontaneous movement, but from foreign influences, of which the most pressing were those of the court of Rome.

The branch of the Counts of Piedmont reigned for 176 years, and the last four of them bore the title of Princes of Achaia. Their residence was at Pignerol, and you will not find, says the Marquis of Beauregard, in his *Historical Memoirs*,² that these princes, who dwelt so close to the Vaudois, or the first Marquises of Saluces, ever persecuted them. It has even been supposed that some of the Counts of Lucerna,³ immediate vassals of the empire, and principal lords of these valleys, at a very ancient period, were partakers of their religious opinions.

Thus was the primitive church preserved in the Alps to the very period of the Reformation. The Vaudois are the chain which unites the reformed churches with the first disciples of our Saviour. It is in vain that Popery, renegade from evangelical verities, has a thousand times sought to break this chain; it resists all her efforts. Empires have crumbled—dynasties have fallen—but this chain of scriptural testimony has not been broken, because its strength is not from men, but from God.

¹ The title of Prince of the Empire had been given in 1160 to the bishops of Turin, Maurienne, and Tarantaise, by Frederic I., with the object also of weakening the house of Savoy, which had abandoned his party to espouse the cause of the pope, Adrian IV., in the politics of the time. The papacy has brought ruin even on its supporters.

² II. 5.

³ Some writers have alleged that the arms of the Counts of Lucerna bore, like the seal of the Vaudois churches, a torch (*lucerna*), surrounded by seven stars. But this is an error; the escutcheon of that family bears *argent, three bands gules*. This coat of arms is, moreover, exhibited above the title of the *Memoire istoriche* of Rorengo, in virtue of his title of *Conti di Lucerna*.

CHAPTER II.

FIRST PERSECUTION.—YOLANDE AND CATTANÉE.¹

(FROM A.D. 1300 TO A.D. 1500.)

Persecution and Conflicts about the year 1308—Persecution by Yolande, Duchess of Savoy, in 1476; and by her son, Charles I., Duke of Savoy, in 1485—Bull of Extermination against the Vaudois by Pope Innocent VIII. in 1487—Crusade against them—Albert Cattané, the Pope's legate—Defeat of the invading force in the Italian valleys—Negotiations with the Duke of Savoy—Strange fancies then prevalent among Papists with regard to the Vaudois.

IN the beginning of the 14th century (somewhere about the year 1308), the inquisitors having entered the valley of Angrogna, where already synods of 500 delegates were sometimes held,² the Vaudois repelled them by force of arms.³ It is even alleged that the Catholic prior of the place lost his life in this collision.⁴ Few details of these events have been preserved, and they do not seem to have been productive of any very important consequences.

It was a foreigner, a female, the sister of Louis XI., who first signalized herself by exciting bloody persecutions against the Vaudois; from which glory and martyrdom equally resulted to them. Her name was Yolande, and she had become the wife of Amadeus IX., one of the mildest and most charitable of those dukes of Savoy whose names are an honour to their dynasty. She was left a widow in 1472, and named regent of his dominions. After this we find her called *Violante*, perhaps in consequence of an alteration of orthography occurring in the public documents of the time, or perhaps in allusion to her cruel and vindictive character.

On the 23d of January, 1476, without having previously found any fault with the Vaudois, without having expressed any displeasure against any of their proceedings, without alleging for her severities any reason but their religious belief, she commanded the Seigneurs of Pignerol and Cavour to bring them back, by whatever means, to the pale of the Romish Church. The Vaudois demanded that that church itself should be brought back to the gospel. The

¹ AUTHORITIES.—*Léger, Gilles, Perrin*.—"Memoirs of Albert Cattané," contained in the proofs of the "*Hist. de Charles VIII.*," by Godefroy. Paris, 1684, fol. pp. 277-300.—"*De Vita Emmanuelis Philiberti*," fol. Aug. Taur. 1596.—"*Memoires pour servir a l'Hist. du Dauphiné*," fol. Paris, 1711. By Valbonays.—*Chorier, &c.*

² "Frequentes congregationes, per modum capituli . . . in quibus aliquando quingenti Valdenses fuerunt congregati."—Brief of John XXII., 23d July, 1332.

³ "Manni insurrexerunt armata."—Id.

⁴ Loco cit.

duchess convoked her great vassals to consult with them as to the means of reducing to silence these hardy Protestants, if we may employ the term a century before the Reformation. But she had not time to give effect to her designs, for very soon after she was forcibly carried off, by order of the Duke of Burgundy, who was at war with Louis XI., and who feared that she would give some assistance to the French king.

The Vaudois, however, had refused to abjure their evangelical heresy, and Charles I., the second son of Yolande, having mounted the throne, gave orders that an investigation should be made concerning this resistance (A.D. 1485). The result of this investigation was laid before the Holy See in 1486, and exposed, for the first time, in an official manner, the wide difference which the lapse of ages had produced betwixt the Vaudois, always faithful to the primitive religion, and the Romish Church, which had gradually become more and more degenerate.

In the following year Innocent VIII. fulminated against them a bull of extermination, by which he enjoined all temporal powers to take arms for their destruction. He summoned all Catholics to a crusade against them, "absolving beforehand all who should take part in this crusade from all ecclesiastical penalties, general or special, setting them free from the obligation of vows which they might have made, legitimating their possession of goods which they might have wrongfully acquired, and concluding with a promise of the remission of all sins to every one who should slay a heretic. Moreover, he annulled all contracts subscribed in favour of the Vaudois, commanded their domestics to abandon them, forbade any one to give them any assistance, and authorized all and sundry to seize upon their goods."¹

Forthwith some thousands of volunteers, persons ambitious of distinction, vagabonds, fanatics, men without lawful employment, needy adventurers, plunderers of every description, and pitiless robbers and assassins, assembled from all parts of Italy to execute the behests of the pretended successor of St. Peter. This horde of depredators and brigands, an army worthy of a pontiff whose own life was scandalous,² marched upon the valleys, in company with 18,000 regular troops, jointly furnished by the king of France and the sovereign of Piedmont.

¹ This bull may be seen in *Léger*, II. c. 1, pp. 8-20.

² Innocent VIII. was the father of eight children; whence the distich of that period:—

"Octo nocens genuit totidemque puellas;
Hunc merito poterit dicere Roma patrem."

And of what extraordinary crimes, then, could this pontiff have regarded the unhappy Vaudois as guilty? He lays no crime to their charge; he acknowledges, on the contrary, in his bull of extermination, that their principal means of seduction was their great appearance of sanctity. To massacre Christians because their good conduct attracted the esteem and sympathy of their neighbours! it could only have been thought of by that haughty and merciless power which they themselves already ventured to call Antichrist. But how could a people so few and so feeble resist such formidable forces as now came to assail them? At the very commencement of their history, the Vaudois seem on the point of being crushed and annihilated for ever. And so they would have been, if the hand of God had not undertaken their defence. It was He whose breath filled the ranks of their enemies with infatuation, and the hearts of his children with courage.

The papal legate commissioned to watch over the execution of these sanguinary orders, was an archdeacon of Cremona, named Albert Cattané, generally called De Capitaneis. He fixed his head-quarters at Pignerol, in the convent of Saint Lawrence, and sent preaching monks to attempt the conversion of the Vaudois before attacking them with arms. These missionaries were utterly unsuccessful. He then proceeded in person to the valleys. The inhabitants sent two deputies¹ to him, who addressed him in these terms: "Do not condemn us unheard, for we are Christians and loyal subjects; and our Barbas are ready to prove, either in public or in private, that our doctrines are agreeable to the word of God, for which reason they ought rather to be held worthy of praise than of blame. It is true that we have not thought fit to follow the transgressors of the evangelical law, who have long ago departed from the tradition of the apostles; we have not thought fit to conform ourselves to their corrupt precepts, nor to recognize any other authority than that of the Bible; but we find our happiness in a life of simplicity and purity, by which alone the Christian faith strikes its roots deep, and spreads out its branches. We condemn the love of wealth and the thirst of power with which we see our persecutors consumed; and our hope in God is stronger than our desire to please men. Take heed that you draw not his wrath upon yourselves by persecuting us, and be assured that, if God wills it, all the forces which you have assembled against us will avail you nothing." This holy confidence did not deceive them. God

¹ The names of these deputies were John Campo and John Desiderio. The details following are from the *Memoirs of Albert Cattané*, preserved amongst the proofs of the *History of Charles VIII.*

willed it, and that army of invaders vanished from around the Vaudois mountains like the rain that has fallen on the sands of the desert.

The inhabitants concentrated themselves on the most inaccessible points; the enemy, on the contrary, were spread out over the plain, and whether from incapacity for strategy, or from his pride moving him to make a grand display of his military force, Cattané thought proper to commence an attack upon all points at once; so that from the village of Biolets, situated in the marquisate of Saluces, to that of Sezanne, which belonged to Dauphiny, his lines, without any depth, occupied all the country. He proposed to destroy by a single effort the hydra of heresy. By a single effort his own forces were shattered; for his lines, weakened by the way in which they were extended, were everywhere broken, his battalions driven back in precipitate flight, and assailed in rear by those whom they had come to assail.

The weapons employed in this combat were only pikes, swords, and bows. The Vaudois had hastily made for themselves great bucklers, and even cuirasses, of the skins of beasts, covered again with the thick bark of chestnut-trees, in which the arrows of the enemy stuck without doing them any harm. These arrows, coming with reduced force by reason of the distance, and because they were shot from a lower towards a higher ground, penetrated into the bark without having power to pass through it; the Vaudois, on the contrary, skilful, energetic, and, above all, full of confidence in God, and better posted for defence, shot down from above with an advantage which gave them the victory.

There was, however, one post where, notwithstanding the vigour of their defences, the enemy seemed on the point of forcing a passage. It was the central point of this great line of operations on the heights of St. John, where they abut upon the mountains of Angrogna, at a place called Rochemanant. The crusaders had invaded this quarter from beneath, mounting step by step, and closing their ranks around that natural bulwark behind which the Vaudois had sheltered their families. Seeing their defenders yield, these families threw themselves upon their knees with many tears; women, and children, and old men united together in fervently crying, "*O Dio aiutateci!* O Lord, help us! O my God, save us!" This cry of prayer was the only cry which broke from their hearts in their distress, and arose to heaven. But their enemies laughed at it, and seeing this company upon their knees, hastened their advance. "My fellows are coming—they are coming to give you your answer," exclaimed one of their chiefs, surnamed *the Black of*

Mondovi, because of his swarthy complexion; and immediately, joining bravado to insult, he raised the visor of his helmet, to show that he was not afraid to encounter the poor people whom he insulted. But at that moment a steel-pointed arrow, let fly by a young man of Angrogna, named Peter Revel, struck this new Goliath with such violence, that it penetrated into his skull, between his eyes, and laid him dead. His troop, struck with terror, fell back in disorder; a panic seized them; the Vaudois took advantage of the moment, and impetuously rushed forward, hurling their adversaries before them, and, eagerly continuing the pursuit, swept them into the very plain, where they left them vanquished and dispersed. Then, re-ascending to their families so miraculously delivered, they likewise flung themselves upon their knees, and all together gave thanks to the God of armies for the victory which they had just gained.

"O Dieu de mon salut, Dieu de ma délivrance!"

[O God of my salvation, God of my deliverance] might they have sung, if that beautiful hymn had then been composed. But they had all its sentiments in their hearts. It is trust in God which is the real strength of man; the humble Israel of the Alps was then invincible, like the people of Moses under the command of Joshua.

A new attempt was made next day to seize on that formidable post, where the strength of victory from on high seemed seated with these heroic mountaineers. The enemy took a different route; ascending by the bottom of the valley of Angrogna, in order to penetrate to the Pra du Tour, whence, mounting by La Vachera, they would have been masters of the whole region. But a dense and dangerous mist, such as sometimes unexpectedly appears in the Alps, settled down upon them just at the very moment when they were entangled in the paths most full of difficulty and of peril. Ignorant of the locality, marching apprehensively, uncertain of the route which they ought to take, and not able to advance except singly, over rocks, upon the brink of precipices, they gave way before the first assault of the Vaudois, and not being able to range themselves in order of battle, they were easily defeated. The first who were repulsed fell back precipitately, overthrowing those who were next to them; the confusion spread further and further; disorder reigned everywhere; the retreat became a flight, the flight a catastrophe, for those who attempted to retrace their course slid over the humid rocks, of which the edge was concealed by the mists. Others, again, thinking to find in these sinuosities a way of escape, precipitated themselves into the chasms in which the former had

already perished. Very few succeeded in making their escape; the greater part losing their way in the depths of the ravines, or on the crests of the rocks.

This decisive defeat, which is to be ascribed to the will of God rather than to the arms of the Vaudois, accomplished the deliverance of that valley, in which the troops of Cattanée never appeared again. The detachment which was destroyed in so complete and unexpected a manner, was the last which showed itself upon the banks of the Angrogna before the period of the Reformation. The captain who commanded it was called Saguét de Planghère, and the chasm into which he fell is called to this day, after the lapse of four centuries, the *Toumpi de Saguét*—Saguét's hole.

On the mountain of Roderi, in the valley of Pragela, the Vaudois, says Cattanée, favoured by the nature of the grounds, put the crusaders to flight, by rolling down upon them avalanches of rock; after which they descended, attacked them in close combat, and prolonged the battle until evening. A few, however, were made prisoners, and conducted to Mentoules, to be subjected to the ceremonies of a vain abjuration.

The legate charged with the commission of extermination next proceeded to Dauphiny, to the valley called the Val Louise, of which we shall presently speak; but, before concluding this chapter, it remains to be told that one battalion of the enemy, seven hundred strong, having come from that valley to the valley of St. Martin, by the Col d'Abriès, was observed above Pral, directing its course towards the village of Pommiers. Thither the Vaudois repaired to wait for it. The soldiers, inflamed with pride by the massacre which they had just perpetrated in Dauphiny, entered the hamlet in disorder, dreaming only of pillage, and supposing themselves already victors. But, being suddenly attacked on all sides, they were unable to make any defence, and were all slain or put to flight. Those who escaped in the first instance, perished, ere long, amongst these unknown mountains, everywhere occupied by courageous defenders. The bearer of the colours concealed himself alone in a ravine, where he remained two days; after which, cold and hunger compelled him to come out, and to seek an asylum from the Vaudois, who supplied him with all that he required, showing that generous forgetfulness of offences, with which Christ inspires his faithful servants. Having recovered strength, he rejoined the army to which he belonged, and was able to inform them of the total defeat of his companions. Thus was this army dissipated, which, to a people so few in number, was really formidable. But it was to them that it was said, "Fear not, little flock, for it

is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom,"¹ and, as they themselves said, "If God be for us, who can be against us?"

After these expeditions, productive neither of advantage nor of glory, the Duke of Savoy withdrew his troops — dismissed the legate, upon the pretext that his mission was terminated — and sent a bishop amongst the Vaudois in order to bring them to take the first steps with the view of obtaining a peace, of which the assurance was held out to them. The interview of this envoy with the evangelical Christians of the Alps, took place at the hamlet of Prasuyt, situated on the confines of the communes of Angrogna and St. John. It was resolved that the Vaudois should send a representative of each of their churches to their prince, who was to come to Pignerol to receive them. It was during the conferences there held, that this prince asked to see some of their children, that he might satisfy himself, by personal observation, whether they were really born with black throats, rough teeth, and goats' feet, as the Catholics pretended. "Is it possible," said he, when he saw a number of them with his own eyes, "that these are the children of heretics? What charming creatures they are! they are by far the prettiest children I ever saw." Thus was overthrown a ridiculous prejudice, but which could not fail to be powerful in an age so little enlightened as to admit of its finding its way even to the mind of a prince.

Superstition, obscuring the moral and religious perceptions, casts its shadows equally over all the regions of human intelligence; as, on the other hand, also, the light of the gospel enlightening the soul which is opened to receive it, elevates, augments, and purifies all the powers of the mind. Of this, the Vaudois themselves are a proof, for they had taken their place, three centuries before these events, at the head of modern literature, having been the first to write in the vulgar tongue. That which they then used was the Romance language, for all the early remains of which we are indebted to the Vaudois. It was from this language that the French and Italian were formed. The religious poems of the Vaudois still continue to be the most perfect compositions belonging to that period; and they are also those in which the rays of the gospel shine with the greatest brightness.

Thus—whilst the colossal shadow of the Roman empire, when its sun was sinking, and the no less dreadful shadow of the pontificate, whose ambition succeeded to that of the empire, still covered Italy—the summits of the Alps were already brightened with a new

¹ Luke xii. 32.

dawn, which the Reformation was afterwards to extend over the whole world. It is not because the Vaudois were the precursors of the Reformation that we connect them with the primitive church, but because they were primitive Christians, and pioneered the way for the Reformation. Their past history illustrates what the gospel teaches all to expect; but none will have sorer trials to endure than those of the martyr people, whose glory, like that of Christ, is derived from sufferings, wrongs, and abasement.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS OF THE VAL LOUISE, FROM THEIR ORIGIN TO THEIR EXTINCTION.¹

(A.D. 1300 TO A.D. 1500.)

Some account of the Val Louise—Early persecutions there—The Inquisitor Borelli—Martyrdoms at Embrun in the end of the 14th century, and desolation of the Vaudois valleys in France—Cattaneé—Massacre of the whole population of the Val Louise in 1488.

THOSE primitive Christians, who have received the name of Vaudois, did not inhabit some of the valleys of Piedmont only, but also of France. Of what consequence were the boundaries of the two states to them? Their only desire was to live in tranquillity and in proximity to each other. We find them, from time immemorial, in the profound retreats of the Briançonnais as well as amongst the Alps of Italy.

The valleys which they appear to have most anciently inhabited

¹ AUTHORITIES.—Gilles, Perrin.—"Lettres sur la Vallouise," by Father Roussignol. 8vo, Turin, 1804.—"Mémoires de Cattaneé," in Godefroy, "Hist. de Charles VIII."—"Recueil des Actes, pièces et procédures concernant l'emphytéose perpétuelle des dîmes du Briançonnais," &c., 24mo, 1754.—"Les Transactions d'Imbert, dauphin du Viennois, Prince du Briançonnais, et Marquis de Sezane," &c., fol. 1645.—Chorier, "Hist. Gén. du Dauphiné," fol.—Thuanus, "Histor. sui Temporis," lib. xxvii.—"Mémoires pour servir à l'Hist. du Dauph.," (Paris, 1711), fol. (Valbonays.)—MS. "Hist. Gén. des Alpes . . . et partic. d'Embrun leur Métropolitaine," fol. translated by Juvenis. Gap; Library of the Little Seminary. (The original is at Paris, and a copy at Lyons).—"Inventaire des Archives de la Cour des Comptes, à Grenoble," 34 vols. fol. (Reg. du Briançonnais et de l'Embrunois.)—Aymari Rivallii, "De Allobrogibus," 4to, National Library, Paris, No. 6014.—"De Episcopis Ebredunensibus." Library of Lyons, carton 119. "Collectanea Hist.," fol. 900.—See also the MS. 735 in the same library, as well as "Gallia Christiana," t. iii. pp. 1052–1100, and proofs, 177.—"Pièces concernant l'Archevêché d'Embrun." Paris Library, vol. 517, 518 of the "Fonds Fontanieu" and "Fonds Gaignières," portfolios A, 134, 154.—"Mémoires sur l'Egl. Métrop. d'Embrun." Library of Grenoble, No. 439, MS. in 4to.—"Mémoires sur le Dauphiné." Library of Valence, MSS. Nos. 162 and 2125, fol.

are, on the side of France, those of Freyssinières, Val Louise, and Barcelonnette; on the side of Piedmont, those of the Po, of Lucerna, and of Angrogna, as also those of Pragela and St. Martin.

Val Louise is a deep and bleak ravine, which descends from Mount Pelvoux to the basin of the Durance. It was formerly called *Val Gyron*,¹ from the name of the Gyr, a torrent which flows in it. At a later period it was named *Val Pute*, in Latin *Vallis Putæa*, because of the great number of hills or *puyts* which it contains, as the names of its villages attest: Puy St. Vincent, Puy St. Eusebe and Puy St. Martin—*puya*, in the patois of the country, still signifying an eminence. As to the name Val Louise, it is generally said to have been derived from Louis XII., the father of his people, in commemoration of benefits which he had thought its inhabitants worthy to receive.²

They began to be persecuted between 1238 and 1243;³ and again, a century after, in 1335, we find amongst the current accounts of the Bailiff of Embrun this singular article, *Item, for persecuting the Vaudois, eight sols and thirty deniers of gold*;⁴ as if the persecution of these Christians of the Alps had then become a regular part of the public service, a constant duty and always attended to. Alas! it was but the expression of that continual and increasing hatred with which Popery, based upon tyranny, has always regarded the gospel, the source of all kinds of liberty.

One of the Vaudois brethren of the valley of Lucerna⁵ had purchased from the dauphin, John II., more than five hundred years ago, a good house in the Val Louise, which he had presented to the brethren of that neighbourhood, in order that they might be able to hold their religious meetings in a more becoming manner; but the Archbishop of Embrun caused it to be destroyed in 1348, excommunicating by anticipation any one who should attempt to rebuild it; and twelve unfortunate Vaudois, who were seized upon that occasion, were subjected to all the tortures which superstition and cruelty could inflict. Conducted to Embrun, in front of the cathedral, in the midst of a great concourse of people, surrounded by fanatical monks, and clothed in yellow robes, upon which were painted red flames, symbolical of those of hell, to which they were deemed devoted; they had an anathema pronounced against them,

¹ It is thus designated, *Vallis Gyrontana*, in a bull of Urban II., of date A.D. 1096.

² This name may, however, be found in use under Louis XI., as appears by his letters, dated from Arras, 18th May, 1478.

³ Chorier, lib. xii. c. 5.

⁴ *Raynaldi Annales*, n. 69.

⁵ His name was Chabert. See *Inventories of the Records of the Court of Accounts at Grenoble*, the volume concerning the Briançonnais.

their heads were shaved, their feet made bare, and ropes passed round their necks; after which, at the sound of the bells which tolled their funeral knell, the Catholic clergy raised a chant of execration and of death. The poor captives were dragged, one after another, to a pile, surrounded with executioners. O saintly souls! not captives but free indeed, filled by the Spirit of the Lord with a courage so strong and so meek, those pictured flames with which your tunics were covered, were the symbol only of those flames in which you were to be consumed! From the midst of death you passed not into the torments prepared for the slaves of the wicked one, but into the blissful serenity of that heaven which is promised to the faithful servants of the Lord, on the wings of your faith and of the prayers of your friends!

The fire was applied to the pile; and the martyrs, who had lived like the primitive Christians, were found able also to die like them. The executioners quickly strangled them; their bodies returned to the dust, of which they were made, and their souls ascended to God who gave them.

When a church is persecuted, we have a sure sign that it is a living church; that its progress in sanctification grates upon the wicked, disquieting and irritating them, and arming against it their selfish passions. The inquisitors even caused the bodies to be disinterred from their graves, of those who were named to them as having died without receiving the aids of the church, because they thought the Redeemer sufficient for them; and these exhumed bodies, after their memory had been cursed, were cast into the flames. Their ashes were dispersed to the four winds; and as fanaticism is always united, in the Church of Rome, with the most sordid interests and passions, all the property which they had left to their heirs was confiscated, insomuch that even the alienations which had taken place since their decease, to the prejudice of the archiepiscopal exchequer, were declared null. It may be imagined what trouble, what disorder, what desolation such animosities must have produced in families: but their most valued possessions were not those which were thus taken from them; and if the love of money leads to crime, the love of the treasures of heaven leads to holiness. All that could be done, however, to daunt simple and courageous hearts was tried upon this occasion. To these sacrilegious ceremonies of violating graves, breaking open coffins and publicly burning their contents, all the people had been convoked, in name of that fearful church which thus pursued its victims even in death; and still more powerfully to strike men's minds by this apparatus of terror, all persons present were adjured with im-

precations to regard with abhorrence the doctrines on account of which these corpses had been deprived of the rest of the tomb; but they remained steadfast in their faith even when they beheld the bones of their fathers scattered. This steadfastness was afterwards to be put to sorer trials.

A young inquisitor, named Francis Borelli, obtained from Pope Gregory XI. urgent letters addressed to the King of France, to the Count of Savoy, and to the governor of Dauphiny, calling upon them to unite their forces for the purpose of extirpating this *inveterate heresy* from the Alps. But it was stronger even than kings, for it was the word of God, the gospel of the earliest times, the counsel of eternity. The inquisitor as to religion undertook the charge of the carnal weapons which were intrusted to him; and the persecutions directed by Borelli did not leave the most secluded village out of their net. Like the fabulous robe of the centaur, which consumed the body upon which it was flung, it laid hold of entire families, of the populations of whole districts, of those who were not perfectly submissive everywhere, and very soon the prisons of these vast provinces were not sufficiently spacious to contain the multitude of prisoners. New dungeons were constructed for them, but with such haste that they wanted everything but what was necessary to cause suffering to the captives.

The valley of the Durance, with its side valleys of Le Queyras, Freyssinières, and Val Louise, was more shockingly decimated than any other district. It might have been thought that the plague had passed over it: but it was only the inquisitors!

Borelli commenced by causing all the inhabitants of these valleys to be summoned before him. They did not appear, and he condemned them for not appearing. Thenceforth, always liable to be surprised by his assassin bands, they suffered doubly from their own dangers and from the distress of their families. One was seized on the road, another in the field, another in his house. No one knew, when he embraced his father at worship in the morning, if he would see him again at evening prayer; and the father who sent away his sons to the harvest field could have no confidence that they would eat of that which they went to reap.

We may imagine what painful anxieties must then have succeeded, under the domestic roof, to the peace of former times! For fifteen whole years this work of depopulation, misery, and bloodshed, was carried on in these mountains in name of the Catholic religion. The deadly breath which laid so many low, which ruined so many families, and made so many hearts desolate, was breathed from the Vatican—that dreadful mount, which resembles

Olympus only in its false gods, Sinai only in its thunders, and Calvary in bloodshed.

At last, on the 22d of May, 1393, all the churches of Embrun were decked out as for a great solemnity; the Church of Rome had a festival, for blood was to flow. The pagan images, which load her altars with their gilded insensibility, remind us of those idols at whose feet human victims were wont to be immolated. All the clergy, covered with their theatrical ornaments, were congregated in the choir. Double ranks of soldiers kept the people within the nave and surrounded a troop of prisoners. And who were they? Soldiers of Christ who came to contend for the faith. What was their crime? That faith itself. How many are there? Listen! their names are just to be read, and their sentence pronounced. What is that sentence? The same for all; condemned to be burned alive. The list is read, and eighty persons from the valleys of Freyssinières and Argentières are already devoted to the pile. But no inhabitant of the Val Louise has yet been mentioned—that quiet retreat, opening amongst the rocks like a dove's nest—will it be spared? No. Popery does not forget it; her watchword is Death: she can admit of no alternative but to be burned alive upon the earth for resisting her, or to serve her and go to hell. The Vaudois had thought it better to resist, and a new catalogue of one hundred and fifty names, all belonging to the Val Louise is read over in that church, now no longer the house of God, but rather a den of infamy, a cave of hangmen: and after each name there sound, like a funeral knell, those fatal words which crown them all—"condemned to be burned alive!" It was the half of the population of that unhappy valley; and in these lists—which appear to us so execrable, but to the Church of Rome so natural—might sometimes be found, one after another, the names of all the members of the same family. In this horrible solemnity, no fewer than two hundred and thirty victims were devoted at once to the stake, in the name of the God of the gospel. And for what reason? For having been faithful to the gospel.

But the secret of these numerous condemnations is still more shameful than even their cruelty; the property of the condemned was confiscated for behoof of the bishop and the inquisitors. The spoils of these poor people went to provide for the junketings of the clergy.

Beyond all question, unity of faith must at that time have made great progress in that afflicted country; but it was the solitude of the desert that long prevailed in these depopulated mountains, which the inquisitors professed to have reduced to the peace of the

church; they should have said to the silence of the tomb. But everything comes to an end upon earth—even fanaticism; as the wolves abandon a charnel-house which they have emptied of its contents, so the inquisition retired from these impoverished valleys.

France was then groaning under the pressure of her wars with the English, Dauphiny being one of the last provinces which remained faithful to the feeble king, Charles VII. A young girl, Joan of Arc, soon reopened to her the gates of Rheims and the path of victory. During this time the Vaudois churches slowly recovered a little. Like the flowers of their own rocks, made hardy by the storms, their energy increased in the midst of dangers; and as the winds bear the fragrance of flowers to a distance, so the gale of persecution propagated their evangelical faith. Thus the influence of these churches increased by reason of their very sufferings. The violent and ferocious animosity of the Popish paganism equally increased. Such was the state of things when the close of the 15th century approached, that epoch at which, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, Innocent VIII. opened against the Vaudois a crusade of extermination.

It was in the month of June, 1488, that the papal legate, Albert Cattaneé, having attempted in vain to subjugate the valleys of Piedmont, passed into France by Mount Genève, where he hanged eighteen of the poor people whom he had made prisoners. He descended to Briançon, a town which had been described to him as being then particularly infested with heresy; thence he marched upon Freyssinières, whose inhabitants, few in number and ill-provided with arms, retired to the rock which rises above the church, but the troops surrounded it and made them prisoners.

Success inspiring these fanatical soldiers with courage, or rather with ferocity, they invaded, with great shouts, the deep ravine of Val Louise. The Vaudois, terrified and perceiving that they could make no resistance to forces twenty times their number, abandoned their poor dwellings, set the old people and the children as hastily as possible upon their rustic beasts, drove their flocks before them, and carrying with them what they could of provisions and domestic utensils, bade a last adieu to the homes in which they were born, and retired, praying to God and singing hymns, to the steep slopes of Mount Pelvoux. This giant of the Alps, which has been called the Visol of the Briançonnais, rises to the height of more than 6000 feet above their valley. At about a third part of this elevation there opens in the mountain an immense cavern, called *Aigue Fraide*, or *Ailfrède*, because of copious springs of water, fed by the snows, which continually flow from it. A kind of platform, to

which there is no possibility of mounting but by fearful precipices, extends to the opening of the cavern, whose majestic vault very soon contracts into a narrow passage, and expands again into an immense irregular hall. Such was the asylum which the Vaudois had chosen. In the farthest part of the grotto they placed their women, children, and old men; the flocks were disposed of in the lateral apartments of the rock; the strong men placed themselves at the entrance, after they had built up the approach to it, filled the path with rocks, and committed themselves to the care of God. Cattaneé says that they had carried with them victuals enough to maintain themselves and their families for more than two years. All their precautions were taken, their intrenchments could not be forced; what had they to fear?

Their danger was in the very confidence which these human precautions had inspired. Reposing securely in the means of defence which they had provided for themselves, they forgot too much that it is faith alone which will remove mountains and deliver from the greatest perils.

Cattaneé had with him a bold and experienced commander, named La Palud. This captain, seeing that it was impossible to force the entrance of the grotto on the side by which the Vaudois had approached it, because of the intrenchments by which they had sheltered themselves, redescended into the valley, gathered together all the ropes which could be procured, and once more climbed the Pelvoux, promising to his soldiers a complete victory. Wheeling round the rocks, they clambered up the steep slope, and fixing cords above the opening of the cavern, slid down in full equipment right in front of the Vaudois. If the latter had put more confidence in the protection of God than in that of their intrenchments, they would not have been seized with fear when they saw these prove insufficient. Nothing could have been more easy or natural than to cut the ropes by which they saw their enemies descend, or to kill them in succession as they arrived within reach of their weapons, or to hurl them into the abyss which the platform overhung, before they had time to act upon the offensive. But a panic seized the unfortunate Vaudois, and in their distraction they precipitated themselves amongst the rocks. La Palud made a frightful slaughter of those who attempted any resistance; and not daring to enter into the depths of the cave from which he saw these terror-stricken people issue, he heaped up at the entrance all the wood which he could find; the crusaders set it on fire, and all who attempted to come out were consumed by the flames or died by the edge of the sword. When the fire was extinguished there

were found, says Chorier, under the vaults of that cavern, 400 little children smothered in their cradles, or in the arms of their mothers. There perished upon this occasion, he adds, more than 3000 Vaudois. It was the whole population of Val Louise. Cattaneé distributed the property of these unfortunates amongst the vagabonds who accompanied him; and never since that time has the Vaudois Church arisen again from her ashes in these blood-stained valleys.

Thus the very men whom prayer made victorious in the most critical moments, were utterly destroyed in circumstances the most favourable for defence, in consequence of putting too much confidence in themselves. And how many may we every day see fall in consequence of distrusting themselves too little, which is, in fact, not trusting in God as they ought!

This terrible example shown to the other Vaudois churches, plunged them into grief, but led them also to prayer; and thereby their spiritual strength was renewed, so that, if some still died beneath the palms of martyrdom, the mother church made a successful resistance, holding up the standard of the cross.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS OF BARCELONNETTE, LE QUEYRAS, AND FREYSSINIÈRES.¹

(A.D. 1300 TO A.D. 1650.)

Some account of the Valley of Barcelonnette—Persecution in 1560—Return of the fugitive population—Persecution in 1623—The Vaudois finally expelled—The Valley of Freyssinières—Early persecutions—The Inquisitor Ployer—Martyrdoms in the end of the 15th century—Relaxation of persecution by Louis XII.—Brief of Pope Alexander VI.—Struggles of the 16th century—The Protestants seize Embrun—Lesdiguières—The Valley of Queyras in the end of the 16th century—Struggles and Successes of the Protestants—The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes—Present Protestantism of the French valleys—Neff.

BEING in Dauphiny, we may as well pursue the story of the vicissitudes which the ancient Vaudois experienced all around the present Vaudois valleys, before resuming the series of events which have befallen them in the latter down to our own days.

¹ AUTHORITIES.—The same as in the preceding chapter, and, in addition, "*Hist. Géogr. Ecclési. et Civile du Diocèse d'Embrun, par M****," 1783, 2 vols. 8vo. (The author of this work was Father Albert. It was to it that a reply was made in the "*Cinq Lettres par un Vaudois des Gaules Cisalpines*." The author of the latter work was Paul Appia. It is also worthy of being consulted.)—*Ladonnette*, "*Statistique des Hautes-Alpes*, 8vo.—*Félix Neff, Memoirs, Biographies*.—Also, various papers in the archives of Gap, Embrun, Briançon, Pignerol, and Turin, too numerous to be particularly mentioned.

The Vaudois were, in process of time, rooted out, not only of the Val Louise, but also of Barcelonnette, Saluces, Provence, and Calabria, where they were anciently established. They have likewise more recently been exterminated in the valley of Pragela.

The valley of Barcelonnette is a deep ravine, shut in upon all sides by almost inaccessible mountains. It belonged in former times to Piedmont, but it was in the possession of France from 1538 to 1559, after which it reverted to Piedmont till 1713, when it was finally ceded to France in exchange for the two little valleys of Sexare and Bardonnèche, situated towards Briançon.

This vale of Barcelonnette, with the little lateral valleys which open into it, anciently bore the name of Terres-Neuves (the *New Lands*), probably because they had been recently discovered. It is not known at what date the Vaudois began to occupy them. Farel preached there in 1519. The place of worship was at Les Josiers. The inhabitants, much interested and delighted to hear the voice of the reformer, gloried that the doctrines of their fathers, in all their evangelical completeness, were thus publicly proclaimed. But this publicity attracted to those who professed them the dreaded attention of the Church of Rome. The ferocious inquisitors ascended even to that peaceful retreat of poverty and prayer. This took place in 1560, the same year in which the valleys of Méana, of Suza, and of Pragela, were laid waste.

"The persecution," says Gilles, "raged so fiercely then against the faithful of these countries, that they were all made prisoners or compelled to flee, so that they were for a long time wanderers amongst these wild mountains, and in great want of food and shelter. Those who were seized, and who refused to abjure, were sent to the galleys. As for apostates, their condition was not much better, for besides the remorse of conscience which continually tormented them, they were distrusted and despised, so that some of them also returned to the right way." These last, who, having become Catholics, returned again to the gospel, received the name of *Relapsed*. The severest penalties were denounced against them, but the Catholics themselves had little esteem for men who were converted with the knife at their throat. How could they even respect doctrines for whose advancement the use of such means was found necessary?

However, a few years after (in 1566), a rigorous edict enjoined all the Vaudois of Barcelonnette to embrace Catholicism, or to leave the dominions of Savoy within the space of one month, under pain of death and confiscation of goods. The greater part of them resolved to retire into the valley of Freyssinières, which belonged to

France; but it was then the time of Christmas, the most inclement season of the year; the women and children became faint by the way; the snow which covered the mountains augmented the fatigue and dangers of the route; night had come on before they could reach the ridge, so that the proscribed race were obliged to lie down upon a bed of frozen snow, and the cold so seized upon them in their sleep as to change the sleep of many into that of death. Those who died were soonest at the end of their sufferings, but how keen must have been the anguish of the survivors who next morning had to behold sixteen of their children corpses, stiffened by the frost in the arms of their wretched mothers! The survivors, with great difficulty, reached the fraternal asylum which was opened to them.

The governor of Barcelonnette would then have distributed amongst the Catholics the possessions abandoned by these unhappy fugitives, but, to the credit of the inhabitants of these mountains, it must be told that no one would consent to accept them. These Catholics were far behind in the path in which their Church had advanced.

The Vaudois, therefore, were at liberty to return to their abodes, and take possession again of their property. The authorities winked at their return, without which these districts must have remained waste, and these mountains unpeopled; but in order to the exercise of public worship, they were under the necessity of traversing the glaciers again, and repairing to Vars in the dominions of France. And these humble Christians, already so severely tried, did not hesitate to travel that long and arduous journey, several times a year, to enjoy the privilege of mutual edification, and to receive the benediction of a pastor. What a lesson for the Christians of our day!

But, half a century after, in 1623, severities were recommenced. A Dominican monk, named Bouvetti, obtained authority from the Duke of Savoy to institute proceedings against the Vaudois of Barcelonnette, to whom he brought a new edict of abjuration or exile. This edict was mercilessly carried into execution by the governor of the valley, Francis Dreux, so that, after many fruitless petitions and efforts to obtain some mitigation of their lot, the Vaudois, unshaken in the faith of their fathers, were compelled again to forsake their native country, to which they were now never to return, going into hopeless exile, and seeking an asylum in countries less afflicted than their own. Some retired into Le Queyras and the Gapençois, others to Orange or Lyons; some went to Geneva, and many to the Vaudois valleys of Piedmont, which they regarded as their mother country. Thus was this retired valley left to silence

and depopulation, which had been happy when it was forgotten, and in which, whilst it was forgotten, the gospel had been proclaimed and enjoyed in peace.

The persecuting Church gloried in this destruction as a triumph. Thus human passions, to glorify themselves, take for their pedestal the very vices which serve them, and, encouraged by the errors of his age, the man of power makes a merit of his excesses and misdeeds.

The inhabitants of Freyssinières, whose laborious habits and blameless manners the illustrious and unfortunate De Thou has so well described, made resistance to their persecutors. Louis XII. indeed had said, after a judicial investigation concerning them, "These brave people are better Christians than we." But they were so in virtue of the gospel, and Rome could not endure this. From the commencement of the 13th century to the end of the 18th, she never ceased to persecute them; and between the year 1056 and the year 1290, five bulls of different popes demanded their extermination. The inquisitors preyed upon these unhappy valleys from the year 1238; and in order to discover if an accused person were really guilty, we are told that these official defenders of the Catholic faith applied to him a red-hot iron; if it burned him it was a sign of heresy, and he was condemned. What times and what manners! Would to God that the uncertainty of the documents would permit us not to believe such things!

In 1344, says an old MS., the greater part of the people of Freyssinières being persecuted, fled into the valleys of Piedmont; but they returned with the Barbas, resisted the inquisitors, and were soon stronger than before.¹ It remained for the inconceivable cruelties of Borelli and of Veyletti to enfeeble them anew. Louis XI. put an end to the proceedings of these agents of the holy office in 1478. They were succeeded by Francis Ployéri, whom Cattannée left there after his extermination of the whole Vaudois of Val Louise.

This inquisitor commanded the inhabitants of Freyssinières to appear before him at Embrun. They knew that it was in order to obtain from them an abjuration of their faith; it could therefore be of no use for them to go, and no one went. Thereupon they were condemned to death for contumacy, as rebels, heretics, and *relapsed*; and, as usual, all the goods of these poor people were confiscated for the profit of the Church. This was the thing which interested and attracted her most, and which constituted her motive

¹ MS. Memoirs of Raymond Juvenis, in the Libraries of Grenoble and Carpentras.

for these condemnations. What cared her monks for the sorrows, the inexpressible distress, and misery of our families, if they could provide well for themselves, and give themselves up to all the grossness of their clerical sensuality! All of the unfortunate Vaudois who could be apprehended were therefore committed to the flames without more formality; for the surest means of seizing upon confiscated lands was to slaughter their owners; and whosoever ventured to intercede for the condemned, were it a son for his mother or a father for his child, was immediately thrown into prison, brought to trial, and often condemned as an abettor of heresy.

The Vaudois had no repose till after the death of the feeble Charles VIII., which took place in 1498. Deputies from almost all the provinces of the kingdom then repaired to Paris, to be present at the coronation of Louis XII. The inhabitants of Freyssinières were there also represented by a procurator, who was commissioned to lay their complaints before the new sovereign. Louis XII. remitted this business to his council; the pope was written to upon the subject, and commissioners, both apostolical and royal, that is to say, representing the pontifical power and the royal authority, were named to proceed to the spot and there make exact inquiry into the facts of the case.

Having arrived at Embrun, they caused all the papers connected with the proceedings instituted against the Vaudois by the inquisitors to be laid before them, found fault with the bishop, and annulled all the condemnations pronounced for contumacy against the inhabitants of Freyssinières. But the bishop would not assent to an arrangement which entailed upon his clergy the loss of the property acquired by these odious confiscations. He grounded his resistance upon what one of the commissioners had said publicly in the hostelry of the Angel, where they had been lodged, "Would to God that I were as good a Christian as the worst of these people!" from which the prelate concluded that this judge must have favoured the heretics at the expense of justice. However, Louis XII. ratified the decisions of the commissioners by letters dated at Lyons, 12th October, 1501, and the commissioners obtained from the pope a brief which rendered the king's decision binding upon the clergy. This pope was Alexander VI., and the brief was obtained through the intermediation of his son, Cæsar Borgia, who had come to France, bringing to Louis XII. a bull of divorce, in exchange for which he received, along with the title of Duke of Valentinois, the very part of Dauphiny in which the valley of Freyssinières is situated.

Borgia and Alexander VI. had something else to do than to trouble themselves about the doctrines which were professed there! The

inhabitants had treated an ecclesiastical tribunal with contumacy, and an absolution was necessary for this in order to render inoperative those proceedings which the king desired to have annulled; nothing could be refused to the king, and Alexander VI. was generous in the matter of absolutions. But the cause for which one was sought appeared to him too insignificant for such long writings. Nothing but contumacy; a pretty peccadillo! And so, to make it something worth the trouble, he granted to the Vaudois a comprehensive absolution, not only from that of which they were charged, but also from all sorts of fraud, usury, larceny, simony, adultery, murder, and poisoning; for no doubt these things being so common at Rome, it was quite natural to suppose them equally common everywhere. The simple and austere life of the Vaudois stood in no need of these sin-breeding indulgences, and the evil which resulted from their employment remained entirely with the church which had recourse to them.

Half a century after, during the heat of the wars which filled up the 16th century, an attack was directed against the Vaudois of Freyssinières and Le Queyras, by the military commandant of Embrun, who marched against them at the head of 1200 men belonging to Embrun and the Briançonnais. But Lesdiguières, then scarcely twenty-four years of age, hastened by the Champsaur to the defence of his brethren in the faith. He encountered their enemies at St. Crispin and cut them in pieces.

The Protestants, in their turn, thought to seize upon Embrun. A stratagem was devised for this purpose. The day of the feast of the Conception, in December, 1573, was fixed for the execution of it; but it was mismanaged, and its author, Captain La Bréoule, having fallen into the hands of the Catholics, was strangled, dragged through the mud, quartered, and the parts suspended upon four gibbets at the four gates of the city. Twelve years after, Lesdiguières seized the place. He first attacked the town of Charges, which was fortified. The inhabitants and soldiers, trusting in the fortifications, did nothing but chat and divert themselves. Lesdiguières, advancing by paths which were concealed from observation, planted his ladders against the walls and entered the town. "We are come to dance with you," said he, making his appearance. The garrison were declared prisoners; they attempted to defend themselves and perished by the sword. A regiment of 500 arquebusiers came from Embrun to retake this place, but they fell into an ambuscade which Lesdiguières had planted for them at the hill of La Coulche, where they were cut in pieces. The victorious chief then caused the approaches to Embrun to be reconnoitred, and took pos-

session of it on the 17th of November, 1586. A part of the soldiers who defended it retired into a sort of central fortress, of which there still remains a portion called the *Tour Brune*, contiguous to the ancient bishop's palace. Fire was applied to it, and during this fire the papers of the episcopal archives were thrown out of the windows in order to save them. Among them were the records of investigations against the Vaudois; a soldier laid hold of them and sold them, and from hand to hand they have passed into the hands of our historians. The cathedral of Embrun then became a Protestant church, for the bishop had fled at the commencement of the siege, with all his clergy.

Two days after this exploit Lesdiguières proceeded to besiege Guillestre, which was taken, and of which he levelled the walls, never since rebuilt. He then ascended the rugged valley of the Guill and took Château Queyras. The resistance which he met with at this place increased the irritation of his troops and the effervescence already prevailing in the valley. The victorious Protestants incurred the guilt of bloody reprisals against the Catholics, by whom they had been so long oppressed. For some years previous in particular, troops of fanatics had frequently assailed their habitations and passed through their villages, scattering everywhere desolation and death, instigated to these outrages generally by Captains De Mures and De La Cayette.

In 1583, the Reformed of Queyras being threatened with a speedy attack, called to their aid their brethren in faith from Piedmont, for considerable forces were preparing to attack them. The Vaudois of the valley of Lucerna were the first to arrive for their defence. They seized on Abriès; the enemy were masters of Ville Vieille, situated two hours' march lower down. A traitor, named Captain Vallon, left the Catholic troops, came to Abriès, and said to the Protestants, "I am one of your brethren; I have been made prisoner, and they have made me swear not to take up arms again, but I have obtained permission to leave the camp, and I am come to tell you that if you do not retire you will all be cut in pieces." "You spy!" exclaimed the Vaudois, "if you would not be cut in pieces yourself in the first place, begone immediately." The traitor disappeared, and the enemy's forces advanced. The cavalry came by the bottom of the valley, and two bodies of troops by the lateral slopes of the mountains. The Vaudois were intimidated at the sight of forces so superior to their own. "What! are you afraid?" cried Captain Pellenc of Le Villar. Let a hundred men follow me, and God will be with us! All followed him. Captain Fraiche, who had already delivered the Vaudois of Exiles from the soldiers of

La Cayette, was the first to rush upon the enemy. He caused their centre to give way, but their two wings closing together, the little Vaudois troop was on the point of being surrounded. They retreated over the heights of Val Préveyre; there they met their brethren of the valley of St. Martin, who had also come on the same summons; then they resumed the offensive with impetuosity. they had the advantage of the ground, and the avalanches of stones which they rolled down before them broke the first ranks of the Catholics. They dashed into the opening, struck down, dispersed, overwhelmed, and swept away the aggressors, and pursued them as far as Château Queyras. The skirmishes which afterwards took place were terminated by the victory of Lesdiguières, who made himself master of the whole valley, where cruelties and spoliations, unworthy of their name, were then perpetrated by the Protestants. Lesdiguières maintained his protectorate there until the Edict of Nantes. The Vaudois then had it in their power to enjoy the free exercise of their worship. During the 17th century they had pastors at Ristolas, Abriès, Château Queyras, Arvieux, Moline, and St. Vêran. These pastors were sent by the synod of the valleys of Piedmont, as the Barbas had been in former times, who cherished with so much care the sacred fire of the primitive faith in churches much more distant.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes was attended with the destruction of their places of worship, and their renewed proscription. It is well known what numbers of French Protestants were then driven into exile. Those of Le Queyras re-entered the valleys of Piedmont with the Vaudois who had been expelled from thence.

Under the reign of Louis XV., the reformed religion being still interdicted, the Protestant churches of Dauphiny had their meetings for worship "in the wilderness," like those of Gard and the Cévennes. When a meeting was to be held anywhere, the villagers might be seen descending separately and by different paths, their spades over their shoulders as if they were going to the field, and then they met in some solitary retreat, where the psalm-books were drawn forth from their labourers' dresses. Entire families travelled great distances to be present. They left home in the evening and travelled all night. At the outskirts of villages the men took off their shoes and walked barefooted along the silent street, lest the clatter of their iron-shod soles should betray their passing. The feet of the beast which bore the wife and children were wrapped in cloths, which prevented noise; and the caravan, fatigued but rejoicing, arrived with much emotion at the furtive rendezvous of

prayer and edification. Sometimes, it is true, the soldiers of the gendarmerie, then called the *maréchaussée*, suddenly made their appearance, when all were engaged in the exercises of piety, and in the king's name arrested the pastor. Bloody collisions took place. The bullets of Popery oftener than once mangled the gospel of Christ; but the "assemblies of the wilderness" dissolved in one quarter, were resumed in another. Where, by the incessant confiscations of which they were the object, copies of the Bible had become too rare to suffice for the wants of all, societies of young people were formed, with the view of committing it to memory, and in this way saving themselves from that privation of it with which they were threatened. Each member of these pious associations was intrusted with the duty of carefully preserving in his recollection a certain number of chapters, and when the assembly of the wilderness met again, these new Levites, standing around the minister, with their faces towards the people, instead of the reading of the interdicted pages, recited in succession, and each in his turn, all the chapters of the book named by the pastor for common edification.

It was thus that the Protestant churches of France passed through these stormy times. In the valleys of Dauphiny, which were anciently Vaudois valleys, the descendants of these glorious martyrs have survived their misfortunes, and still subsist at Freysinières, Vars, Dormilhouse, Arvieux, Molines, and St. Veran. A recent apostolate, displaying, like those of the ancient Vaudois, the fervour which animated the primitive church, has connected with these countries the name of Felix Neff, which history has already placed alongside of that of Oberlin, the famous benefactor of the Vosges. The young missionary and the aged patriarch had the same ardour; for souls do not become aged, and what are our years in comparison with eternity? Even centuries are nothing. Happy are these churches which have combated during centuries for a cause that cannot be destroyed, and whose contests and triumphs shall be celebrated in the world of immortality!

The chapters following will show us the heroic and patient defenders of this cause in other places also, but everywhere the same.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS OF PROVENCE.—MÉRINDOL AND CABRIÈRES.¹

(A.D. 1350 TO A.D. 1550.)

Settlement of the Vaudois in Provence—Persecutions of the 16th century—Cruelties of Menier D'Oppède—Proceedings against the inhabitants of MÉRINDOL—Singular deliverance of many from death—The Vaudois of Cabrières—Cardinal Sadolet—Cardinal De Tournon—The Bishop of Cavaillon at MÉRINDOL—Edict of Francis I. suspending prosecutions—Revocation of that Edict surreptitiously obtained—Menier D'Oppède destroys MÉRINDOL, Cabrières, La Coste, and other places, and butchers their inhabitants—Protestantism in modern times on the slopes of the Leberon.

THE Vaudois established themselves in Provence during the reign of Charles II., who possessed vast lordships at once upon both sides of the Alps, and who therefore assumed the title of Count of Piedmont and of Provence. This was about the end of the 13th cen-

¹ AUTHORITIES.—"*Histoire de l'exécution de Cabrières, de MÉRINDOL, et d'autres lieux de Provence; ensemble une relation partie de ce qui passa aux cinquante audiences de la cause de MÉRINDOL*," par Louis Aubery de Mauriez. 4to, Paris, 1645.—Camerarius, "*De excidio reliq. Valdensium . . . lugubris narratio*." Heidelberg, 1606. (Edited thirty years after the death of the author, by his nephew, Louis Camerarius.)—"Hist. mémor. de la perséc. et saccagement du peuple de MÉRINDOL, Cabrières, et autres circonvoisins." 32mo, 1556. (Ascribed to Du Bellay, Seigneur of Langez, who was commissioned by Francis I., in 1541, to make an investigation concerning the Vaudois of Provence.)—"La perséc. de ceux de MÉR. et Cabr., peuples fidèles en Provence." Crespin, *Hist. des Martyrs*, edit. 1619, fol., from fol. 133 to fol. 159, and fol. 182 to 186.—"*Les Vaudois de Provence*, par Louis Frossard." 8vo, 1848, pp. 287.—"*Essai histor. sur les Vaudois de Provence . . . par Paulin Roman*." 4to, Strasburg, 1839.—"*Observ. sur les préliminaires de l'exécution de Cabrières et de MÉR.*," by Nicolay, in the *Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, t. xviii. p. 377 (a superficial work).—Dreux de Radier, *Articles critiques sur l'exéc. de Cabr. et de MÉR.*, in the *Journal de Verdun*, Sept. 1753, p. 189.—"*Revue de Comtat*," Nos. for February and March, 1839. "*Sur les débats judiciaires qui eurent lieu devant la chambre du roi en 1450; Jacobi Auberii, Parisiensis Advocati, pro Merindolis et Caprariensibus actio*," . . . fol., Lyons, 1619. Some of the pleadings on the other side have also been published. See, amongst others, that of the defender of Menier (the advocate Robert), &c. Many small pamphlets were published after Aubery's pleadings. De Thou speaks of these events in his history, book v. The lives of the Baron of Oppède and of the Baron of La Garde, who took part in these proceedings, have been published separately.

MSS.—"*Plaidoyers et autres actes intervenus en la cause de ceux de MÉRINDOL et Cabrières, depuis 1540 jusques en 1554*," a folio of more than 1000 pages, National Library, Paris, No. 204. (It is by this MS. that I have been chiefly guided in this work.)—"Pièces concernant l'affaire de MÉRINDOL," en 1540, Library of Aix, No. 798.—"*Enquête contre Jean de Roma, en 1520*." Paris (Archives de la République, section Hist.).—"Discours des guerres de la conté de Venayssin et de la Provence," . . . by Loys de Perussis, 4to (Library of Avignon).—"Hist. de la ville

tury. At the commencement of the next century, the persecutions directed against the Vaudois of Dauphiny caused some of them to take refuge with their brethren in the faith upon the banks of the Durance.

At the close of the ten years' war between Louis II., Count of Provence, and Raymond of Toulouse,¹ this district remained depopulated; and as Louis II. was obliged to sell part of it in order to provide for the expenses of that war, the Seigneurs of Boulier Cental, and of Rocca Sparviera, bought from him at that time the valley of Aigues, which stretches from north to south along the soft slopes of the Leberon. But these seigneurs already possessed, in the marquisate of Saluces, great estates cultivated by Vaudois. They engaged some of that people, therefore, to come and cultivate their new possessions likewise, and these lands were conveyed to them by *emphyteosis*, that is to say, upon perpetual lease.

From the most distant parts of Calabria, where other Vaudois were also settled, numbers of them returned to the valleys from which they originally sprung, and passed from thence into Provence, as there were also some from Provence who went to settle in Calabria; so great was then the fraternity subsisting among all these communities, or rather these dispersed parishes of an united church.

"In place of priests and of curés," says a Catholic author of that country,² "they had ministers who, under the name of Barbas, presided in their secret religious conventicles. However, as they were seen to be quiet and reserved, and as they faithfully paid their taxes, tithes, and seigneurial dues, and were moreover very industrious, they were not disturbed upon the subject of their practices and doctrines."

But the Reformers of Germany, to whom they sent a deputation along with their brethren of Piedmont, warmly urged them to abandon this reserve, reproaching them as guilty of dissimulation, because their exercises of religion were only conducted in secret. Scarcely had they made a more open display of their separation from the Church of Rome, when inquisitors were sent against them.

d'Apt, by Remerville. Library of Carpentras.—"*Hist. de la ville de Pernes . . . avec ce qui s'est passé de plus intéressant . . . &c.*" (The author of this MS. was Dr. Giberti.) In the same library, Nos. 606 and 607.—De Cambis Velleron, "*Annales d'Avignon*," first volume. Library of Avignon.—MSS. of Peyresk. Reg. xxxi. vol. ii., at fol. 361, &c. Library of Carpentras.

¹ From A.D. 1389 to A.D. 1400.

² *Histoire des guerres excitées dans le comtat Venaissin, par les Calvinistes du XVIIe siècle*, t. i. p. 39. This work, published anonymously, was written by Father Justin, a Capuchin monk, of Montoux, near Carpentras.

One of these, called John de Roma, perpetrated many outrages during a period of ten years which he spent in that region.¹

At last the king caused him to be imprisoned, and an investigation, whose voluminous records are preserved to this day,² was made concerning his exactions and cruelties. Nevertheless, the proceedings which he had instituted were continued. In 1534, says Gilles, the Bishops of Sisteron, Apt, Cavaillon, and others, each in his own diocese, caused inquisition to be made for the Vaudois, and filled the prisons with them. Learning that these heretics derived their origin from Piedmont, they wrote about them to the Archbishop of Turin, and he named a commissioner, who wrote to Provence that these proceedings should be suspended until he had made more perfect inquiry on his side. But the Bishop of Cavaillon replied, on the 29th of March, 1535, that thirteen of the prisoners had already been condemned to be burned alive. Of this number was Anthony Pasquet, of St. Ségont. The spirit of the martyr who gave his name to that village was not yet extinct there. Others had died in prison; the bishop mentioned in particular Peter Chalvet, of Rocheplate. Thus the intervention of the commissioner, who was himself a native of Rocheplate, was ineffectual to counteract the zeal of these prelates, and especially of the Parliament of Provence, more eager apparently for condemnations than for justice.

Clement VIII., a year before his death, promised plenary indulgences to all Vaudois who should return to the bosom of the Popish Church. None availed themselves of the offer. The pope complained to the King of France, who wrote on the subject to the Parliament of Aix; and the Parliament ordered the seigneurs of the lands occupied by the Vaudois, to compel their vassals to abjure or to quit the country. As they refused, an attempt was made to overcome them by intimidation. Some of them were cited to appear before the court of Aix, to explain the causes of their refusal; they did not attend, and the court condemned them by default to be burned alive. Thereupon their brethren took up arms; one named Eustace Maron put himself at their head, and they proceeded to rescue the prisoners. The authorities became alarmed, the effervescence extended, and a civil war was just on the point of breaking out in the district. The king, Francis I., was informed of it, and thinking to pacify all, he caused a general amnesty to be proclaimed in July, 1535, on condition that the heretics should abjure within six months.

Tranquillity was restored, and the six months passed away;

¹ From A.D. 1521 to 1532.

² National Archives, Paris (Michelet, Letter of April 20, 1839).

no one had abjured, and each of the seigneurs or magistrates in these regions arrogated the right of arbitrarily exacting the required abjuration, or punishing the Vaudois at his own pleasure by confiscation and imprisonment. This latter mode of proceeding may be said to have become truly fashionable. It was known that the Christian would rather give up his fortune than his creed, and he was deprived of his fortune in order to punish him for retaining his faith. It was a new way of acquiring wealth. Many availed themselves of it to a large extent; Ménier D'Oppède went beyond all bounds. He was poor, of Jewish descent, a man of doubtful integrity, of unquestionable selfishness, infatuated with self-conceit, like all men of little minds, and disdainful of low rank with a pride all the more contemptuous because he himself was but a miserable upstart. The apostasy of his grandfather seemed to irritate him all the more against the religious steadfastness of the Vaudois; the sternness of his character prevented his shrinking from the use of any kind of means, and his ambition made all kinds lawful. Marching with a troop of armed men, he would seize the Vaudois in their fields. "Call upon the saints for deliverance," he would say to them. "There is no other mediator between God and man," the Vaudois would reply, "but he who is both God and man, that is Christ." "Thou art a heretic; abjure thy errors." Upon the refusal of the Vaudois, he flung them into the cellars of the castle of Oppède, which served him for a prison, and did not release them without the payment of a large ransom, or if they died, he confiscated their goods.

These shocking depredations were particularly numerous in 1536. Next year the *procureur-general* of the Parliament of Provence, solicited at once by the fanatical clergy and by the interested spoliators, made a report, in which he represented that the Vaudois were daily increasing. On this report the king required the court to repress the rebels; and the year following (June, 1539) he authorized it to take cognizance of the crime of heresy. After the month of October in that same year, the court issued warrants for the arrestment of 154 persons, whom two apostates had denounced as heretics.

It may be imagined what an excessive fermentation such measures must have produced in the country; and though we can here give only a brief sketch, we may say that no historian has yet combined together those details, an acquaintance with which, however, is necessary, that the course of events may be understood. In circumstances such as these, a spark may cause a conflagration. This actually happened in the manner which we now proceed to show.

The mill of the Plan d'Apt was an object of desire to the magis-

trate of that town. He denounced Pellenc, the miller, as a heretic. Pellenc was burned alive, and his mill confiscated for behoof of the man who had denounced him. Some young men of Mérindol, in whose Provençal veins the Italian blood still boiled, were unable to contain their indignation at such iniquities, and in their ignorance of legal forms, to which, however, no recourse would have remained for them, they executed justice after the manner of the populace and according to the notions which children form of it; they destroyed, during the night, the mill of which the man who had destroyed their brother had so unrighteously obtained possession as the price of his blood. The magistrate of Apt made his complaint to the court of Aix, and named the persons whom he suspected of having had a hand in this business. The court, although it was vacation time (it was in July, 1540), held an extraordinary meeting, and ordered the apprehension of eighteen suspected persons. The officer commissioned to intimate to them the decree of the court, proceeded to Mérindol, where he found all the houses deserted. "Where are the inhabitants of this village?" said he to a poor man whom he met upon the road. "They have taken refuge in the woods," said the other, "because they were told that the troops of the Count de Tende¹ were coming to kill them." "Go and seek them," said the officer, "and tell them that no harm will be done to them." Some Vaudois came, and the officer summoned them to appear before the court within the space of two months from that date.

On the 2d of September they all met, and addressed a petition to the court, in which they protested their submission to its authority and their loyalty to the king, entreating the court not to lend an ear to their enemies, who would mislead it in the execution of justice, "for," say they, "in the summons which has been served upon us we find persons indicted to appear before you who are dead, and others who never existed, and children of so tender an age that they cannot even walk alone." The court, annoyed that simple countrymen should point out such mistakes in its decrees, replied that they must appear, without concerning themselves about the dead. The Vaudois consulted an advocate to know what they ought to do. "If you wish to be burned alive," said he, "you have nothing to do but to come." The poor people did not attend; and the day for which they were summoned being past, the court of Aix, on the 18th of November, 1540, pronounced against them an inconceivable sentence, condemning to the pile twenty-three persons, of whom only seventeen were designated by name. "The court," such are also the

¹ Then Governor of Provence, August, 1540.

further terms of that sentence, "delivers over their wives and their children to any one who can lay hold of them, prohibits all and sundry from giving them any assistance, and as the village of Mérindol is notoriously known to be a retreat of heretics, appoints all the houses and buildings of that place to be demolished and burned."

This decree caused a general indignation amongst all persons of enlightenment, especially amongst all the generous spirits belonging to the noblesse and the bar, as may be inferred from the following anecdote, borrowed from the writers of the time:—The President of the court of Aix was dining with the bishop of that city. "Well, Monsieur de Chassanée," said a woman, who lived in a shameless manner with the prelate, "when are you to execute the decree of Mérindol?" The president made no answer. "What decree do you mean?" asked a young man. The lady informed him. "It must certainly be a decree of the parliament of women," ironically exclaimed the youthful D'Allenc, one of the most eminent of the Arlesian noblesse. A councillor named De Sénas gravely affirmed its sad reality. "No; it is impossible to believe anything so barbarous," exclaimed the Seigneur of Beaujeu. A member of the parliament, who was also one of the company, thought to put an end to the conversation by a joke. "Ah! Seigneur de Beaujeu," said he, pointing to the young lady, as she sat between the bishop and the president, "if you are going to attack the gowns you will have no easy work of it!" The witticism caused a laugh, but the person to whom it was addressed replied with indignation, "It is atrocious! I have had to do with the inhabitants of Mérindol, and nowhere have I met with more decent people." "I would have been astonished," said the mistress of the episcopal palace, "if nobody had been found to defend these misbelievers!" "I would have been still more surprised," rejoined the young man, "if a new Herodias had not loved to see the shedding of innocent blood." "Come! come!" said the aged De Sénas, "we are here to enjoy ourselves, and not to dispute." Hereupon the discussion terminated; but, a few days, after the Count D'Allenc waited upon the President Chassanée, appealed to his sentiments of justice and humanity, and obtained a suspension of the decree. The court itself was alarmed at the decree which it had passed, and wrote to the king to remit the matter to his judgment.

Francis I. commissioned Dubellay, Seigneur of Langez, to repair to Provence, and make investigation as to the conduct of the Vaudois. "They are quiet and peaceable people," says he, in his report, "reserved in their manners, chaste and sober, very industrious, but very little in the habit of attending mass." Upon this

report, the monarch proclaimed a general amnesty (by letters, dated 18th February, 1541), whereby, leaving all that was past to be forgotten, he granted pardon to all the accused, upon condition that within three months they should abjure their errors of doctrine. These letters of grace, which came to the court in the beginning of March, were not published by it till the month of May. There remained only a fortnight for the Vaudois to avail themselves of them; but, if it had been only one moment, they would not have sought to prolong their lives by abjuring the truth and giving up their souls to death. On the contrary, they proclaimed their persecuted doctrines more distinctly than ever, by a confession of faith, drawn up on the 6th of April, 1541. This was sent to Francis I., and the Sire de Castelnau read it to him; each point of doctrine being supported by passages of the Bible. "Well! and what have they got to say in answer to this?" exclaimed the king. But his unsettled and shallow mind could not remain faithful to the impressions which it had received; he very soon forgot these words of approbation which a scriptural production had drawn from him—a production of which, indeed, enlightened Catholics themselves could not but approve.

The illustrious and learned Sadolet, whose features Raffaele has preserved to us in a celebrated painting, and who was then Bishop of Carpentras, caused a copy to be sent to him; and it is here that, for the first time, the Vaudois of Cabrières appear upon the stage, for they belonged to the diocese of Carpentras, whilst Mérindol formed part of that of Cavaillon. They made haste themselves to convey to Cardinal Sadolet a copy of their common confession. "We are ready," said they, on presenting it, "not only to abjure, but to be subjected to the severest penalties, if it can be shown to us, from the Holy Scriptures, that our doctrines are erroneous." The cardinal answered them kindly, acknowledged that they had been the objects of black calumnies,¹ invited them to come and hold conference with him, and endeavoured to convince them that without changing in any respect the purport of their confession, they might mitigate its terms. He did not seek to hide from them that he himself was desirous of a reform in Catholicism. If the Vaudois had always been examined before men such as he, blood would not have been shed.

Sadolet wrote to the pope that he was astonished to see proceedings adopted against the Vaudois, whilst the Jews were spared; but his protection was soon withdrawn from them by his removal from the country; for, being called to Rome, he lost sight of them,

¹ *Meras calumnias et falsas criminationes . . .*

and the Vaudois had now none to deal with but their persecutors.

The term of amnesty, announced by the letters of grace, being expired, the court of Aix commanded the Vaudois to send six mandatories, to declare whether they intended to take advantage of it and to conform to its conditions. One man alone presented himself, named Eslène: "We are ready to abjure," he once more said, "upon condition that our errors be proved to us." Others claimed the benefit of the amnesty without reservation; and of this number were those persons in particular who had been condemned by the decree of the 18th of November, 1540; so that the decree ceased, by this very circumstance, to have any object, yet afterwards it served as a pretext for their total extermination. This fact, which has not been noticed by any writer, exposes the disorder and iniquity then existing where the Vaudois were concerned, in respect of what was called the administration of justice.

A whole year now elapsed without any very notable incident, except the martyrdom of an humble hawker [colporteur] of books, who was surprised at Avignon in the very act of selling a Bible. His trial was soon finished: in the eyes of the Church of Rome his crime was unpardonable. All means were tried in order to make him abjure, but he had been too long familiar with the word of God to bow to the word of men. His steadfastness (which the evangelical colporteurs of our days seem to have inherited, and which they display in the midst of humiliating treatment sometimes experienced by them, where their predecessors would have incurred the penalty of death) did not forsake him in his last moments. Condemned to be burned alive at the place of public execution, he was chained to a post, to which the volume of the Holy Scriptures was also attached. "Ah!" cried he, "how can I complain of my being put to death, when the word of God is burned along with me?" The Bible and the Christian were consumed together in the flames; but the Vaudois were only the more confirmed in their faith and constancy.

The Cardinal De Tournon, stirred up against them by the Legate of the Holy See, transmitted to the king information that the clergy had condemned the Confession of Faith which they had presented. The king demanded to be apprised of the results which had been produced by the letters of grace which he had granted, and at the same time wrote to the governor of the province¹ requiring him to cleanse that region of heresy.

The Bishop of Cavaillon was one of those who most strongly

¹ Then the Sire de Grignan.

maintained that they should *make an end at once* with the heretics. The court of Aix delegated him, along with one of his councillors, to make inquiry at Mérindol how the Vaudois stood affected with regard to religion. Having arrived in the village, he sent for the *bailli*, whose name was Maynard, and for the principal persons of the place, and without touching upon any question of doctrine, said to them, "Abjure your errors, whatsoever they may be, and I will hold you as dear as I now hold you guilty: if not, then tremble for the penalty of your obstinacy." "Would your grace," said the *bailli*, "be pleased to tell us what points we are required to abjure?" "It is needless," said the bishop; "a general abjuration will satisfy us." "But according to the decree of the court," said they, "it is upon our Confession of Faith that we ought to be examined." "And what is that?" said the bishop's councillor, who was a doctor of divinity. The bishop presented it to him, saying, "See! the whole thing is full of heresy." "In what place?" said Maynard. "The doctor will tell you," replied the prelate. "I would need two or three days to examine it," remarked the theologian. "Very well! we will come back next week."

Eight days after, the doctor of divinity went to his bishop. "My lord," said he, "I have not only found this paper conformable to the Holy Scriptures, but, moreover, I have learned to understand them better during these two or three days, than during all the rest of my life." "You are under the influence of the devil," said the prelate. The councillor withdrew; and as we shall not meet with him again in the course of this history, it may here be added that this circumstance led him to search the Scriptures still more than he had yet done, and that, a year after, he went to Geneva, where he embraced Protestantism. Had the Confession of Faith of the Vaudois churches produced only that result, there is enough of good in the conversion and salvation of one immortal soul, to make us regard it with feelings of satisfaction, whatever temporal misfortunes may have ensued from it.

However, a few days after the bishop had dismissed this conscientious theologian, he filled up his place at Cavaillon with a doctor of the Sorbonne, recently come from Paris.

With him the prelate returned to Mérindol. They met some children on the way, and the bishop gave them a few pieces of money, recommending them to learn the *Pater* and the *Credo*. "We know them," said the children. "In Latin?" "Yes; but we cannot give the meaning of them except in French." "What need is there of so much knowledge?" said the bishop; "I know many doctors who would be at a loss to give the meaning of them." "And what

purpose would it serve to know them, if one did not know what the words meant?" replied Andrew Maynard, who now made his appearance before them. "Well, do you know it yourself?" said the prelate. "I would think myself very unhappy if I were ignorant of it," replied the bailli. And he explained the meaning of a portion. "I could not have believed," exclaimed the churchman, with a peculiar clerical oath, "that there had been so many doctors at Mérimol." "The least among us could tell you as much as I," replied the bailli; "only ask one of these children, and you shall see." But, as the bishop kept silence, he went on: "If you will permit, one of them shall himself ask questions at the rest." And they did it so readily and beautifully, that everybody marvelled.

The bishop then, sending away all the strangers, said to the Vaudois, "I know very well that there is not so much ill amongst you as people think; nevertheless, to satisfy men's minds, it is necessary that you should submit to some appearance of abjuration." "What would you have us to abjure," said they, "if we are in the truth?" "It is nothing but a mere formality that I require of you," said the bishop; "I demand neither notary nor signature. Let the bailli and the syndic only make an abjuration here, in secret, and in your name, as vague as they please, and I will put an end to all these prosecutions." The Vaudois kept silence, and made no reply. "What is it that restrains you?" said the bishop, to remove all difficulty; "if you do not think fit to keep by that abjuration, nobody will be able to convict you, neither by your act nor your signature." But the upright and honest minds of these simple mountaineers could not enter into such sinuosities of popish consciences. "We are frank and sincere, my lord," said they, "and we are not disposed to do anything that we cannot keep by." Oh! do not the reservations and prudent dissimulations of worldly wisdom seem wretched indeed, when contrasted with that generous blindness of honesty and truth! For if the Vaudois had but thought fit to say, "We abjure our errors," making application of that expression to some other thing altogether than their doctrines, perhaps they might have been saved. But Jesuitism is not of Vaudois origin. The bishop withdrew.

On the 4th of April, 1542, he returned with a recorder of the tribunal, and a commissioner of the parliament. The inhabitants of Mérimol were summoned together again: the papers in their case were read; some remarks were exchanged betwixt the bailli and the recorder; but the commissioner becoming impatient, commanded them to be silent, and required the Vaudois to give their conclusive reply. "Our reply," said they, "is, that our errors

ought to be pointed out to us." The commissioner asked the bishop to do it. The bishop replied that public report was a sufficient inculpation of the heretics. "And was it not to ascertain if these reports were well founded that the investigation was appointed?" said Maynard, in name of the Vaudois. The bishop, sufficiently embarrassed, then called upon a preaching monk, who was with him, to preach a sermon to them. The monk pronounced a long discourse in Latin, and every one withdrew. But the commission not having followed up this investigation, another year passed, during which the Vaudois enjoyed some measure of tranquillity. Nay, the inhabitants of Cabrières du Cantal (for there is also a Cabrières d'Aigues), having been attacked by a band of marauders, amongst whom were some soldiers of Avignon, addressed their complaints to Francis I.; and the monarch, comprehending at last the intrigues of their enemies, signed, of his own accord, on the 14th of June, 1544, an edict, by which he suspended all proceedings commenced against the Vaudois, ordaining that they should be re-established in all their privileges, and that those of them who were prisoners should be set at liberty, and which concluded with these words, "And seeing that the Procureur-General of Provence is a relative of the Archbishop of Aix, *their sworn enemy*, a councillor of the court shall be appointed in his place to inform me if they are innocent." It looked as if all was on the point of being thus brought to an end; and seeming just to approach a peaceful conclusion of this agitated drama, we are farther than ever from anticipating the terrible catastrophe with which it was really to close.

The court of Aix, before publishing the letter of Francis I., sent one of its officers, named Courtin, to Paris, in order if possible to obtain the revocation of it. A sum of sixty livres was allowed him for this journey. He had letters of recommendation to the Cardinal De Tournon, and to the *Procureur du Roi* of the privy council. In a meeting of this council, on the 1st of January, 1545, the letters of revocation were presented to the king for signature. Francis I. signed them without reading them; afterwards he repented of it, and inquiry was made by whom these letters had been prepared, and by whose hands they had been brought to him. The name of the *Procureur du Roi* in the privy council was John Leclerc. "Was it you," he was asked, "who signed this paper?" "I have no recollection of it." The seal was broken; there was no signature. The persons commissioned to inquire into the matter sent for Leclerc's substitute, whose name was William Potel. He was asked, "Was it you who prepared the paper?" "Yes, but I did not sign it." "Who got you to write it?" "It was M. Cour-

tin, an officer of the Parliament of Provence." "Why did you not sign it?" "Because it wanted the packet of documents connected with it." "By whom were these letters of revocation, which have been surreptitiously obtained and illegally drawn up, introduced into the privy council?" "By Monsieur the Cardinal De Tournon." The cardinal was called. "Who gave these documents to your eminence?" "The officer of the court of Aix, sent by the president, D'Oppède" (for D'Oppède had succeeded Chassanée in 1543). "Whose business was it to present them for his majesty's signature?" "The grand chancellor's." This dignitary was sent for, and the letters of revocation were exhibited to him. He was asked if he had ever had them in his hands. He said, "Yes; but as they did not appear to be regular, I did not think it proper to present them for signature to the king." "Then who presented them?" "He who countersigned them." They looked and found that this was the minister De L'Aubespine. He was summoned before the commission, and acknowledged his signature, but he said that the paper had not been written in his office. None of his clerks had any better recollection of it. The hand of the clergy, working in secret, had left no trace of the tortuous course by which these letters had passed. Moreover, says the advocate-general of 1550, the seal was of white wax, and the counter-seal green, a thing quite unusual.

It is therefore beyond doubt that these letters had been dishonestly fabricated, and presented at unawares for the signature of the king. Let us now see what they contained.

"Considering," it is there said, "that the heretics of Lucerna have established themselves in Provence, and preach there; that the Vaudois publicly manifest their heresy, that they trouble the country . . . &c., the court of Provence shall proceed to execute the decree of the 18th of November, 1540, all letters of grace of later date notwithstanding, and we ordain the governor of the province to apply himself with all vigour to the execution of justice in this matter."

What justice, O God! what iniquity! And this business becomes blacker still, if we consider that the privy council, even if the papers had come to it in the regular way, had no power to decree anything contrary to the letters of grace and evocation, which had been granted by the monarch himself. It was an equally flagrant, and still more deplorable contravention of law, that whilst the decree of the 18th of November, 1540, only bore the condemnation of a small number of the inhabitants of Mérindol, yet under the pretext of the execution of that decree was included the destruction by fire and sword of a whole population, occupying seventeen villages, all of which were ravaged and destroyed.

Scarcely had this sanguinary order been obtained, when Courtin sent it to D'Oppède, by an express courier. This courier arrived at Aix on the 13th of February, 1545. The court of Aix immediately wrote to Courtin, signifying its great satisfaction; to M. De Grignan, Governor of Provence, requiring him to have troops ready for their service; and to the Cardinal De Tournon, congratulating him on the triumph which he had obtained.

Here, again, a new infraction of judicial forms took place. The Vaudois, who were trusting to the suspension of proceedings, in terms of the royal letters of 14th June, 1544, ought to have received immediate notification of these new papers, which gave effect to the original decree. They received no notification of the kind; all was carefully concealed from them; the troops were collected in silence; and advantage was taken of the feeling of security amongst the poor people to make preparations for their death. The enemies of the Vaudois did not wish that they should have time to address to their sovereign a reclaiming petition, which might have led to a detection of the villainy of which he had been the dupe, and of which they were to be the victims. They only waited until a certain Captain Poulain, Baron of La Garde, who was then in Piedmont, and who was soon to conduct a body of veteran troops to Roussillon, should pass through Provence, in order to employ these troops in that service. He arrived on the 6th of April. From the 7th to the 11th all the necessary preparations were made for the execution of that retroactive sentence, which had never even been notified to those whom it concerned. The next day, the 12th of April, was the Sabbath; nevertheless, the court met on the summons of Menier D'Oppède. The king's advocate, whose name was Guérin, formally demanded the execution of the decree, to which these letters of revocation were supposed to have restored all its force. The court accorded his demand, named commissioners, and required D'Oppède, as the king's lieutenant, in absence of the governor, to take vigorous measures for the execution of justice—an odious mockery! Immediately after, D'Oppède wrote to the Warden of Apt to take arms and seize upon all the heretics of the neighbourhood; he then caused his commissioners to set out, who that same evening arrived at Pertuis.

At the same time orders were sent to the inhabitants of Lourmarin to prepare billets for 1000 infantry, and 300 cavalry. The inhabitants replied by taking up arms. The summons was repeated; they demanded a delay of twelve hours to consider of it. "What!" it was answered, "shall subjects make terms with their prince?" The Châtelaine of Lourmarin, Blanche de Lévis, came in person to

intercede for them. She was not listened to. Thereupon she went to the public square of the village, into the midst of the inhabitants, and with many tears adjured them to lay down their arms, and not to expose themselves to certain destruction. "Our destruction will only be the more speedy if we do so," was their reply. "But at least send a petition," said she. "Well," said they, "let them only allow us to leave the country, and we will abandon our property to those who wish to get possession of it by our death." But the poor châtelaine could give them no assistance in this matter. The Lady of Cental also wrote to D'Oppède to entreat him to spare her vassals. But Captain Vaujuine had already arrived at Cadenet. The troops spread over the country commenced to pillage and to burn. The first column, led by D'Oppède, marched upon Lourmarin. The second, conducted by the Baron of La Garde, marched upon La Motte and Cabrières d'Aigues. The third, under the orders of Vaujuine and De Redortier, proceeded towards Mérindol and Cabrières du Comtat.¹

D'Oppède commenced, upon the way, by setting fire to the houses of La Roque, Ville Laure, and Trezeminès, which had been deserted by the Vaudois; he did the same at Lourmarin, where 114 houses were destroyed by the flames. He then ordered the officers and the consuls of Apt to collect all the forces possible at Roussillon, and to proceed thither and await his orders.

On the 18th of April, the united troops of D'Oppède, Vaujuine, Redortier, and Poulain, appeared before Mérindol. The inhabitants had fled from it, but a young man, whom some circumstance had detained in the fields, was seized by the spoilers. His name was Maurice Blanc. He was tied to an olive tree, and the soldiers making a target of his body, seemed to delight in insulting his agony by discharging their pieces at him from a distance. He expired, pierced by five arquebuse balls. Just so many were the wounds which his Saviour had received upon the cross. The young martyr of Mérindol committed his soul to him, with the exclamation, "O Lord, receive my spirit into thy hands!"

They then set fire to the village, which was entirely destroyed. Some women, says a person who was present, having been surprised in the church, were stripped of their garments, and the barbarians, making them join hands as for a dance, compelled them, by severely pricking them with their daggers and pikes, to march round the castle, amidst shouts of laughter and outrages, of which they were

¹ According to the report of this expedition, drawn up by Brissons, criminal recorder to the court of Aix, who was associated with the commissioners in order to draw it up.

the objects. After this they took them, already covered with blood, and flung them, one after another, from the top of the rock upon which the castle was built. Many others were taken elsewhere and sold. A father had to go as far as Marseilles to redeem his daughter. A young mother, who was fleeing across the corn-fields with her infant in her arms, was seized and violated by these soldiers, or rather brutes, whilst she still continued to hold her babe pressed to her breast. An old woman, whose age secured her from similar outrage, was treated by them in a way which insulted both humanity and their own religion. They shaved her in the form of a cross, and having decked her with some worthless ornaments, dragged her through the streets, chanting in derision, after the manner of priests. This took place at Lauris, on the way between Cabrières and Avignon. The procession arrived where there was an oven ready for baking bread, and the soldiers, pushing their victim forward with their weapons, said to her, "Go in there, you old damned wretch!" The poor woman was going in without resistance, so much had she been tormented, when those who had heated the oven objected, and prevented her from being thrown into it.

Amidst such brutalities, a thousand times repeated, under different and more revolting forms, the army came to Cabrières. It was a fortified town in the territories of the pope. The king's troops had no power to touch it without the consent of the pontiff. But the vice-legat, Mormoiron, hastened to put into the hands of D'Oppède the most unlimited powers for this expedition.

They arrived at Cabrières on the 19th of April, which was also a Sabbath. The walls were battered from morning to night, in order to make a breach in them—a becoming sanctification of the day of the Lord! The Vaudois, who were shut up in that place, prayed and offered an unyielding resistance. The attack was continued all night without effect. On Monday morning D'Oppède put a stop to the firing. He wrote, with his own hand, to the Vaudois, that if they would open the gates of their town he would do them no harm. He probably knew that, according to the decision of the Council of Constance, there is no necessity for keeping faith with heretics. The Vaudois, less familiar with the canonical science, which teaches perjury, than with the Bible, which enjoins sincerity, judged by its maxims of the king's word, or that of the President of the court of Aix, and opened to him the gates of Cabrières. The first troops which entered were the veteran bands of the Baron of La Garde, newly arrived from Piedmont, men inured to all the dangers of war. It was by them that the carnage was to be com-

menced, but knowing the terms of capitulation which had been agreed upon, the soldiers asserted that it concerned their honour to oppose the infraction of them. The commissioners of the court of Aix and of the vice-legate entered into a discussion with them upon this point. Meanwhile Menier D'Oppède caused the principal persons of the town to be called, who came with unhesitating confidence. They were eighteen in number. Their hands were tied, and they were ordered to the midst of the troops. They supposed that they were only made hostages, to secure the tranquillity of the rest of the population. But as they moved along the ranks of the Provençal troops commanded by D'Oppède, his son-in-law, named De Pourrières, struck with his cutlass the bald head of an old man, whose tottering step had caused him to touch him in passing. "Kill them all!" cried D'Oppède, seeing him fall, and in a moment these dastardly and fanatical troops fell upon them and butchered them. After they were dead, the same De Pourrières, and the Sire de Faulcon, went about amongst them and mutilated their corpses.

The heads of these unfortunate men were carried about on pikes. The passions of the soldiery were roused; the signal for massacre had been given. Some women, shut up in a barn, which was set on fire, sought to save themselves by leaping from its walls. They were received upon the points of partizans and swords. Others had retired into the castle. "Their death! their blood!" cried D'Oppède, and pointed out to his soldiers the way to their place of refuge.

But how shall I describe the scene which took place in the church? It was the most horrible and sacrilegious scene of all; for it was there that a great number of the women and young girls of the place had taken refuge. The soldiers rushed upon them, stripped them, committed the most shocking outrages upon them, and then some were thrown down from the steeple; others were taken away to be still further abused. Pregnant women might be seen with their bellies ripped up, and the bloody fruit of their womb fallen from them. Mutilated bodies, still breathing, lay scattered before the porch. The advocate Guérin, who was present there, said in his deposition, "I think I saw four or five hundred poor souls of women and children killed in that church."

The prisoners who were not put to death by order of the president, were sold by the soldiers to those who recruited for the royal galleys. However, the vice-legate would not suffer any quarter to be given. Such was the spirit of Popery in its most exalted representatives. This legate also, having learned that twenty-five persons, the greater part of whom were mothers of families, were concealed in a cave towards Mys, although it was not within

the boundary of the papal territories, marched thither with soldiers to destroy them. Arriving at the entrance of the cave, he gave orders for discharges of musketry, but no one came out. Thereupon he caused a great fire to be kindled in the mouth of the cave, and every living creature in it was stifled to death. Five years after their dried bones were still to be seen, as was ascertained in those judicial investigations of which we are presently to speak. The general results of these investigations, which may here be stated, were, that in this extermination 763 inhabited houses, eighty-nine stables, and thirty-one barns were burned. As to the number of the slain, it could not be ascertained with precision, but it was estimated at more than 3000.

Whilst he was still at Cabrières, D'Oppède received a message from the Seigneur of La Coste, praying him to spare his vassals. This was on Monday evening. "Let them make four breaches in their walls," replied D'Oppède, "and then we shall see." On Tuesday morning the breaches were commenced. Two officers, with a few soldiers, arrived. The Seigneur of La Coste offered them a refreshment before the gate of the castle. Two domestics served it. The soldiers sat down to eat, and whilst they eat there arrived, with a great sound of drums and trumpets, the bulk of the forces of Menier D'Oppède, marching as to an assault. The inhabitants of the little town were alarmed, closed the gates, and interrupted the making of the breaches, which had been commenced. The soldiers scattered themselves through the gardens of the castle, which were on the outside of the walls of the town, tore up the plants, cut down the fruit-trees, burned the arbours, and dragged about over the parterres, which they had covered with ruin and confusion, their prisoners, whom they cruelly maltreated. Within the walls the soldiers who had got admission killed the two domestics who served them.

Next day, being Wednesday, the 22d of April, D'Oppède wrote to the syndics of La Coste to persuade them to open the gates of the town, promising justice and protection. The gates were opened, and that instant the furious soldiery rushed into the streets, destroying, plundering, ravishing, massacring, and burning in all directions. A little warren lay behind the castle. Thither the soldiers dragged the captives whom they seized, to deprive them of their honour before depriving them of their life. Mothers attempted to defend their daughters, and to save them from the perpetrators of these brutalities. One, seeing the fruitlessness of her efforts, pierced her bosom with a knife, and held it out bleeding to her daughter, that she might stab herself with it also. "Oh! I am overcome with

all these horrors," exclaims the king's advocate, who pleaded in the *evocation* of this affair before the court of Peers. "Spare me from speaking of the wretches who flung themselves from the top of the walls, or hanged themselves upon the trees, or stabbed themselves, the victims trodden under foot, or wandering about and dying of famine, or torn by the ravens, or seized and killed, or sold and sent to the galleys."¹ The very cattle of these poor people perished for want of shelter, for it was forbidden to harbour a Vaudois, or anything that had appertained to them. A poor woman, ready to die of hunger, asked a morsel of bread at the door of a farm-house. "It is forbidden," they said. "If men forbid you, God commands you," cried she. But that cry did not save her, and the Church of Rome was able to reckon one triumph more.

What, then, became of such of these unfortunate Vaudois as succeeded in making their escape from present death? Assembled upon the wild brows of Leberon, they prayed God to enlighten their enemies, and entreated from him the strength which they needed, that they might not be tempted, in consequence of their misery and their calamities, to abandon their faith or to adopt any evil course. Their calamities were not yet, however, at an end, for after the regular troops came the marauders. The inhabitants of the village of Les Jourdain scoured the country with flags flying, and returned to their homes with mules laden with booty. Those of Puypin rifled their own churches, hoping that this spoliation might be laid to the charge of the Vaudois. Those of Mount Furon killed or sold some wandering children, whom they contrived to seize. Those of Garambois murdered an old man in a cistern. In short, there was nothing but violence, spoliation, and death everywhere. The country-house of Cantal, which was then the most beautiful in Provence, was burned.

The lady of that place, as guardian of her son, whose lands had been ravaged, addressed a complaint to the king. This complaint was brought before the second tribunal of the kingdom, called the Queen's Chamber. The parties concerned in these ravages were cited to appear before this court, but they refused, sheltering themselves behind the authority of the decrees, in virtue of which they pretended to have acted. It became necessary to revert to the decrees themselves, and to examine them; but for this the Queen's

¹ *Viros et morte peremptos,
Indigna: raptasque, soluto crine, puellas;
Et late miseris subjecta incendia vicis.*

The Chancellor Michel De L'Hôpital. *Epist. ad Franc. Olivarium . . . de causa Merindolii . . . &c.*

Chamber was not competent, and the case was carried before the supreme tribunal of the kingdom, called the King's Chamber, afterwards called the Court of Peers. Thus it came to pass that all these acts of iniquity and barbarity were inquired into by judicial investigations, the records of which place them all in a clear light, though to those who have not consulted them the connection of events is sufficiently obscure.

This case was tried in September, 1551, during the reign of Henry II., who sought to cleanse away this stain of blood from the memory of his father. Nevertheless, the most guilty were not punished; the advocate Guérin alone was condemned to death, and D'Oppède returned in triumph to Provence. But we may form some notion of all the intrigues which the clergy must have put in operation to save him, from the fact that on the news of his acquittal hymns of thanksgiving were sung in the churches.

Public prayers were made in Provence to ask of God the preservation and speedy return of this illustrious defender of the faith! "Truth prevails over all." This maxim of history condemns him now. Its tribunal, superior even to that of the Court of Peers, is not accessible, like the tribunals of men, to the corrupting influences of the mighty, whom it judges even in their graves.

Those of the Vaudois who survived retired into the valleys of Piedmont, and afterwards returned to Provence when the storm was past. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes overthrew once more the places of worship which they had rebuilt upon the banks of the Durance. Under the deplorable reign of Louis XV. the vexatious treatment of the Protestants was continued in a more hypocritical and more undignified manner. At the present day Protestantism flourishes again on the desolated slopes of the Leberon, but religious indifference has wrought greater ravages amongst souls than the persecutions of former times. The inhabitants of these regions scarcely know their history. May the remembrance of their ancestors, recalled in these pages, lead them to an imitation of them! That Bible which made them so great, even in adversity, can alone restore the Vaudois character to these churches, which have forgotten their very origin, and lost even the dignity of misfortune.

CHAPTER VI.

THE VAUDOIS IN CALABRIA.¹

(A.D. 1400 TO A.D. 1560.)

Settlement of the Vaudois in Calabria—Montalto, St. Xist, and other places founded by them—La Guardia—Correspondence maintained between the Vaudois of Calabria and those of the Alps—John Louis Paschal appointed pastor—Commencement of persecution in 1559—Sufferings of Paschal and of Mark Uscégli—Paschal conveyed to Rome—Attempts to induce him to recant—His martyrdom—Cardinal Alexandrini in Calabria—Falsehood and cruelty—Slaughter of the Vaudois of St. Xist and La Guardia—Fearful massacres and atrocities—Escape of a small remnant of the Calabrian Vaudois to Piedmont—Protestantism extinguished in Calabria.

It has been already mentioned that the Vaudois had also churches in Calabria. The following is the account which Rorengo gives of their emigration thither.

Two young men of the Vaudois valleys happened one day to be in Turin, in a hostelry, to which also a Calabrian nobleman came to lodge. The young men talked about their affairs, and the desire which they felt of going and settling somewhere out of their own country, where the cultivation of the soil began to be insufficient for the wants of the population. The stranger said to them, "My friends, if you choose to come with me, I will give you delightful plains instead of your rocks." The young Vaudois accepted his offer, on condition of their obtaining the consent of their families, which they went to ask, and in the hope that they might not be the only ones to accept this offer, but that others of their fellow-countrymen would accompany them.

The people of the valleys did not think it proper to come to any determination before acquainting themselves with the places in which it was proposed to establish them. For this purpose they sent commissioners into Calabria, accompanied by the two young men to whom the lord of the place had offered land.

"In that country," says Gilles, "there were beautiful streams

¹ AUTHORITIES.—Perrin, Gilles, *Léger*.—M'Crie, "History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy, in the 16th century" (translated). Paris, 1831, 8vo, p. 290.—Meille, "Les Vaudois en Calabre au XIVe S." In the *Revue Suisse*, ii. p. 647-658, and 687-709.—Thomaso Costa, "Seconda parte del compendio del *Pistoria di Napoli*," p. 257.—A Porta, "Historia Reformationis Ecclesie Rhetice," ii. 210, 310.—Partaleon, "Iterum in ecclesia gestarum historia," p. 337.—Giannone, "Hist. gén. du roy. de Naples."—Hondorff, "Theatrum histor.," &c. Rorengo, Crespin, &c.

(Still unconsulted.—Archives of Cosenza, of Naples, and of the Inquisition at Rome).

and little hills, clothed with all sorts of fruit-trees growing promiscuously, according to the soil which they affected, such as olive and orange trees. In the plains were vines and chestnuts; along the lower hills, walnuts, oaks, beeches, and other hardwood trees; on the slopes and crests of the mountains, larches and firs. Everywhere were to be seen in abundance lands fit for cultivation, with few to cultivate them."

In the Vaudois valleys of Piedmont, on the contrary, there were more labourers than there were fields for them to cultivate; they were like a bee-hive which has become too small through the prosperity and increase of its population. Emigration was therefore soon resolved upon, and a new swarm of these heaven-blessed and flourishing families prepared to transport to a distance their industrious habits and pure manners, indicative throughout of the spirit of the first times of the gospel.

The young people who were to go made haste to marry; those who had properties sold all; and every one put his affairs in order. It must have been in the year 1340 that this took place;¹ and never before had these peaceful valleys known so general a movement, an agitation so great and so profound, extending everywhere amongst their families. The festivities which celebrated their domestic alliances were mingled with the grief of separations. More than one nuptial procession was changed into the caravan of exile. They could say, indeed, like the Hebrews, setting out for the promised land, "The tabernacle of the Lord shall go before us," for they bore with them their hereditary Bible, the gospel of consolation and of courage, that holy ark of the new covenant and of peace of heart. Yet the old men, and still more the poor mothers, must have wept many tears on beholding the departure, for an unknown region, of those youth in whom were centred all the earthly hopes of their declining days. Accordingly, the whole Vaudois family accompanied the first steps of this young colony on its departure. At the base of their mountains they embraced and wept, praying together to the God of their fathers to bless them always, both the one portion and the other, at the two extremities of Italy.

Thereafter the emigrants moved away in silence from their native country, and most of them never to return to it again. They took twenty-five days to reach Calabria, not accomplishing their journey without many privations, and perhaps regretful longings after their native land, becoming dearer to them the farther that they removed from it. But they bore a part of their country along with them, as they were entirely surrounded with fellow-countrymen and with

¹ Compare, as to this date, Perrin, p. 196, and Gilles, p. 19, lines 10 and 24.

familiar objects; above all, they bore with them in their hearts that confidence in the Almighty which is better than country or home.

Having arrived at the places which they were to inhabit, they agreed upon the conditions of their settlement. The lords of the soil granted them very favourable conditions. According to the terms agreed upon, the Vaudois were bound only to pay a certain quit-rent to the owners, and upon this were left at liberty to manage their agricultural labours, according to their own pleasure. The right was granted to them of combining themselves in one or more independent communities, of naming their own rulers, both civil or ecclesiastical, and, finally, of imposing rates and collecting them without being bound to demand any authorization, or to render any account of what they did. These conditions, thus arranged, became a sort of charter to the Vaudois in this new country.

Thus was there secured to them an amount of liberty very great for that period; and their sense of its value is proved by the fact, that they caused these conditions to be drawn out in an authentic instrument, which at a later period was confirmed by the King of Naples, Ferdinand of Arragon.

The first little town founded by these new colonists was situated near the town of Montalto; and as the inhabitants had passed, in order to settle in it, over the mountains which separate that region from Upper Italy, the place of their residence was called Borgo d'Oltremontani, the town of Outremont, or town of the Ultramontanes. Half-a-century later, they built St. Xist, which became afterwards the capital of that colony. During the interval, and after the foundations of these towns were laid, the hamlets of Vacarisso, L'Argentine, St. Vincent, Les Rousses, and Montolieu sprung up, the names being in general merely those of the places where they were built. These numerous villages attest the increasing prosperity of a country previously almost without inhabitants.

It is, indeed, remarkable what a civilizing influence the gospel possesses, diffusing blessings amongst the people everywhere, in proportion to the purity in which it is received. The Vaudois churches, so flourishing in the midst of a land filled with superstition and wretchedness, presented then the same contrast which is still remarked in our own days between Protestant and Catholic countries. Let men draw what inference they may, it is indisputable that Brazil, where the Church of Rome is absolute, is very inferior in enlightenment, in morality, and in prosperity, to the United States of North America, where Protestantism has diffused

so much of liberty and life. In Europe, what a difference betwixt Spain, the country of inquisitors, and Germany, the country of the Reformation; betwixt Catholic Ireland and Protestant Scotland! France itself has only improved in its condition as Catholicism has lost power. And under the sky of Italy, in these fertile regions of Calabria, at the period to which our history relates, the industrious and united Vaudois made the striking contrast to appear for the first time.

Peacefully enjoying the privileges which they had obtained, faithful in the payment of their taxes and their tithes, and satisfied to abide within the restricted circle of their own beliefs and affections, they might have been supposed to be reserved for the happiest destinies. Yes! God gave them, indeed, all the means of quiet happiness, but Rome took them away. The Marquis of Spinello, struck with the improvements which they had introduced in the lands intrusted to them, invited them to his estates likewise. He authorized them to surround with walls the town which they built. This town was, for this reason, called *La Guardia*, as being appointed to perform the principal part in *guarding* their country.

Towards the end of the 14th century, their brethren of Provence being persecuted, many of them returned to the valleys from which their fathers had emigrated; but finding them too densely peopled to be able to accommodate new inhabitants, and some even of their own inhabitants desiring also to leave their native land, they formed together a new emigration, descending again into Italy, and settling on the frontiers of Apulia, not far from their Calabrian brethren. The villages which owed their origin to these new colonists, were all surrounded with walls, and were called by the same names with those which their inhabitants had left. There was a *La Cellaie*, after a place in the valley of Angrogna; a *Faët*, after a place in the valley of St. Martin; a *La Motte*, after a place at the base of the Leberon, near Cabrières d'Aigues, in Provence.

Even in A.D. 1500, some Vaudois left Freyssinières and Pragela, to settle in Calabria. They fixed their residence upon the banks of a little river, called the Volturate, which flows from the Apennines into the sea of Tarentum. Latterly, says Gilles, they extended themselves into divers other parts of the kingdom of Naples, and even into Sicily.

It is evident that the blessing of God rested upon these Vaudois colonies in their prosperity; and not only agriculture, but the sciences flourished among them; for Barlaam of Calabria, of whom Petrarch was the disciple, was himself, according to some writers, a

disciple of the Vaudois. Sprung from all parts of the Alps where their brethren dwelt, they formed amongst themselves a representation of the whole Vaudois nation. We may therefore imagine what satisfaction they must have felt in that country, in which they found, as it were, all their native countries brought together. Moreover, they frequently received visits from pastors of the valleys. The Vaudois Synod renewed the appointments for this purpose every two years. Each of these pastors was accompanied by a fellow-labourer younger than himself, and after two years' sojourn amongst their brethren of these churches, they returned to the mother church; for the Vaudois Church did not act upon the principle of assigning the same field of labour to its pastors for the whole period of their ministry.

But they did not take the same road, in their return to the valleys, which they had followed in going to Calabria. If they had gone by the right of the Apennines, by Genoa and Naples, they returned by the left, along the coasts of the Adriatic. This change of route was not without design;¹ for in almost all the cities of Italy, as in Genoa, Venice, Florence, and even Rome itself, they had brethren, and a private house in which they met. It was not until they had accomplished this evangelistic pilgrimage, of which the last station was Milan, that the missionary pastors returned to their own country. It must have been an occasion of great Christian joy for these poor isolated souls, whose secret sympathies made them look so eagerly for the coming of their pastors, when a preconcerted signal by the stranger who knocked at their door, made him known as the missionary from the Alps, whom the Vaudois Church sent to them once every two years.

Conducted with every demonstration of kindness into the hospitable abode, where the recollection of the Barbas who had preceded him was preserved as a family treasure, from generation to generation, he found that abode his own, and that family his flock; a small flock no doubt, but under the care of the Good Shepherd. The faithful minister carried with him his commission in the gospel, which he was always ready to exhibit. How eagerly they must have pressed around him, and questioned him regarding the churches which he had visited in his journey, the brethren with whom he had met, and the Barba who had been with them two years before!² Frequently the replies communicated melancholy news, and then they prayed together, and meditated on the Sacred Books. The man of God, a stranger and a pilgrim on the earth, received, according to the custom of the ancient Vaudois and of

¹ Gilles, p. 20.

² Meille, *Rev. Suisse*, ii. 653.

the primitive church, the evangelical confession of these humble believers, and then parted from them to go on his way, and to seek other hidden ones whom he was to comfort and confirm. Gilles relates that his grandfather, upon a visit which he made to the faithful in Venice, was assured by themselves that they were about 6000 in number.¹

But all improvement, however slight, which purifies the heart, elevates also the mind, and develops the understanding. This we have already seen illustrated in the way in which the Vaudois distinguished themselves, as the first to make use of their common language for the composition of verse—that beautiful Romance language, which was extinguished in the blood of the Albigenses, and with which a literature full of promise, and a civilization that might have proved important for the world, irrecoverably perished. In Calabria, likewise, attention was drawn to the Vaudois by the enlightenment which distinguished them in an age of darkness; and when the Reformation had broken out, the Church of Rome, becoming more observant of religious movements—whilst these, on the other hand, acquired a greater strength—could not but fix her eyes upon those Protestant churches which had preceded Protestantism, those primitive churches which had survived the apostolic times. Their existence was their condemnation: they must needs be utterly destroyed.

Already, at different times, says Perrin,² “the clerical race had made complaint that these ultramontanes did not live religiously, like other people; but the seigneurs restrained the curés, saying that these cultivators of the soil came from distant and unknown regions, where, perchance, the people were not so much addicted to the ceremonies of the church; but that in the main they were remarkable for honesty, charitable towards the poor, punctual in paying their rents, and full of the fear of God; that therefore there was no reason why their consciences should be troubled about a few processions, images, or lights, which they had less than the other people of the country.” This restrained those who looked upon them with ill-will, and prevented for a time the murmurs of their neighbours, who, not having been able to draw them into alliances by intermarriage, became jealous when they saw their lands, their cattle, and their labours, more blessed of Heaven than their own. Thus they remained in liberty, prospering as the people of God, even in the land of bondage. The priests themselves, says Meille, had never levied such large tithes as since the Vaudois had come to make the country more productive. To drive

¹ Gilles, p. 20.

² P. 197.

them away would have been to render themselves poor, and they held their peace.

However, the Calabrian brethren came to know that their fellow-Vaudois of the Piedmontese valleys, yielding to the counsels of the Reformers, had erected places of worship, instead of the private houses in which they had previously been accustomed to assemble; and they thought it their duty also to make an outward manifestation of their existence as an evangelical church. "But the Barba who was then with them, an aged and prudent man," says the historian Gilles, whose great-grandfather he was, "represented to them that zeal must be contented without always pushing things to the uttermost; for it was necessary for them to consider if, in their circumstances, they were able to act as freely as their brethren of the Val Lucerna, and to make themselves as conspicuous, without endangering the destruction of their churches. In short, he counselled them to bend to the times, and even secretly to put their affairs in order, so that they might retire to a place of safety in the moment of peril." "Some," adds the chronicler, "followed his counsel, and were saved; others, who thought it judicious, proceeded, but slowly, to act upon it, and in this way many lost their lives; but the majority did nothing, either because they were too much attached to that country to be able to make up their minds to quit it, or because they had too much confidence in God to entertain any fear." In the meantime, the Barba Stephen Négrin, of Bobi, in the valley of Lucerna, succeeded the aged Barba Gilles, who returned to his native country.

But the Calabrians wished to have a settled pastor, who should not quit them. For this purpose they sent to Geneva one of their number, named Mark Uscegli, and familiarly known by the name of Marquet, one of those endearing names of childhood, which are sometimes retained in later life. He was commissioned to solicit from the Italian Church which then existed there, the means of having a minister in Calabria, who should reside amongst his brethren of that country, and devote himself entirely to them. His request was granted; and to this honourable but perilous post a minister, still very young, was nominated, himself also a Piedmontese, who had quitted the profession of arms to become a soldier of Christ, and who had prepared for the ministry of the gospel by a course of study recently terminated at Lausanne.

The name of this young man was John Louis Paschal; he was born at Coni, and two days before his being selected to be sent into Calabria, he had been betrothed to a young woman of his own nation, Camilla Guarina, born like himself in Piedmont, and who

like himself had fled to Geneva, in order to live according to the gospel. When he made known to her the call which he had received, and asked her consent to leave her and go into Calabria, the poor girl could only answer him with tears. "Alas!" she exclaimed, "so near to Rome, and so far from me!" But she was a Christian, and she submitted.

Paschal set forth, accompanied by Uscegli, by another pastor, and by two schoolmasters also destined for the Vaudois. The name of this second pastor was Jacob Bovet; he also was from Piedmont, and he suffered martyrdom at Messina, in 1560. These two friends, natives of the same country, brethren in faith, in devotedness, and in courage, were not to be separated, even in death.

Scarcely had Paschal arrived in Calabria, when he began to preach the gospel in public, as was done at Geneva, the Vaudois desiring it, and his own zeal urging him so to do. "Thereupon," says Crespin, "there arose a great noise in these countries, that a Lutheran had come and was destroying everything by his doctrines. The ignorant murmured, the fanatical exclaimed that he must be put to death with all his adherents. The Vaudois alone pressed around him with the joyous affection of brethren, and always hungering the more for the word of life, the more that he multiplied it to them, like the bread broken by the Lord. Thereupon the Marquis Salvator Spinello, principal feudal lord of the Vaudois, who at that time happened to be at Foscalda, a little town near La Guardia and St. Xist, sent to ask the attendance of some of the inhabitants of these towns, that they might explain matters to him. The Vaudois thus summoned, entreated their minister, Paschal, to accompany them, and to state their reasons for the course which they had pursued." This was in the month of July, 1559.

Mark Uscegli went along with them, and when they had arrived at Foscalda they went into a hostelry before going to appear before the marquis. There a secret friend of their doctrines, who was one of that nobleman's own household, came to request a conversation with them. "Listen to me," said he; "you have powerful enemies; the best defence of the feeble is to keep out of their way; I advise you therefore to go back without presenting yourselves." "What!" exclaimed Paschal, "shall I skulk away without defending myself, without contending for the truth, without pleading for my beloved church!" "The only object of pleading is to gain a cause," replied the prudent adviser; "in this instance it can only be gained by keeping silence." "That would not only be feeble, but shameful," rejoined the young minister, breaking out in holy ardour; "the Christian is not to measure his strength, but to do his duty.

Moreover," added he, "the help of God cannot fail us in this conflict; where is there more strength than in his word?" "Its strength goes for nothing with those who do not listen to it. Take heed! you will not be judged according to the word of God, but according to that of men." "What then!" replied the courageous pastor, "the honour of defending the word of God is better than that of triumphing over men." "You will defend it better by preaching it to your churches, which desire it, than by exposing it to the contempt of those who wish to suppress it." "But it is my churches themselves which are called to account, and their pastor ought to be there." Besides all this, Paschal felt so profoundly convinced, so assured, so strong in the excellence of his cause, that he did not despair of being able to make it good, even before the most prejudiced minds. One soul brought captive to the foot of the Saviour's cross was of more value, in the estimation of the pastor, than all earthly good. The secret emissary, who came to give this warning of human wisdom, retired discomfited before this holy foolishness of the cross. The Vaudois presented themselves accordingly before the Marquis of Spinello, accompanied by their young and ardent defender.

But he had not to contend, as he expected, in an honest contest, by reasons and gospel statements, against errors sincerely held. His enemies desired not truth but silence; they wished not to destroy error, but the protests which were made against it. Poor Paschal, therefore, had the grief of being at once deprived of the friends whom he already had, and of the adversaries whom he expected to find. The marquis, after having heard him for some moments, during which the Vaudois kept silence, sent them away, whom alone he had cited, and retained Louis Paschal and Mark Uscegli as prisoners, who came to defend them. They remained for eight months in the prisons of Foscalda; to youth and mental activity an anticipation of the tomb! But the tomb is the gate of heaven to redeemed souls, and celestial consolations cheered the two young Christians in their dungeon.

After this long period of trial they were removed to the prisons of Cosenza, where it would seem that Mark Uscegli was subjected to torture, for we read these words in a letter of Paschal, written on the 10th of March, 1560, "God has preserved me alone from the torture." Alas! it was only to reserve him for martyrdom.

"My companion, Marquet," says he, in another place, "was solicited by the Count D'Acillo to recant, and as he particularly put forward the authority of the pope to pardon all sin, Marquet said, 'If the pope had had the power of pardoning sins, it would

have been needless for Jesus Christ to have come and died for sinners.'"

A Spaniard, who was present, exclaimed, "What! a clown, that can neither read nor write, will meddle and dispute!" "We have nothing to do with disputations," said an auditor of the Holy Office, who was also there, "but to know if thou wilt abjure, ay or no." "No," replied Uscegli. "Ah, well then, it goes the devil's way!" replied the auditor, and signed himself four times with the sign of the cross. From this moment we hear nothing more of poor Marquet; and it makes one's eyes fill with tears to find that infantile diminutive applied, at the close of his torture, to the young man whom his mother had so called amidst the caresses which she lavished upon his childhood.

In the month of April, Paschal was conducted from Cosenza to Naples, along with twenty-two prisoners condemned to the galleys, and three companions, whom he does not name. "The person who was appointed to conduct us," says he, in a letter addressed to his afflicted bride, "put on me manacles so tight that I could not repose either by day or by night. I was obliged to bribe him to open them a little, and he did not take them off till he had succeeded in getting from me all the money which I possessed. The galley slaves were fastened by the neck to a long chain; they got nothing but coarse herbs for their food, with a slice of bread, and when one of them fell down from inanition and fatigue, they forced him to rise again by beating him unmercifully." Is it possible that sinful men can so treat their brethren? But the despotic and merciless spirit of Rome would transform brethren into executioners. "During the night," continues the prisoner, "the beasts were better treated than we, for at least they gave them litter, whilst, as for us, we were left on the bare ground."¹ Nine days were spent in this way ere they arrived at Naples, and in the bark which conveyed them thither he ceased not to preach and exhort, proclaiming the fulness and the necessity of the salvation which is by Jesus Christ. It is evident that he was one whom menaces and maltreatment could not intimidate.

Paschal was brought to Cosenza on the 7th of February; he left it on the 14th of April. He entered the prisons of Naples on the 23d of that month, and was transferred to those of Rome on the 16th of May, 1560. There this fervent and zealous disciple of Christ arrived with irons on his feet and hands! But consider how Christ endured such contradiction of sinners against himself, and remember that thus they persecuted the prophets which were before

you. Blessed, without doubt, must this new apostle of the Gentiles be deemed, imprisoned, like St. Paul and St. Peter, in that great city of Rome, which has always aimed at reigning over the earth. "Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."¹

He entered the city by the Gate of Ostium, the same by which also the apostles and primitive martyrs were conducted into it. Fourteen centuries had passed, and the same scenes were to be renewed again in the name of the idols of Popery, more bloody than those of the Gentiles. Paschal was imprisoned in the Tower of *Nona*, where very few, says Crespian, were permitted to see him. Already dead as to his connection with the world, nothing can be known of the proceedings with regard to him, save only that he was frequently interrogated and urged to recant, but without effect.

His brother, Bartholemew Paschal, who had neither abjured Roman Catholicism nor the brotherly affection of the carnal heart, resolved to make an attempt to save him, or at least to see him again. Determining to undertake a journey to Rome for this purpose, he set out from Coni, with a recommendation from the governor of that city, and a letter from the Count de la Trinité, whose name has so melancholy a celebrity in the annals of the Vaudois valleys, where we shall presently see that he conducted an atrocious persecution. In consequence of these introductions from persons so powerful, and so high in credit at the papal court, and perhaps, also, because it was hoped that his influence might lead his brother to abjure, Bartholemew Paschal succeeded in making his way to the gloomy and fetid dungeon where John Louis was confined.

"I went last evening," he wrote to his family, "to pay my respects to the Grand Inquisitor of the faith, the Cardinal Alexandrini, but when I spoke to him of my brother, he replied sharply, that that fellow had been a great pest in the country, and that even in the bark he had done nothing but preach his nonsense." Is not this the very way in which the pagan inquisitors of former times must have spoken of St. Paul? "I then went," he says, "to speak to the judges who examined him. They told me that he became always more and more obstinate, and that his was a bad business. I entreated them in his favour, and they replied that for any other crime, however enormous, pardon might have been possible, but that for having attacked the Church, at least unless he recanted, there could be no pardon." Was this indeed the church of Him who pardoned his executioners? "Then," continues Bartholemew Paschal, "I returned to seek the cardinal, and at last I obtained

¹ Matt. v. 10.

leave to visit my brother. Great God!" he exclaims, "it was frightful to see him amidst the gloom of these damp walls, meagre, pale, enfeebled, bareheaded, his arms tied with small ropes, which went into the flesh, ill of fever, and not even having straw to lie upon."

"Do good even to your enemies," said Jesus and the apostles.

"But," continues the letter of Bartholemew, "desiring to embrace him, I cast myself down upon the ground, and he said to me, 'My brother, why do you distress yourself so much? Know you not that a leaf cannot fall from a tree without the will of God?' The judge who accompanied me imposed silence upon him, saying, 'Hold your peace, you heretic!' And I added, 'Is it possible, my brother, that you are obstinate in disowning the Catholic faith, which everybody else holds?' 'I hold that of the gospel,' he replied. 'Think you, then,' said the judge, 'that God will condemn all those who do not follow the doctrine of Luther and Calvin?' 'It is not for me to determine,' replied he, 'but I know that he will condemn those who, knowing the truth, do not profess it.' 'You speak of truth—you disseminate errors.' 'Prove me that by the gospel.' But the judge, instead of answering his question, said to him, 'You would have done far better to have remained still in your own house, enjoying your inheritance, and dwelling among your brethren, instead of rushing into heresy and losing all that you had.' 'I have nothing to lose upon the earth,' he replied, 'that I must not lose sooner or later, and I acquire an inheritance in heaven, which all the powers of the earth shall not be able to take from me.'"

Is not this still the language of the primitive Christians, and of their idolatrous persecutors, who only lived for the good things of this world?

During three whole days, successive members of the Holy Office dealt with Paschal, for more than four hours at each time, in the hope of inducing him to recant, and perhaps, also, of being able then to give him up to his brother; but they could get no concession. "Then," resumes Bartholemew, "I entreated him to yield a little, and not to bring upon his family the disgrace of a condemnation. 'Must I honour my Saviour less than them, that I am to become perjured to him?' 'You will honour him in your heart, although you remain in the Church.' 'If I am ashamed of him on the earth, he will deny me in heaven.' 'Ah! my dear brother, return to the bosom of your family, we would all be so happy to have you there.' 'Would to God that we were all met again, united in the Saviour's love! for my native skies would be

pleasanter to me than the vaults of this prison. But if I remain here, it is because Jesus abides with me, and my Saviour is better to me than my family.' 'Would it be to lose him, to come with us?' 'Yes; for the gate of my dungeon will not open except by means of an abjuration, and that would be the loss of my soul.' 'Your friends, then, are nothing to you?' 'Jesus says, he that is not ready to give up his father or his mother for my sake, is not worthy of me.' Then," says Bartholemew, "I went the length of promising him the half of all that I had, if he would come back with me to Coni; but he, with tears, answered me that to hear me utter such words afflicted him much more grievously than the fetters with which he was bound: 'for' said he, 'the world passeth away, with the lusts thereof, but the word of God endureth for ever.' And when I wept also, he added, 'God grant me such strength that I may never forsake him!' Then the monk said to him, 'If you will die, die then!'"

We see, in these three personages, the regenerate man, whose soul speaks according to the Spirit of God; the natural man, full of regard for the things of this world, of which he knows the value, and yet also full of kindly affection; and, finally, the man besotted by superstition, such as Rome has made him, ignoble and cruel, interrupting the intercourse of soul and heart, the conversation between the martyr and his brother, by such gross invectives as have now been related.

"Three days after," the brother of John Louis Paschal continues, "I found means to speak with him again, and when the monk was proceeding to exhort him anew, he said to him, 'All your arguments are founded upon human prudence, but do not shut your eyes to the grace of God, for you will be inexcusable before him.' 'The monk was very much astonished, and said 'God have mercy on us!' 'O, that he may!' added the prisoner. But the day following, without uttering a word, he made a sign to me that I should begone, having perceived that the inquisitors had begun to suspect me; and so I left him without speaking, and returned to Piedmont."

Here we have still the natural man, timid, because he has no strength but his own, in contrast with the Christian, invincible, because he confides in the strength of Christ.

Now thou art alone, then, poor Paschal! buried alive in the bowels of the earth, waiting to be consumed alive by the fire! But the best of fathers, of brothers, and of friends is still ever with thee!

"The affection which I bear to you," he writes to his bride,

"increases with the increase of my love to God; and the more that I have made progress in the Christian religion, the more also have I loved you." Then, giving her to understand that his death might soon be expected, he says, "Console yourself in Jesus Christ; and let your life be an exhibition of his doctrine." Such were the exhortations which Paschal addressed to Camilla Guarina, who was to mourn him as his widow, without having become his wife.

On Sabbath, the 8th of September, 1560, he was conducted from the tower *Di Nona* to the convent *Della Minerva*, there to hear his condemnation. "He confirmed, with a steadfast and joyful heart," says Crespin, "all the answers which he had already given, rendering thanks to God for having called him to the glory of martyrdom; and next day, being Monday, the 9th of September, he was conducted to the square of the castle of St. Angelo, near the bridge over the Tiber, where the pile had been prepared." Pope Pius IV. was present at this execution; "but," observes Perrin, "he would have been glad to have been elsewhere, or that Paschal had been dumb, or the people deaf; for that worthy man spake many things which moved the spectators and displeased him much." Upon this account the inquisitors caused him to be presently strangled, fearing, perhaps, that his voice might still be raised in midst of the flames to proclaim the truth. The flames, therefore, only consumed his corpse, and his ashes were cast into the Tiber.

Thus died this courageous martyr, removed from his consort before having married her, and from his congregation before having resided among them, but not removed from the profession of the Christian faith without having done it service; for his example itself was of more value than all the sermons which he could have preached throughout the course of his life.

During his captivity, the Marquis of Spinello, who had ever previously shown himself the zealous protector of the Vaudois, in consequence no doubt of the solid advantage which he derived from their rents, being apprised of the severity of the court of Rome, and fearing, not without cause, that it might be extended to the lands which owned him as their feudal superior, thought proper at least to prevent the consequences of the accusation which was already brought against him, of having introduced and favoured heretics. Perhaps he might also hope, by coming forward against them, to keep in his own hands the means of affording them more efficacious protection. Be this as it might, he himself accused them of heresy, and demanded from the Holy Office the means of bringing them to submission. "However, it was well known," says Gilles, "that in secret he desired their preservation. Upon this," con-

tinues he, "the Bishop of Cosenza applied himself to that business; and the marquis, under the guise of assisting him, always contrived to effect some mitigation of his measures."¹

But the proceedings of Paschal and his companions having made known at Rome the importance of the evangelical churches of Calabria, the Holy Office deemed it not too much to send thither the Grand Inquisitor himself. Cardinal Alexandrini, fresh from the execution of the young and courageous pastor of these ancient churches, which he also had witnessed, prepared therefore to visit them. He arrived at St. Xist, accompanied by two Dominican monks, who put on an aspect of the greatest affability, like the wolves in sheep's clothing of whom the gospel speaks. They caused the inhabitants to be assembled, and said that their intention was to do no harm to anybody (by and by they slaughtered every one); that they were come only to bring them in an amicable way to cease listening any longer to any ministers but those sent by the bishop; and that if they would dismiss the Lutheran schoolmasters and preachers by whom the neighbourhood was still infested, they would have nothing to fear. And then, no doubt, in order to obtain evidence for themselves as to the number who had a regard for the rites of the Church of Rome, they caused the bell to ring for mass, and summoned the people to attend it. No one came. All the inhabitants with one consent left the town, and retired into a wood, leaving in their houses only a small number of children and of aged persons. The monks, without appearing to feel at all irritated, went through the mass by themselves; then, leaving that deserted town, they proceeded to La Guardia, of which they took the precaution to close the gates behind them.

The bells were rung; the people assembled. "Most dear and beloved Christian brethren," said the monks, "your brethren of St. Xist have abjured their errors, and unanimously attended at the most holy mass; we invite you to follow so wise an example; otherwise we shall be obliged, with great sorrow, to condemn you to death." This treacherous language left no room for hesitation between the two alternatives; the people, filled with alarm, thought it best to follow the example of their brethren, who, of course, had acted without constraint, and submitted to hear mass. After this ceremony the gates of the town were opened. Some of the people of St. Xist arrived, and the truth was discovered. Immediately the whole population of La Guardia, indignant at such treachery, and ashamed of their own weakness, assembled again in the public square, crying from all sides that Rome lived only by errors and

¹Gilles, p. 178.

superstitions. The monks endeavoured to calm the irritated people, who, in order to avoid hearing them any longer, resolved to go and join in the woods their neighbours of St. Xist. But the Marquis of Spinello arrived, and endeavoured to restrain them; and with difficulty, says M'Crie, by his representations and promises, succeeded in preventing them from carrying their design into execution. Thus already were the Vaudois divided, part in the town, and part in the woods.

The Grand Inquisitor, in virtue of the powers with which he was invested, now required the aid of the military to execute his commission. Two companies of soldiers were placed at his disposal. He sent them into the woods of St. Xist to bring back the fugitives; but scarcely had they discovered their retreat, when they fell upon them, crying, "Kill! kill!" The unfortunate Vaudois tried to make their escape; the soldiers pursued them in all directions, as if they were engaged in the destruction of wild beasts. At last some of the fugitives gathered upon a mountain, and demanded a parley. The captain of the soldiers advanced. "Spare us!" they exclaimed, "spare us! what harm have we done you? Have pity on our wives and children! Have we not been here for centuries, without having given any cause of complaint? Are we not loyal subjects, industrious labourers, and peaceable well-doing people?" "You are devils, transformed into angels of light, to seduce the simple," was the reply, "but the Holy Office has unmasked your errors." "Well, then," said they, "if we may not be permitted to profess the faith of our forefathers in peace, in these countries which we have rendered fertile, we offer to leave them, and to retire into another country." "You will go to sow there the poison of your heresy. No mercy for the rebels!" cried he. And giving the order for his troop to attack them, he advanced with his men amongst the rocks where the Vaudois had sheltered themselves. But seeing the fruitlessness of their endeavours, the necessity of fighting, and that the only hope of safety for their families was in victory, which depends upon God alone, the fugitives laid hold of such weapons as they had been able to make or provide themselves with, loosened masses of rock, which they hurled upon their assailants, crushing many to death, and then rushed out and dispersed them, killing half of their number, and finally intrenched themselves anew upon the heights which they had so valiantly defended.

But what avails courage against numbers, without miraculous assistance, like that which was granted to the Israelites against Sennacherib? Cardinal Alexandrini addressed himself to the

Viceroy of Naples, representing the legitimate self-defence of the Vaudois as an open rebellion against authority. The viceroy set out in person, at the head of his troops, and arriving at St. Xist, made proclamation that all should be destroyed by fire and sword if the Ultramontanes did not abjure their heresy.

This was not the means to subdue them; for, determined not to abjure, they resolved also to defend themselves. Their party immediately acquired a strength and an unity which till then they had wanted. The Vaudois with enthusiasm fortified themselves on the mountains; and their position very soon became so formidable, that the viceroy did not venture to attack them with the troops which he had brought. Thereupon he issued a new proclamation, by which he offered to all the fugitives from justice, and banished and condemned persons who lived as vagabonds in the kingdom of Naples, pardon of their offences, on condition that they should come and range themselves under his banners for the extermination of the heretics. This was just what Cattaneé had done; and such are the supporters of the cause of Rome, whence blood and infamy everywhere flow, as a sponge soaked in mud empties itself when it is grasped in the hand.

A multitude of outlaws of the worst character, and wretches of all ages, marauders and robbers, who knew all the paths of the Apennines, offered themselves for his service. The Vaudois were surrounded, pursued, waylaid on the approach to their place of retreat, and slaughtered by men in ambush; the forests, in which they could not be got at, were set on fire; the greater part of them perished, and many of those who made their escape, died of famine in the caverns to which they retired.

But what did the monks and inquisitors now do? "We cannot endure the sight of bloodshed!" they exclaimed, "these exterminations are revolting to us; O! come, come with us into the fold of the Church; with us you will find nothing of that display of warlike weapons which is so disagreeable to men of peace." And the better to testify their aversion to it, they removed to a distance from the town, inviting the inhabitants of La Guardia who still survived to join them there without arms. Alas! poor people, always deceived by the great deceiver of the nations, the woman who speaks with a sweet voice, and afterwards precipitates both bodies and souls into hell! they still listened to this perfidious invitation; they assembled, but the soldiers were concealed close by, and seventy Vaudois, the number of the first disciples of our Lord, were seized and loaded with chains. These new confessors of the gospel, in presence of a new Paganism, more cruel and more trea-

cherous than the ancient, were carried prisoners to Montalto. There they were subjected to torture; the inquisitor, Panza, made them all endure the rack, the cords, the wheel, the iron wedges, or the boiling water, to compel them not only to abjure their religion, but also to denounce their brethren and their pastors!

O Rome, hypocrite that thou art! shedding crocodile tears because thou canst not now, in thy decrepitude, glut thyself with human flesh as in time past; what need have we in contending against thee, to enter into the lists of controversy? Thine own acts condemn thee better than our words, and thy history shall be thy burial-dress. The truth is every day preparing it for thy reception; and when the gospel shall have overcome thy principles of hatred and of pride by its maxims of humility and love, it will triumphantly inscribe upon thy tomb, Hate only evil, but love the evil-doers.

One of the things which the torturers were especially anxious to obtain from those who were submitted to their hands, was the confession of the pretended abominations of which the Vaudois were accused, and with which it was desired to reproach their morals, on the testimony of their own brethren. Is this Holy Office of the Catholic faith, then, to be accounted a court of justice, or a den of villains, which seeks not only to slaughter its victims, but to load them with infamy?

Stephano Carlino, from whom they thought to extort this confession, was tortured in so horrible a manner, says M'Crie, that his bowels were forced out of his belly. Another prisoner, named Verminello, had promised, in the extremity of his suffering, to attend mass. This yielding made the inquisitor hope that by augmenting the violence of the tortures he would at last extort a confession of the crimes which he was so desirous to fasten upon the Vaudois, and of which no testimony had yet been obtained. With this view, the unhappy captive was kept for eight whole hours on an instrument of pain, called the *hell*, but Verminello constantly denied the truth of these atrocious calumnies. Bernardino Conto was covered with pitch at Cosenza, and burned alive before all the people. Another martyr, named Mazzone, was stripped of his garments and scourged with small iron chains, and when his flesh had been thus torn in pieces, he was dragged through the streets, and killed at last by blows with burning billets of wood. Of his two sons, the one was flayed alive, as a sheep is flayed by the butcher, and the other was flung down from the summit of a tower.

To this same tower a young man was conducted, of prodigious

strength, and who upon that account had been surnamed Samson. But the strength of the Christian's soul was still more remarkable than the physical strength of the Israelite. As he had resisted all attempts which had been made to get him to abjure, he was urged at least to confess. "I only confess to God," replied he. "Come to mass, or you are a dead man." "Jesus says, if ye believe in me, though ye were dead ye shall live." "Well! kiss this crucifix." "My Jesus is not upon that piece of wood, but in heaven, from which he shall come again to judge the living and the dead." "You will not kiss it?" "I do not choose to be an idolater." And the soldiers flung him down upon the pavement. Much injured, but still alive, he implored the mercy of God. The viceroy happened to pass by. "What piece of carrion is that?" said he, looking at him. "A heretic, who could not die." The ruler gave him a kick upon the head, saying, "Make him food for the pigs." Yet the poor young man continued to live for twenty-two hours before he breathed his last. Which was most contemptible in all this?—king or priest? But before these powers the nations of the earth still prostrate themselves. O when shall Christ make them free!

Sixty females of St. Xist, as Gilles relates, were tortured in such a way, that the cords having entered into their flesh, and no relief being given them, devouring vermin were engendered in their wounds, which could only be killed by quicklime. Some of them consequently died in the dungeons into which they were cast; others were burned alive, and the best-looking were sold, as in Turkey, to the highest bidders, who, of course, were also the basest of men.

But all these atrocities were yet surpassed by the barbarous scenes enacted at Montalto, under the government of the Marquis Buccianici. "Poor wretches!" exclaims an eye-witness,¹ "eighty-eight prisoners were shut up in a low chamber. The executioner came; he entered and laid hold of one, and after having wrapped a linen cloth round his head, he led him out to the ground adjacent to the building, caused him to fall down upon his knees, and cut his throat with a knife. The blood spouted upon his arms and clothes; but removing the bloody cloth from the head of the man whom he had killed, he entered again, took another prisoner, and slaughtered him in the same manner. My whole frame still shudders when I figure to myself the executioner with his bloody knife between his teeth, and the dripping cloth in his hand, his arms red with the blood of his victims, going in and coming out again almost

¹ Ascanio Caraccioli, *M'Crie*, p. 295.

a hundred times in that work of death. It is impossible to imagine the gentleness and patience of these poor people, who were thus taken like lambs from the fold. All the old men met their death with imperturbable calmness. I could scarcely restrain my tears at the time. And about eight o'clock a decree was issued, which condemned to the torture a hundred women who were afterwards to be put to death. The number of the heretics who were arrested in Calabria is said to have amounted to 1600, and they were all condemned to die. It is said that they originally came from the valleys of Piedmont."

"Some of them," adds a Neapolitan historian,¹ "had their throats cut; others were sawn through the middle of the body, or flung headlong from the tops of rocks. The father saw his son die, and the son his father, without showing the least sign of grief, but, on the contrary, glorying in their being delivered from their woes, and going to rejoin one another in the bosom of that Jesus who died for them." And the historian from whom I quote mocks at this heavenly resignation, and says that it was an evil spirit of which these resigned victims were possessed. The same thing was said of Jesus Christ. Blessed are they who tread with such faith the path of sorrow which He trod!

Another eye-witness, who was one of the suite of Cardinal Alexandrini, thus completes this mournful story: "Before my lord's arrival, eighty-six relapsed heretics had been flayed alive, and then cut into two parts, and the pieces placed upon stakes all along the road for a space of thirty-six miles. This mightily strengthened Catholicism, and considerably shook the cause of heresy. There are already 1400 of these Ultramontanes in the prisons; some still wander amongst the mountains, but ten crowns are promised for every head that is brought in. Soldiers have been sent in pursuit of them, and every day some prisoners are secured. Their number has at last become so considerable, that my lord, along with the Commissary and the Grand Vicar of Cosenza, have resolved to subject the greater part of them only to penance, excepting the most obstinate, who will be put to death. As for the preaching ministers and leaders of this sect, they will be burned alive. Five of them have already been sent to Cosenza, in order to undergo that punishment, anointed with rosin and sulphur, so that, being gradually consumed, they may suffer the more for correction of their impiety. Many women remain prisoners, all of whom will be burned alive. Five of them are to be

¹ Thomaso Costo, *seconda parte del Compendio dell' Istoria di Napoli*, p. 257.

burned to-morrow." This letter is dated 27th June, 1561,¹ and terminates with a gross joke about the state of pregnancy of some of these ill-fated females.

When our indignation is roused against the authors of such atrocities, we are ready to declare that the Church of Rome should be called the church of devils. Pagans, barbarians, savages could not act so cruelly; it was left for Popery to degrade man beneath the level of the brutes. A man is burned alive! it is a terribly laconic expression! How much pain and suffering does it describe! What, then, when a whole people is given over to such a death! Can we fail to recognize in persecuting Rome the great whore of the Apocalypse, drunk with the blood of saints and of martyrs? the abominable city, in which is found the blood of all those who have been slain on the earth?²

The pastor, John Guérin, who came to Calabria from Bobi to succeed the Barba Gilles, already mentioned, died of hunger in the prisons of Cosenza, because he would not renounce the gospel—the immortal food of his soul amidst all his cruel torments. The four principal persons of the town of La Guardia were hanged upon trees, on a little hill called Moran. The town of St. Agatha, near Naples, paid also its tribute of victims to Rome's thirst for blood. And how many more places besides these, of which the very names have not reached us! For two years the rage of the monster, whom the Vaudois called Antichrist, devoured that unhappy country. For two whole years the piles were always kindled, the prisons choked, the executioners bathed in blood.

A few of the unfortunate Vaudois succeeded in making their way back to the valleys of Piedmont. But through what a series of difficulties and perils! Orders were given to the keepers of all bridges, and to those who had the charge of vessels, or of any kind of conveyances, that they should suffer no traveller to pass without a note from the priest of his parish. Innkeepers were threatened with severe penalties who should receive strangers without this safe-conduct; so that these poor persecuted people were constrained to travel by night, passing rivers by fording, hiding themselves in the woods, living upon roots, upon what they could timidly glean in the fields, and the fruits which they found on some kinds of trees; yet thus did a number of families, the females habited in male attire, succeed, after multiplied dangers and unparalleled fatigues, in regaining the retreat of their forefathers. O, how blissful to them after hardships so great and protracted, must have

¹ It was written by Luigi d'Appiano, and is preserved by Gilles, pp. 182-4. I have only given extracts.

² Rev. xvii. 5, 6; xviii. 24.

been the peaceful security of the Vaudois valleys, which, however, were also to be subjected to much suffering!

But it appears that all the Vaudois of unhappy Calabria were not yet destroyed; for Pius IV. afterwards sent the Marquis of Butiana to accomplish the extirpation of heresy in that country, and in order to encourage him in the work, promised to reward his success by granting a cardinal's hat to Joseph Butiana, his son. He had no difficulty in succeeding. The Inquisition, that great prop of Popery, which has declined ever since it was abolished—that power of hell, which, however, has not prevailed against the church of God—had long enough wrought its work of ruin now in these evangelical districts.

The people of Rome themselves, irritated at the bloody atrocities which it had perpetrated, burned its palace on the death of Paul III. This, no doubt, was because they were not so good Catholics as they ought to have been. Accordingly, Pius IV., whose pontificate was signalized by the events which we have just narrated, transported the seat of the Holy Office to the opposite bank of the Tiber, to the same place which is said to have been occupied by the ancient circus of Nero, in which so many of the primitive Christians were delivered over to the teeth of wild beasts. And these were primitive Christians, too, who perished at Cosenza, at La Guardia, and at St. Xist; only for wild beasts were substituted the priests, the monks, and the inquisitors of the Church of Rome.

CHAPTER VII.

INFLUENCE OF THE REFORMATION IN THE VAUDOIS VALLEYS.— THE SYNOD AND THE BIBLE.¹

(A.D. 1520 TO A.D. 1535.)

Deputation of the Vaudois to the Reformers—The deputies arrested as they return—Martyrdom of Peter Masson at Dijon—Synod at Angrogna in 1532—Dissensions—Letter from the Churches in Bohemia—Synod at Pral, 1533—Olivétan's Bible—Mission of Martin Gonin to Geneva—He is arrested on his way home, and put to death at Grenoble.

THE great events of the Reformation, the report of which was fraught with such dismal consequences in Calabria and in Provence, could not remain without influence on the Vaudois valleys,

¹ AUTHORITIES.—Gilles, *Léger*.—Claude Baduel, "*Acta Martyrum . . .*" (A translation of Crespin.)—"Bible of Olivétan" (printed at Serrières, near Neuchâtel, in 1535); the preface.—*Id.* for the *Brief Discours des persécutions sur-*

from which the evangelical churches of these countries had originated in former times. Let us contemplate the condition of Catholicism, of the Reformation, and of the Vaudois at that period.

The first Christian churches founded by the apostles were religious societies, united to one another by the bonds of faith and charity, but independent in their organization. Hence, the particular churches could remain long united to the universal church, without renouncing that liberty of conscience which belonged to them in their individual capacity. The Vaudois Church is an instance in point; and the long strife which the Papal Church had to maintain, in order to reduce the greater part of other churches under its authority, affords a more general, but a certain proof that they were not from the first subject to it. The word church then signified no more than a simple assembly; and the distinctive characteristic of the Christian assemblies was that they were churches of brethren.

Catholicism, in its first establishment, changed the meaning of all these words; it desired to have dominion over the world, and availed itself for this purpose of the elements of that Paganism which had recently been supreme. Setting up again the fragments of its broken altars—restoring, for the sake of their imposing character, its old abandoned pomps—it connected the recollection of idolatrous festivals with altered names and new legends; in a word, it adopted the forms of Paganism in order to attract the Pagans to itself; and this it called converting them! The grandeur of Catholicism arose, therefore, entirely from the grandeur of the religions which preceded it; but, at the same time, it stifled the Christian spirit beneath the magnificence of these borrowed externals; spiritual worship gave place to a worship consisting in spectacles, and whilst there was no intention of renouncing the gospel, the gospel was supplanted. The invasions of the barbarians had just overthrown the Roman empire, and Catholicism was nothing else than the result of a hideous combination of corrupt Paganism with the savage barbarism which destroyed the ancient civilization. Then was this church seen to

venues . . . &c. Geneva, 1620.—“*Le Manuel du vray chrétien . . .*” par Daniel Pastor, ministre en Pragela. 8vo, 1652.—“*Risposta al libro del Sr. Gillio titolato Torre evangelica. . .*” 1628. Ruchat, “*Hist. de la Réform. de la Suisse . . .*” 1728. 6 vols., vol. iii. The continuation of this work, which was still unpublished in 1836, has since been published.—Scultetus, “*Annales Evangelii renovati.*”—MSS. in Trin. Coll. Libr. Dublin, C, V, No. 18, containing a *Collection de lettres et d’autres pièces relatives à la mission de George Morel, et de Pierre Masson, auprès des Réformateurs, en 1530.* (A particular account of this MS. may be seen in the *British Magazine*, No. cxiii., p. 397, et seq.)—Documents sent to me by M. Merle D’Aubigné; viz., Letter from the churches of Bohemia to the Vaudois, in 1533; Letter, Adamus to Farel, &c.

grow up to all the height of that edifice of past times which had been cast down; and, like a building spared in a great inundation, stood alone for centuries within a level but darkened horizon, amidst the ruins of the ancient world gradually disappearing or undergoing change.

Its pride increasing with its strength, Popery now aimed at subjecting the temporal powers to the spiritual power, of which it arrogated the name to itself; and thus did it unconsciously proclaim the superiority of mind over matter, even whilst it had, so to speak, wedded itself to matter in its wholly material worship. The human mind awoke, and protested against a worship so unworthy of itself; the dawn of restored letters cast its first rays upon the Bible, which also gave forth its protest; all generous hearts gathered around it, with the ardour of life, to destroy in its name the carnal forms of a monument of death; and, as two chords in unison vibrate in response to one another, notwithstanding the distance which separates them, the sensation at once produced in the Vaudois Church by the Reformation, gives evidence of the secret harmony which existed between them, and which alone could account for the feeling of mutual affection with which the hearts both of the Vaudois and the Reformers were suddenly moved. The Vaudois hastened to send to the Reformers some of their Barbas, George Morel, of Freyssinières, and Peter Masson, to whom in Latin documents is given the name of Latomus.

“It is not without surprise,” said they to Ecolampadius, “that we have learned the opinion of Luther with respect to freewill. All creatures, even the very plants, have properties peculiarly their own; and we would suppose that such is the case with men also, to whom God has given strength to do good, to some more, and to some less, as the parable of the talents appears to teach. And as to predestination, we are much troubled about it, having always believed that God created all men for eternal life, and that the reprobate only become so by their own fault; but if all things take place of necessity, so that he who is predestinated to life cannot become reprobate, nor those who are destined to condemnation attain salvation, of what use are sermons and exhortations?” They came afterwards to understand that the Divine foreknowledge has nothing to do with man’s prudential arrangements, and that the will itself is a gift of the grace of God, from whom all things derive their life, motion, and being, and the heart of man its willing and its doing according to his good pleasure. On this point, as on many others, the Reformers of Switzerland and of Strasburg gave the Vaudois evangelical replies, which filled them with joy.

As they returned with their treasure, and passed through Dijon, on their way home to Dauphiny, their pious conversation revealed them to be Lutherans. This was crime enough in that inhospitable city.

France, however, had preceded Germany and Switzerland in a reforming movement, which was evidently destined either to revive or to destroy the Catholic Church. Nowhere had the imperious ambition of Popery been more energetically repressed than by the French nation. The sister of the reigning monarch, Margaret of Valois, Duchess of Alençon, had become a convert to the gospel under the learned and unpretending instructions of a professor of the Sorbonne, and a bishop of Meaux.¹ But in France, also, a reaction displayed itself so much the more strongly, as the avowal of Bible doctrines had been made with greater reserve.

The Vaudois delegates, returning from Strasburg to the valleys, were arrested, as we have seen, at Dijon. The particulars of this event are not known, but the issue was that George Morel succeeded in making his escape, with the precious packet of letters and religious instructions which he bore to his compatriots; but, as if no other price than that of a martyrdom would have been proportionate to their worth, Peter Masson sealed them with his blood, dying on the 10th of September, 1530, with the calmness of a Christian who feels that he is redeemed.

The glorious news had already resounded amongst these mountains that Popery was falling to ruins, and that the everlasting gospel was rising again as a sun of life to shine upon a renovated world. In 1526, a pastor of Angrogna, named Gonin, had been in Germany, and had brought back the publications of Luther.

Several conferences were held, to discuss the explanations given by the Reformers. It was necessary that their minds should be brought to harmony, even as their hearts were harmonious already. Finally a synod was held in the commune of Angrogna, to which representatives of all the Vaudois parishes repaired, not only from the valleys, but also from Calabria, Saluces, Provence, and Dauphiny. This solemn assembly was held in the open air, at the hamlet of Chanforans, in presence of all the people.² It met on one of those shady pieces of level ground situated half-way up the mountains, in a verdant amphitheatre, shut in like an arena for giants by the distant slopes of the Pra du Tour, then crowned with sparkling snows.

¹ Lefèvre and Brissonnet.

² *En presencia de tutti li ministri et eciam Dio del popolo.* (MS. of George Morel, Dublin, C, V, No. 18.)

Already a rapid change of opinions and relations had taken place all around the Vaudois valleys; many persons who until then had remained indifferent to the gospel, had begun to seek after it. The seigneurs of Miradol, Rivenoble, and Solaro, appeared at the council of faith and liberty. Some of the Reformers of Switzerland also came thither. Farel came mounted on a white horse, with that noble demeanour which belongs to persons of high birth. Saulnier accompanied him, and all thronged around the steps of these illustrious but unassuming men, who came to seal the compact of brotherhood between the successors of the primitive church and the promoters of a new era of evangelization. The Synodal Assembly met at Angrogna, on the 12th of September, 1532, and lasted for six days.

"The Reformers," says one who was present at that meeting, "were greatly rejoiced to see that people, who had ever proved faithful—that Israel of the Alps, to whose charge God had committed for so many centuries the ark of the new covenant—thus eager in his service. And examining with interest," says he, "the manuscript copies of the Old and New Testaments in the vulgar tongue which were amongst us"—it will be perceived that it is a Vaudois who speaks—"correctly copied with the hand at a date beyond all memory, they marvelled at that favour of Heaven which a people so small in numbers had enjoyed, and rendered thanks to the Lord that the Bible had never been taken from them. Then, also, in their great desire that the reading of it might be made profitable to a greater number of persons, they adjured all the other brethren, for the glory of God and the good of Christians, to take measures for circulating it, showing how necessary it was that a general translation should be made of it into French, carefully compared with the original texts, and of which large numbers should be printed." All the Vaudois applauded the design, and, according to the author just quoted, joyfully agreed to the work proposed;¹ so that it is to the existence of these ancient Vaudois manuscripts, the first in which the Bible was ever presented in the vulgar tongue (being what was then called the Romance tongue), that the Christian world was afterwards indebted for the first complete translation of the Bible printed in French.²

This preliminary decision of the Vaudois Synod was not, it is evident, one of the least important. They proceeded then to the

¹ These details are derived from the prefatory notes in Olivétan's Bible, fol. 3 (right hand): *Apologie du translateur.*

² The translation of Guiart des Moulins was prior to this, but it was not made from the original languages.

discussion of the articles upon which there existed some diversity of opinion between the Vaudois and the Reformers.

The first question which was examined related to the subject of oaths. Jesus Christ says, "Let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay."¹ The Christian must never lie. When an oath is tendered to him, is it lawful for him to swear? The assembly decided in the affirmative.

The second question received the following answer:—"No works are to be called good but those which God has commanded, and none are to be called evil but those which he has forbidden." This doctrine, which seems to imply the possibility of things indifferent in the life of man, is a slight modification of the ancient opinions of the Vaudois, according to which everything in us, without exception, is either good or evil.

In the third place, auricular confession was rejected, as contrary to Scripture; but mutual confession and secret reproof were maintained.

The next question is delete in the contemporary manuscript from which these particulars are derived, but these are the words of it: "Does the Bible forbid us to work on Sabbath?—Conclusion: Men may not engage on that day in any works but those of charity or of edification."

Afterwards we read: "Articulate words are not indispensable to prayer; genuflections, beating of the forehead, trembling and agitation, are things superfluous. It was decided that Divine service ought to be carried on in spirit and in truth."

"Is the imposition of hands necessary?" Both this question and the answer to it are delete in the manuscript, but the words can still be read, as follows:—"The Apostles made use of imposition of hands, as also did the Fathers of the church; but it is an external thing, in which every one is left at liberty."

The thirteenth question bears that marriage is prohibited to no one. The fifteenth, that to attempt to impose vows of celibacy is an antichristian thing and work.

The last eight articles are these:—

"XVIII. Every kind of usury is forbidden in the word of God." (By usury was then understood the receipt of any kind of interest for money lent.) This sentence is also effaced; but there remains after it a statement that loans ought to be made and granted in mere and entire charity.

"XIX. All the elect have been specially chosen before the foundation of the world.

¹ Matt. v. 37.

"XX. It is impossible that those who are appointed unto salvation should not be saved.

"XXI. Whosoever asserts freewill denies completely the predestination of God.

"XXII. The ministers of the word of God ought not to wander about, nor to change their residence, unless it shall be for the good of the church.

"XXIII. They are warranted to have, for the maintenance of their families, other revenues besides the fruits of apostolical communion."

There is then, also, something said of the sacraments, which according to the Holy Scriptures are reduced to two, Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

Hence it appears that questions the most diverse, relating to worship, discipline, and doctrine, were discussed in this interesting meeting. It was terminated by words full of brotherly kindness and prayer:—"Since it has been according to the good-will of the Most High," we read in the account already quoted, "to permit us to assemble in this place so large a number of brethren, we have with one consent agreed to the present declaration. The spirit which animates us being not of men, but of God, we implore Him that, according to the directions of his love, nothing may henceforth divide us; and that when we are far separated from one another, we may always remain united in the same mind, whether for the teaching of these doctrines, or for expounding to others the Holy Scriptures." Such was the declaration signed by the greater part of those who were present. However, this agreement was not unanimous; for there were, says Gilles, a number who dissented, and two pastors having refused to sign, withdrew from the Synod. Thus, although based upon the gospel, these first articles of faith, framed by the breath of men, became the cause of the first schism which ever broke out in the Vaudois Church. It must be observed, however, that the two dissenting pastors did not belong to the valleys, but to Dauphiny.

They proceeded to Bohemia, to the brethren of that country, who maintained, though by rare intercourse, a constant connection with the Vaudois churches, amongst which their spiritual guides came to receive instruction in the word of God. The Barbas whom they found officiating there, had therefore also passed some time in the valleys in their youth. But the report of the crusade which had been raised against them in 1487, had caused the Bohemians to take for granted the entire destruction of these beloved and primitive churches of the Alps. The two ministers

who then arrived amongst them from these churches, re-assured them therefore on this point; but they complained bitterly that foreign doctors had brought amongst them new doctrines, which the Synod of Angrogna had too readily adopted. Thereupon the churches of Bohemia wrote a fraternal letter to those of Piedmont, entreating them not to lay aside their ancient customs, and, above all, to be very circumspect in the matter of doctrine.

The Dauphinese ministers brought back this letter to the valleys, eight months after they had left them. A new synod was held at Pral, on the 14th of August, 1533. The communication from the brethren of Bohemia was there considered, to which it was replied that no doctrine had been nor would be received in the Vaudois Church on the authority of human doctors, but only on that of the Bible. This synodal assembly approved also of the resolutions of the preceding year. The foreign pastors, persisting in their dissent, retired from the valleys; but a fact less excusable than their dissent, was the abstraction of several ancient manuscripts and papers concerning the history of the Vaudois, of which they took possession before they went away.

Whilst the dissenters were signalizing themselves in a manner so little to their credit, the strict and devoted body of the Vaudois clergy steadfastly pursued the paths of that faith which worketh by love, preparing with the utmost diligence the translation of the Bible, which the Synod of Angrogna had resolved to print.

Ten years before, the four gospels had already been published in French, by Lefebvre D'Étaples.¹ The remainder of the New Testament, and thereafter some fragments of the Old, appeared at Antwerp, from 1525 to 1534. Olivétan, who was appointed to superintend the Vaudois version, doubtless profited by these labours; but it must be believed that other Vaudois likewise assisted him, for the preface to the Bible which bears his name is dated *from the Alps, this seventh of February, 1535*. It is a large folio volume, of somewhere about 2000 pages (for the sheets are not numbered). It is printed in Gothic characters, in two columns, with remarkable neatness, and bears the following title: *La Bible qui est toute la sainte escripture, en laquelle sont contenus le Vieil Testament et le Nouveau, translats en françoys, le Vieil de Lebrieu et le Nouveau du Grec.*² Then follows this motto, from the prophet Isaiah: *Ecoutez cieulx, et toi terre preste laureille, car Leternel*

¹ Printed at Paris in 1523.

² The Bible; that is, the whole of the Holy Scriptures, in which are contained the Old Testament and the New, translated into French, the Old from the Hebrew, and the New from the Greek.

*parle.*¹ The name of the prophet quoted is written *Isaiah*, which recalls, better than the modern French orthography [*Esaïe*], the Hebrew pronunciation. The date of this publication is noted at the end of the volume, in these terms: *achevé d'imprimer en la ville et comté de Neufchâtel, par Pierre de Wingle, dict Pirot, l'an M.D.XXXV., le iijisme jour de Juing.*² This Bible cost the Vaudois 1500 golden crowns; and it would be surprising that a people so few in number should be able to make such very considerable sacrifices, if we did not know that faith makes the greatest works possible, and that the feeblest can do all things when Christ strengthens them.

This undertaking, originated through the influence of Farel, himself a Frenchman, was also prosecuted with a special regard to the Reformed Church of France. The Vaudois, who address that church as a sister, say to her in the preface—calling to remembrance the refuge which the disciples of Valdo had sought amongst them—“The poor people who make you this present were driven forth and banished from your company more than three centuries ago; they are the true people of patience, who, in faith, and hope, and charity, have silently vanquished all the assaults and efforts which their enemies have been able to make against them.” “They are the people of joyous affection and of constant courage,” replied the churches of France by one of their synods; “their name is the little flock; their kingdom is not of this world; their motto is *piety and contentment*; they are a church which has endured conflicts, and is embrowned and sun-scorched without, but fair and of goodly appearance within; whose footsteps the greater part amongst us have failed to follow; for religious zeal exists only in the monuments of history, and in the ashes of our fathers, which are still warm with their ardour for the propagation of the gospel.” These admirable sentences, so true at that period, but much more true in our days, are extracted from a little work composed by order of the Synod of Briançon, held from the 25th to the 30th of June, 1620. It is entitled, *A Brief Account of the Persecutions which have in these days befallen the churches of the Marquisate of Saluces.*³

These churches likewise belonged to the great Vaudois family; and of them we shall presently come to treat. But before bringing this chapter to a close, I must still speak of the Vaudois minister of the parish within which was held the Synod of 1532, the Barba

¹ Attend, O heavens, and give ear, O earth, for the Lord hath spoken.

² The printing was completed in the city and county of Neufchâtel, by Peter de Wingle, called Pirot, in the year 1535, on the 4th day of June.

³ *Brief discours des persecutions advenues en ce temps aux Eglises du marquisat de Saluces.*

Martin Gonin, pastor of Angrogna, who, in order to complete the work of instruction and of renovation set on foot by that synod, undertook to go in person to Geneva, to procure the religious publications necessary for his countrymen. He had formerly visited the churches of Provence, and he was now to visit those of Switzerland. This Christian mission, which the enemies of the gospel rendered very perilous, was undertaken in 1536. The Bible of the Vaudois had been published in 1535; so that, a year after having diffused through the world the book of books, this people, as eager to be instructed as to teach, demanded in return from the world, the tribute of that enlightenment for which it was indebted to the Bible.

Gonin had already, in 1526, made an excursion amongst the Reformers, and had brought back a great number of books. The worthy Barba left the valleys again, ten years after, at the conclusion of winter, because the roads being then more difficult and less frequented, were also less closely watched. Another Vaudois, by name John Girard, accompanied him to Geneva, where he intended to found a printing establishment, specially with the view of providing for the wants of his own countrymen. He did actually found it, and it fell to his lot afterwards to print the narrative of the first persecutions undertaken against the Vaudois in the 16th century. As for Barba Martin Gonin, after having made choice of the books which he was commissioned to procure, he set out again for the Vaudois valleys, in the month of March, 1536.

The Duke of Savoy was then at war with the King of France, who had just seized upon Bresse, Savoy, and great part of Piedmont. The Bernese took advantage of these circumstances to re-assert their claim to the right bank of the Lemane, which the Duke of Savoy still possessed. It was at this time that they seized upon the Pays de Vaud, and that they embraced the Reformation. They had carried their invasions as far as Chablais and the Pays de Gex.

To shun these scenes of conflict, Martin Gonin was obliged to take a different road from that by which he had formerly travelled; he went through France, and as he traversed the Champsaur in order to reach the Gapençois, and thence to gain the Vaudois valleys of Dauphiny, he incurred the suspicion of being a spy of the Duke of Savoy, and was arrested. He was conducted to Grenoble, where he was examined by some members of the Parliament, and obliged to reply to their interrogatories; but they, being persuaded of his innocence, commanded him to be set at liberty. The jailer, before giving effect to this decision, and with the intention unquestionably

of robbing his prisoner of any valuables which he might find about him, took upon himself to search him, under pretext of making him free of all possible suspicion. Having set about this odious proceeding, he thought that he discovered papers concealed under the lining of his dress. These were no other than the brotherly letters of Farel, Saulnier, and other ministers of Geneva, which these worthy servants of Christ had sent to their Christian brethren in the valleys, by the hands of their pastor. The jailer took possession of these writings, and to justify himself to the judges, perhaps to gain credit for his bad action, he delivered them to the provost, who commanded him to convey Gonin back to prison.

Two days after, the captive was summoned to a new examination, as a person accused of Lutheranism. Being called upon to reply, he said, "I am not a Lutheran, for Luther did not die for me, but Jesus Christ only, whose name I bear." "What is your doctrine?" "That of the gospel." "Do you go to mass?" "No." "Do you acknowledge the authority of the pope?" "No." "Do you acknowledge that of the king?" "Yes; for the powers that be are ordained of God." "But the pope is also one of the powers that be." "Only by the support of the devil." At these last words the judges, in a fury, instead of proceeding further with the examination of the accused, who demanded to be allowed to prove all his beliefs from the Bible, commanded him to be silent, declared him a heretic, and condemned him to death.

But Grenoble was a city of more enlightenment than Dijon. The new light had penetrated to it. The seigneurs of Bonne, Villars, Mailhet, and Bardonnache, with other families of high descent, had already in some measure imbibed those doctrines which made them, in the contests that soon followed, strenuous defenders of the Reformation. It was dreaded that the evangelical language of the Vaudois Barba might excite too much sympathy; it was thought proper, therefore, that his execution should not be public, "for fear," as the narratives say, "that his engaging manners and fair speech should create some commotion amongst those that should be present." Accordingly, it was resolved that he should be strangled by night, and that his corpse should then be cast into the Isère.

Meanwhile, the humble martyr prayed for the advancement of the kingdom of God, for his afflicted family, for his church, and his fellow-countrymen. "O Lord!" he cried, from the depths of his dungeon, "be pleased to hasten that happy time when there shall be only one flock and one Shepherd!" He sought consolation in the present from the hope of the future, and the Lord answered

his prayer, by hastening his own entrance into the felicity of heaven. On the 26th of April, 1536, about three o'clock in the morning, unaccustomed feet were heard on the damp stair of his prison. The light of a dark lantern fell upon its dismal steps. The door was opened, and the executioner and his assistants appeared on the threshold. "I see plainly what you come for," said the pastor, prepared to die; "but do you think to deceive God?" "In what?" inquired they. "You intend to throw me into the river, when there is nobody to see; but will not God see you?" "Get your ropes ready," said the executioner to his men, without replying to the Christian martyr. "And you, poor sinners," said Gonin to the other prisoners, "remember that there is pardon in one only, that is in Jesus Christ; and were your souls red even as crimson, he could make them white as snow." "What is the meaning of this talk?" said his companions in misfortune. "The stains most indelible, even according to human laws," he replied, "can be washed out by Him. Repent, and be converted, for the kingdom of God is at hand."

"Are the ropes ready?" said the executioner, interrupting him. The assistants stepped forward, and proceeded to carry into effect what was called human justice. They bound the hands of the martyr. They then conducted him to the banks of the Isère. There the executioner, having tied a rope to one of his feet, allowed him to kneel and to pray to God; afterwards he put a small rope round his neck, and passing a stick through it, twisted it in such a way as to tighten it more and more. No longer able to breathe, Gonin fell upon the ground. Here the strangulation was finished, and when they saw that he was motionless, they cast him into the river. But the coolness of the water restored the doomed man to life: his body quivered, his limbs moved—would he then survive that execution? No; the executioner, with foresight of such a possibility, retained hold of the rope which he had attached to the foot of the victim. He kept the convulsed and dying body floating until its agonies were ended. The movements communicated through the cord became more and more feeble, and when the last quiverings had ceased in that double suffocation by rope and by water, the line was cut, and the river bore away the body of the Vaudois martyr, whilst his soul winged its flight to heaven.

CHAPTER VIII.

HISTORY OF A NUMBER OF MARTYRS.¹

Brief notices of many martyrs—Martyrdom of Stephen Brun at Embrun, in 1538—Of Bartholomew Hector at Turin, in 1556—Of John Vernoux, Anthony Laborie Quercy, and three others, at Chambery, in 1555—Letter of the martyr Quercy to his wife—Narrow escape of the Barba Gilles in the neighbourhood of Chambery—Geoffrey Varaille burned alive at Turin in 1558—Nicholas Sartoire at Aosta, in 1557—Extraordinary escape of a Vaudois minister—Martyrdoms of Mathurin and his wife, and of John De Cartignon, at Carignan, in 1560—Brief notices of other martyrs—Horrible cruelties inflicted on Odoul Geymet.

"THERE is not a town in Piedmont," said a Vaudois Barba, in his memoirs,² "in which some of our brethren have not been put to death."

Jordan Tertian was burned alive at Suza; Hyppolyte Roussier was burned at Turin; Villermin Ambroise was hanged on the Col de Méane; Ugon Champs, of Fenestrelle, was taken at Suza, and conducted to Turin, where his bowels were torn out and flung into a basin, without his sufferings being terminated even by this frightful torture. Peter Geymonat, of Bobi, died at Lucerna, with a living cat in the interior of his body. Mary Romaine was buried alive at Roche-Plate. Madeleine Fontane suffered the same fate at St. John; Michel Gonet, a man almost a hundred years of age, was burned alive at Sarcena. Susanna Michelin, at the same place, was left in a dying state upon the snow. Bartholomew Frache, having been hacked with sabres, had his wounds filled with quicklime, and expired in this manner at Fenil. Daniel Michelin had his tongue torn out at Bobi, for having praised God. James Baridon died, covered with brimstone matches, which they had fastened between his fingers, and about his lips, his nostrils, and all parts of his body. Daniel Rével had his mouth filled with gunpowder, which

¹ AUTHORITIES.—Perrin, pp. 151-160.—Gilles, pp. 53, 67, 74, 134, 180, 203, 290, 318, 426, 454, 553, &c.—Léger, part ii., pp. 115-138.—Crespin, fol. edition of 1619, fol. 3, 117, 320-334, 418-422.—Rorengo, "*Memorie historique . . .*" pp. 64, 66.—Fournier, "*Historie des Alpes maritimes et Cottiennes, et particulièrement d'Embrun leur métropolitaine . . .*" &c. MS. in fol. Translation of Juvénis; Library of the Little Seminary at Gap, fol. 260-320. (The original is in Latin, and is in the Library of Lyons. There is a copy at Paris.)—"*Cartulaire de l'Abbaye d'Oulx*," MS. fol.; Archives of the Bishopric of Pignerol.—*Memoirs of the Capuchin Missionaries* (in Italian), in the same archives.—Archives of Grenoble (of the Court of Accounts, the Parliament, and the former Bishopric).

Still unconsulted.—Documents to be found in the archives of the Holy Office, and of the archbishopric of Turin; the bishoprics or municipalities of Asti, Carignan, Pancalier, Carail, Saluces, and Suza; and the archives of the Inquisition at Rome.

Vignaux, quoted by Perrin, p. 151.

was set on fire, and the explosion of which tore his head in pieces. Mary Mounin was taken in the *Combe* of Lioussa; the flesh of her cheeks and of her chin was removed, so that the jaws were exposed, and in this way she was left to die. Paul Garnier was slowly mangled at Rora, Thomas Marguet mutilated in an indescribable manner at the Fort of Mirabouc, and Susanna Jaquin cut in pieces at La Tour. A number of young women of Taillaret, in order to escape outrages still more dreadful to them than death, flung themselves from a precipice, and perished among the rocks. Sarah Rostagnol was cleft up through the middle of her body, and was left in a dying state on the road from Eyrales to Lucerna. Anne Charbonnier was impaled alive, and borne in this state like a banner, from St. Jean to La Tour. At Paësane, Daniel Rambaud had his nails torn out, then his fingers were cut off, then his feet and hands were severed by blows of hatchets, and then his arms and legs were separated from his body, upon each refusal that he made to abjure the gospel.

There is not a rock in the Vaudois valleys which may not be looked on as a monument of death, not a meadow but has been the scene of some execution, not a village but has had its martyrs. No history, however complete, can contain a record of them all. I shall relate a few of the most striking facts, in connection with the circumstances which led to them. In the present chapter I shall only seek to collect together those which occurred in an isolated manner, before the era of great persecutions. The first memorial in this martyrology belongs to the valleys of Dauphiny.

Two years after the martyrdom of Martin Gonin at Grenoble, a young man, named Stephen Brun, born at Reortier, in the valley of the Durance, was imprisoned at Embrun as a heretic. He was a simple farmer; but God is glorified in the humblest of his creatures, and often chooses the weakest to confound the strong.

Stephen had a wife and five children; they therefore attempted to persuade him to abjure for the sake of his family. "Those who do the will of God are my family!" said he. "Do you really wish to leave your wife a widow, and your children orphans?" "Christ says to them, 'I will not leave you orphans.' He is the heavenly husband of faithful souls. An immortal Redeemer is better than a husband who must die." "But can you not postpone your death by coming to mass?" "Say, rather, that I would hasten it, for that would be the death of my soul." "Are you not afraid of the punishment which is in preparation for you?" "Christ says, 'Fear not those who can only kill the body, but rather fear him who is able to cast both soul and body into hell!'" "Prepare, then, for

death." "I prepare for immortality." And when they came to announce to him his condemnation, he exclaimed that it was his liberation.

The day of his execution having arrived, the executioner came to tell him that his death was now to take place. "It is life," said he, "of which you assure me!"

It was on the 16th of September, 1538, a tempestuous day. Stephen was fastened in the centre of a pile, which had been raised on the esplanade of the episcopal palace of Embrun. Scarcely had the fire been set to it, when it blazed with prodigious violence beneath the feet of the martyr. But the flames, being carried away by the wind, scarcely ascended to his chest, and did not choke him, as happens when they rise over the head. The fire consumed in succession his limbs and the lower parts of his body, but Stephen continued to breathe, and was still alive after an hour of this cruel torment. An hour passed in the flames: what an age of distress! The first martyr mentioned in the Bible, that other Stephen who was stoned, did not confess his Saviour with more courageous resolution. When the wood of the pile had been renewed, the fire seemed as if it would go out without taking away the life of the sufferer. Stephen remained always standing, like Shadrach in the furnace. Hereupon the executioner, who held in his hand a long iron hook, used for stirring the fire, gave him a blow on the head with it, to kill him, and stabbed him in the bowels, which gushed out into the fire when he drew back the hook. At last the body of Stephen fell, and they covered it with burning brands, which very soon reduced it to ashes.

"They that will live godly," says St. Paul, "shall suffer persecution." Jeremiah and Daniel were cast into the pit and to the lions; Isaiah was sawn asunder with a wooden saw; Zechariah was slain between the temple and the altar; St. John was beheaded. "Which of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted?" said the first Stephen to the Pharisees. That martyr, whilst they stoned him, saw the heavens opened, and the Son of man, who, seated at the right hand of the Father, called him to himself. The poor martyr of Reortier expired without any wonders appearing around him, but in him God did make wonders to appear.

"Wherein, then, consists the power of the martyr?" exclaims a Catholic orator. "It consists in his being right, and altogether right, and in being able to say, Kill me! but ye shall not make me speak anything but what I now speak. I know no power in the world more formidable than that of a man strong in his convictions, and allowing himself to be put to death for his doctrines. It was thus

that the salvation of the world began." It was thus, we may add, that the Christian church kept its ground in the Vaudois valleys, and that it sprung to new life in the world at the voice of the Reformers.

But the antichristian power, which St. Paul calls the son of perdition, and which exalts itself above all that is called God, setting itself in opposition to God, makes it its great object to destroy the Bible in order to maintain its supremacy. A hawker of Bibles became at this time its victim, and although he was not a native of the Vaudois valleys, a memorial of him is entitled to a place in their history, because he was doing them a service, and his blood was mingled with that of their martyrs.

Bartholomew Hector was born at Poitiers. Having become acquainted with the gospel, he retired to Geneva with his wife and children. Being settled there, in order to earn a living for his family, he went from place to place, selling copies of the Holy Scriptures. He had come to Piedmont in the month of July, 1555, and had already disposed of a large number of Bibles in the hamlets of the Vaudois valleys. One day, having ascended to the very highest summer huts [*chalets*] upon the mountains of Angrogna, he stopped at the Alp of La Vachère. (The name of Alp or Alpage is given to the places to which the Vaudois shepherds conduct their flocks in summer. During the brief period that they are free from snows, these lofty peaks seem as if they hastened to clothe themselves with flowers, and pour forth in a few days all the riches of their annual vegetation). Next day he proceeded to a place still higher up, the Alp of Infernet, whose rapid slopes look down upon the immense rocks of the Pra du Tour. The vender of Bibles was not to be arrested by the obstacles of the path, and the weight which he carried seemed light when he thought of the good which he was to do; for it must not be forgotten that at these great elevations, so remote from the ordinary abodes of the Vaudois people, the herdsmen and *alpagers* who attend their flocks, are necessarily in part deprived of that spiritual nourishment which would be presented to them in the centre of their parish.

Bartholomew Hector, satisfied, it would appear, with his excursion, resolved to proceed from the Alp of Infernet to that of Laouzoun, and thence to the valley of St. Martin. But on his way down he was arrested at Rioclaret, by the seigneurs of the place, named Truchet, who had him conveyed to Pignerol, from which a catalogue of his books was forwarded to the senate of Turin.

After having left him to suffer and to pray for seven months,

forgotten in the prisons of Pignerol, they thought fit at last to take steps in his case. His first examination took place on the 8th of March, 1556.

"You have been caught selling heretical books," they said to him. "If the Bible contains heresies in your estimation, in mine it contains the truth." "But they make use of the Bible to keep people from going to mass." "If the Bible keeps them from it, it is because God does not approve of it; for the mass is a piece of idolatry." This last reply made his position a great deal worse in the eyes of the defenders of the state worship, which owned no salvation apart from itself. "Out of Christ," said the colporteur, "I grant that there is no salvation, and by His grace I will not forsake Him."

His examination was resumed next day. He endeavoured to set forth the doctrines of the gospel. "We will hold no discussions with error," said the court. "But judges are appointed to discern between error and truth; permit me then to prove that I am in the truth." If you are not in the Church, you are not in the truth." "I am in the Church of Christ, and I prove it by the gospel." "Return to the Church of Rome, if you would save your life." "Jesus says, 'He who would save his life shall lose it, and he who shall lose his life for my sake, shall live for ever.'" "Think of the abjuration which is required of you; it is the only means left you of saving yourself." "What about the saving of my body, if I lose my soul?" The urgency and threats employed to get him to abjure, thus remaining without effect, he was sent to Turin.

It was not the Duke of Savoy who was then sovereign of that country, but Francis I., the nephew of Charles III., whom he had driven from the throne.

Bartholomew Hector appeared before new judges, who were much inclined to lenity. But the strength of his convictions could bend to no compromise. "If you are resolved not to abjure your faith," they said to him, "at least you may retract your former declarations." "Prove to me," said he, "that they are erroneous." "It is not *proving* that is in question, but *living*," said they. My life is in my faith," he replied; "it is it which has made me speak." The judges, not venturing to take upon themselves the condemnation of a man so simple and so firm, and to whose charge no crime was laid, came to a decision, on the 28th of March, 1556, to remit the case to the inquisitors. It was just what Pilate did when he delivered Jesus into the hands of lawless men, and sent him away from the judgment hall.

On the 27th of April, the humble vender of Bibles appeared

before the Holy Office. It would seem that his evangelical and penetrating discourse, the sincere faith of his soul, and his modest and resigned air, had troubled the conscience even of that tribunal; for the inquisitors adjourned the case, and adjoined with themselves for trial of it the Vicars-General of the archbishopric of Turin and of the abbey of Pignerol. In their presence Hector remained always the same; there was a change of his judges, but no change of his cause.

He was again assured that for a simple retraction his life would be spared. Greater men than he have not looked so narrowly into such a question. But those who are first upon the earth are often the last in heaven. He who was one of the last here below, manifested a celestial resolution and mildness in the midst of these temptations. "I have said the truth," he exclaimed; "how can I change my words and make a retraction? Can a man change the truth as he would change his garment?" Truly, the poor seller of Bibles was well worthy of his noble employment; his pious hands did not profane the book which he distributed to men; why should men have pronounced against him a sentence of death?

Further delay was, however, granted him to reflect and abjure; but the more he reflected, the more he was convinced. Eternity would have passed without his abjuring. The period allowed him expired on the 28th of May; but it was prolonged to the 5th, and then to the 10th of June, with fresh exhortations to him each time to recant. It is perhaps more difficult to resist the urgency which is accompanied with indulgence than violence and severity. But Hector, without abating his humility, swerved not a hair's-breadth, saying, that whoever should take away one tittle from the Holy Word, should lose his part in the kingdom of heaven. He preferred to lose his part, already so full of trouble, in terrestrial existence.

The ecclesiastical tribunal, faithful to the traditions of Rome, by which the commandments of God have been so often annulled, could only declare him guilty of heresy. But it did this as if with regret; for, in delivering him to the secular arm, it recommended him to the indulgence of the judges who were to pronounce the penalty incurred by this crime. The law was express; the penalty was death. The secular judges, therefore, sentenced the man to be burned alive, in the square of the castle at Turin, on a market day. This sentence was passed on the 19th of June, 1556; but from regard to the recommendation of the ecclesiastical judges, the court authorized the executioner to strangle the condemned man

during the kindling of the pile. When the sentence was read to him in the prison, he exclaimed, "Glory be to God, for that he has thought me worthy to die for his name!"

Other persons still came to persuade him to abjure, promising to obtain for him in that case the revocation of the sentence. Hector urged them to be converted, and to embrace the gospel. His discourses were so touching, and so full of unction, that he was threatened with having his tongue cut out, if he took upon him to speak to the people on his way to the place of execution. Perhaps a dread of the effect which he might produce, may serve to explain the long indulgence of his judges. Be this as it might, Hector paid no attention to the threat, and during his whole course from his prison to the pile, he ceased not to utter words of Christian truth.

Certainly there was in this man a power by which his affrighted judges were unconsciously overborne; for, at the moment of his ascending the pile, a new emissary arrived from the court to promise him life and liberty even then, if he would only retract his heretical opinions. He had only to say, I disavow all heresy; it would have pledged him to nothing; he might have retained his beliefs, he might have returned to his family; how many strong reasons might have been urged to excuse such reservations! But no such artifice of expression even occurred to the candid mind of the persecuted Christian; to him it would have appeared a disavowing of his faith—an absolute recantation. Accordingly, standing by the pile which was about to reduce him to ashes, and beside the executioner who was presently to strangle him, the humble colporteur of the Alps, upon this unexpected intelligence of a pardon which it would have been so easy for him to have secured, instead of replying to the messenger, fell on his knees, and said, "O Lord! give me grace to persevere unto the end; pardon those whose sentence is now to separate my soul from my body; they are not unjust but blind. O Lord! enlighten by thy Spirit this people who are around me, and bring them very soon to the knowledge of the truth." The people wept, astonished that such a man should be put to death, who spake only of God. But the executioners, having received orders to perform their work, caused Hector to ascend the pile; the wood was kindled, powder and sulphur were thrown upon the fire to conceal the last agony of the martyr, and at the same moment he fell down strangled; so that his death was very quick, and might even be called very pleasant, as he fell asleep with such security in the bosom of his God.

Somewhere about the same time, a pastor of Geneva, named

John Vernoux, had been sent into the Vaudois valleys to exercise the ministry of the gospel. He was one of the first fellow-labourers of Calvin, along with whom he had taken part in the Synod of Poitiers, which accomplished the organization of the Reformed Church of France. When he came to the valleys he was accompanied by Anthony Laborie Quercy, formerly a *royal judge* at Caiart, who had abandoned the magistracy to devote himself the more actively to the cause of the gospel. Having sojourned for some months in Piedmont, they returned together to Geneva, in order to make the arrangements necessary for their permanent settlement amongst the Vaudois.

These arrangements having been made, and their preparations terminated, they again left Geneva for the valleys, accompanied by two friends, named Batailles and Tauran, and by a third named Tringalet, who had no intention to follow them any farther than the frontiers of the Genevese territory, but who, being a most intimate friend of Anthony Laborie, could not bring himself to leave him at the appointed time of separation. "I will not leave you," said he; "I will go with you to these Vaudois valleys, which have preceded our blessed Reformation in the way of salvation." "The Vaudois have never been reformed," said another, "they are still primitive Christians, witnesses of the Apostolic Church." "You increase my impatience to see them," said he; "it is of the Lord; I am resolved not to leave you." His mind was made up, and they did not part. The whole five proceeded together towards the valleys of Piedmont.

Having passed through a part of Savoy, they arrived at Faucigny, where they received a mysterious warning that they would need to be upon their guard. They turned aside from the great roads, and took the mountain paths. But it became evident that whoever gave them warning had been possessed of good information, for in the gorges of the Col Tamis they were descried by soldiers of the *maréchaussée*,¹ who laid hold of them. Being carried prisoners to Chambéry, they made no attempt to conceal their faith, and received many solicitations to renounce it. But Christian faith, when it has been felt in the heart, is not a consort that can be so readily parted with.

On the 10th of July, 1555, after a long conference, in which he vainly attempted to convince them of heresy, the judge who conducted the examination exclaimed, "Of what use is all this? do you not know that you will be put to death as heretics, if you do not relinquish your errors?" "Yes," replied the pastor Vernoux,

¹ An armed police.

"the first thing which we learned from our Master was, that whosoever will follow him must expect persecution." "But Jesus does not command you to die?" "He tells us that as many as will walk in his steps must take up his cross; and he bore his own cross to Calvary." "You are very young men: think upon the life that is before you." "The life which is before us is in the heavens, and, far from extinguishing our hope, you give us more impregnable assurance of it." "Is it possible that men can speak in this way of a condemnation to death?" "It is by death that our souls attain to the fulness of their life." And in spite of all which the judges could do to obtain some concession on their part, nothing could triumph over the heroic firmness of these courageous disciples of Christ. They were, indeed, worthy to preach his word who could thus die for him! Blessed are the pastors whose lives correspond to such deaths!

Being declared guilty of heresy, the two pastors, Vernoux and Laborie, who were already numbered amongst the clergy of the Vaudois churches, and their three travelling companions, were delivered over to the secular tribunals. By a first sentence, of date the 21st of August, 1555, they were only condemned to the galleys, but the king's procurator appealed from this judgment, and the case had to be tried anew. The respect felt for them appears to have increased as their case proceeded. So, when Laborie refused to take oath upon a crucifix, they brought him a Bible, which was contrary to all ordinary practice, for Popery had proscribed it everywhere. Again, after his examination, the president kindly laboured to show him that he might live in peace and serve God as freely in his own proper place of abode as at Geneva. Laborie, who preferred to live in exile along with fellow-believers, rather than in his native country, where the gospel did not yet prevail, mildly replied, "The primitive Christians called one another brethren, and awakened Christians must still have brethren." "But," said the president, "it is not serving God to withdraw in a scandalous manner from the Church." "The scandal is owing to those who have abandoned the purity of his worship, and not to those who return to it," said Laborie. Thereupon the president, assailing him on the subject of his doctrines, endeavoured to prove to him by the Holy Scriptures, that man was not predestinated from all eternity, either to evil or to good; that a great many of the Catholic ceremonies, although superfluous, were nevertheless tolerable, as the gospel did not condemn them, and as St. Paul himself had circumcised Timothy, although he made so great an opposition to circumcision.

It was a thing so rare at that time for a Catholic judge to condescend to enter the arena of discussion with the Bible in his hand, that I have thought it necessary to mention it. This dealing with Scripture, moreover, making him familiar with evangelical doctrine, could not fail also ere long to create in his own mind some misgivings on the subject of heresy.

The accused frankly declared their opinions. Circumcision, they said, was founded upon a commandment of God, whilst the popish superstitions had no other origin than the errors of man. Not being able to convince their prisoners, the judges entreated them, with almost paternal earnestness, to return of their own accord to the Church, and not to compel them unwillingly to pronounce an inevitable condemnation. They even added, that they themselves desired a true reform in the Church, but not out of the Church. "Would to God, gentlemen," said Laborie, upon hearing this, "that all the ecclesiastics of France thought as you do, for we would very soon be of one mind; and if I am a heretic, my lord president is not far from being like myself." The councillors smiled; and one of them replied, "Nay, you must become like him, and not he like you."

But this irresolute, undecided position, intermediate between truth and error, between the church and the world, between Christ and Belial, will not do for men of candid and devoted hearts. It is the broad way in which many walk; but the newly-appointed pastors of the valleys and their Christian friends walked in a more narrow and a less agreeable path; less agreeable, I mean, for the worldly, but more productive of happiness for the children of Christ.

After this sitting they separated Laborie from his companions, and finding himself alone, he prayed earnestly to God that he would not suffer him to fall. "Thus I continued," he says, in one of his letters, "praying and meditating till two o'clock in the morning."

Next day he adjured his judges, by the regard they had for their immortal souls, not to put away from them the knowledge of salvation which was offered them. He represented to them the duties of their office, and told them that being appointed defenders of the truth, they ought not to condemn the truth. "If we are not in the truth," said he, "prove it; if we are, acquit us; for you have to judge the cause of Jesus in our persons, and you cannot be amongst those who judge in ignorance, for God has given you much light." "They listened to me," he says, "for about an hour without interruption, and I saw that some of the younger ones wept." "Did not God enjoin Moses to punish heretics?" said one of the most skilful. "I granted him that," says Laborie, in his own

account of the examination, "and even cited the case of Servetus, who had endured the penalty of his crime at Geneva; but only take heed, said I, that you do not treat the true children of God as heretics!" "Ah, well! my friend," said one of the judges, "give us a simple retraction of your heresies, without specifying any of them." "It would be as base in me to make a half-abjuration of the truth, as to recant it altogether." "This will commit you to nothing in respect of the future; and your life may still be useful, even to your own cause." "I should serve it ill, if I were to begin by betraying it." "You will do it still less service when you are dead." "The death of the faithful is a seed of life, which remains behind them longer than their works would have done." This was indeed to renounce life for the sake of immortality.

On the 28th of August, all the five were condemned to be burned alive. They were left at liberty to see one another, to write to their friends, their relatives, and their colleagues at Geneva. "We give thanks to God," say they, "and await the hour, commending ourselves to your prayers." The most admired stoicism of antiquity is not worthy to be compared with this serene and impressive resolution of the Christian's soul. Courage shines forth only upon occasions; but resignation is courage become habitual and abiding. It originates not with man, but with God.

Anthony Laborie was united in marriage to a young woman who had been born a Catholic, but converted to the gospel. The following are passages of the letters which he wrote to her in order to prepare her for her approaching widowhood:—

"Anne, my beloved sister and most faithful spouse, you know how well we have loved one another, so long as it has pleased the Lord to leave us together; his peace has continually remained with us, and you have completely obeyed me in everything. I pray you, therefore, that you be always found such as you have been, and better, if it be possible, when I am no more. If your youth is alarmed at the world and poverty, I advise you to marry again, with another brother who equally fears God; and thenceforth think no more of me as having been your husband, but as a handful of ashes; for from this moment we are no longer united, except by the bond of that fraternal charity, in which I hope for your prayers so long as I am alive. When your father shall be apprised of my death, I doubt not but he will seek after you to win you back to Popery; but I entreat you, in the name of the Lord, to remain firm in your adherence to the truth. Trust in God; pray to him, love him, and serve him, and he will not forsake you. Our little girl, as well as yourself, will be dear to him;

for he is the protector of the widow and the father of orphans. The example of Moses should suffice to assure you of this."¹ What affecting thoughts are contained in these grave and calm sentences!

Calvin also addressed to the prisoners at Chambéry exhortations which may be reckoned austere. "Since it has pleased God to employ you in this service [martyrdom], continue to do as ye have begun. If the door is closed against you, that you may not edify by doctrine those to whom you had dedicated your labours [the Vaudois], the testimony which you bear will not fail to console them even from afar; for God will give it power to resound where human voices never could have reached."² What men and what times were these! And is this only the chief of a sect; is it not rather another Moses, the legislator of a people newly won to the Lord, who dares to speak of martyrdom as of an ordinary service? And what disciples are these men devoted to a cruel death, who bid farewell to their families as if only for a brief separation! O Lord! increase our faith; it seems as if faith itself had died upon the piles of the martyrs!

The prisoners at Chambéry still remained ignorant of the day when their execution was to take place. One morning they were brought forth from the prison; they supposed that they were to be led to some new examination; but a friend found means to acquaint them on the way of the fate which awaited them. "Let us give thanks to God," said Laborie, "that he has thought us worthy to be martyrs for himself!" But the pastor Vernoux, more sensitive, and liable to be moved by unexpected impressions, could not help being seized with an involuntary agitation. A cold sweat covered his temples; he fell into a nervous trembling; his resolution seemed about to fail. But all at once he found himself inwardly strengthened, the soul reinvigorated the body, the hand of God sustained him. "My brethren," said he, with humble firmness, "I pray you be not scandalized at my weakness, for I have experienced within myself the most terrible conflict which could possibly be endured. But glory be to God, who by his spirit has overcome the flesh! Let us go forward! I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me."

And his Saviour did not abandon him. For the executioner having laid hold of him to fasten him first to the pile, he demanded a moment for prayer, and it being granted him, these words proceeded from his dying lips, breathing the assurance of his heart: "O Lord God, Eternal and Almighty Father, I confess before thy Holy Majesty that I am nothing but a poor sinner, incapable of

¹ Crespin, fol. 329.

² Crespin, fol. 332, 333.

myself of doing any good. Be pleased, then, to have compassion upon me, O God of all goodness, the Father of mercy, and to pardon my sins for the love of Jesus Christ thy Son, my only Redeemer!" He knelt upon the pile, and pronounced that admirable confession of sins, which proceeded for the first time from the lips of Theodore Beza, in midst of the great Synod of La Rochelle. This affecting and powerful prayer is well known, as still in use in the reformed churches. But how much more impressive must it have been when uttered by that pastor, on the top of the pile on which he was to die, than as pronounced from pulpits, by so many careless voices, without danger and too frequently without life!

Laborie stepped upon the pile with firmness of manner and a joyful countenance, as if he had been going to a festival. And that triumph of these regenerate souls was indeed a festival. Isaac may have groaned upon Mount Moriah; but behold! the Christian pastor offers himself for a holocaust with joy in his heart and a smile upon his lips. How mighty the power of that faith which works such wonders!

Tringalet prayed for his enemies. The two other martyrs also spoke some pious sentences, and all five having been strangled, were left to the flames, which only devoured their corpses.

A short time after, the Barba Gilles, already mentioned in the history of the churches of Calabria, returning from these countries by Venice and the Tyrol, passed into Germany, and making his way back through Switzerland, stopped at Lausanne. There he made the acquaintance of a young pastor of great talent, but of a very delicate constitution, named Stephen Noel. Having obtained his consent to devote his services to the Vaudois churches, they set out for together for Piedmont; but in passing through Savoy, they were accosted one evening in an hostelry near Chambéry, by an officer of justice, who began to address them "with a profusion of compliments," says Gilles, "which were by no means desired." They passed themselves off as relatives of some soldiers whom they were going to see in the camp. (It was during the time of the wars of Francis I. in Italy). But the officer of justice, not seeming more than half satisfied, expressed his desire of having further conversation with them in the morning. They had no wish to wait for him; and through the protection of their host, who favoured them (but above all through that of God, who kept them in safety), they were enabled to make their escape during the night, turned aside into by-paths, and arrived safe and well in Piedmont.

But there, also, other martyrs were to shed their blood. The reader will recollect the crusade commenced by Innocent VIII.

against the Vaudois. Amongst the chiefs who signalized themselves at the head of these sanguinary troops, was a Captain Varagle (pronounced Varaille), whose son, a youth of remarkable intelligence, entered into orders in 1522. He resided at a short distance from the Vaudois valleys, in Busque, a little town more isolated from the rest of the world than almost any other in Piedmont. His rapid progress in learning, his knowledge of theology, and his eloquence in the pulpit, attracted the attention of his superiors.

It was at this period that the influence of the Reformation was everywhere felt. The Church of Rome perceived the necessity of strengthening its tottering power. The Synod of Angrogna, at which Farel and Saulnier had been present, had just given a more lively impulse to that movement of disquietude, of inquiry, and of awakening, which then agitated all the better class of minds. Young Varagle was chosen for the work of repressing it. (His name was Geoffrey, and I shall write his surname Varaille, in order to conform the orthography to the pronunciation.)

To him was intrusted the difficult task of visiting the principal cities of Italy, in order to restore the credit of the Romish Church by his eloquent discourses. An Observantine monk of the convent of Monte Fiascone, in the county of Urbino, was commissioned to accompany him. His name was Matteo Baschi, and it was he who, reforming the order of the Cordeliers in 1525, originated that of the Capuchins, which very soon reckoned nearly 500 convents in Europe, and more than 25,000 monks. With these two missionaries ten other members of the secular clergy were joined for this important enterprise.

Being compelled, in order to accomplish it, to examine for themselves the arguments employed by the reformed against Catholicism, they soon perceived their force, and presently became themselves suspected of an inclination in favour of the doctrines which they were appointed to combat. These suspicions grew into certainty, and they were all imprisoned at Rome upon this serious charge. Their captivity lasted for five years.¹ It may be supposed that this long detention was not long enough to efface from their minds the impressions which were regarded with so much alarm; if their minds were upright and sincere, this seclusion, as it kept them from attending to anything else, was only calculated to confirm them the more. Such was its effect on Varaille.

Renouncing from the first all active opposition to the Reforma-

¹ Minutes of the sittings of the Parliament of Turin, of 27th and 28th September, 1557.

tion, he attached himself to the Legate of the Holy See at the court of France, and accompanied him to Paris, where he abode for some time. But the distant rays of the Reformation, that dayspring from on high, which opened up the era of modern liberty by the outbreking light of the gospel, reached him with still greater power in the French capital. The massacre of the Vaudois of Mérindol and of Cabrières, the case relative to which was about this time pleaded before the Court of Peers, excited his indignation and disgust against a church drenched with the blood of the righteous. Compelled unquestionably by his conscience, he spontaneously quitted the high position which he occupied at Paris, and proceeded to Geneva, in order to study the new doctrines at their fountain.

What an epoch was that in which the great interests of religion had so powerful a reality, that a regard to them alone was sufficient to change, in this way, the whole course of a life!

Varaille was at this time nearly fifty years of age; but his faith made him young again, and, filled with an ardour which his youth had not known, he cast off without hesitation all his previous connections, ready to begin life anew with a moral strength which he had never possessed before. This man, laden with half a century of Popery, had felt the truth of the words spoken by our Lord to Nicodemus, and humbly received the imposition of hands, that he might be numbered amongst the evangelical pastors destined to defend that cause with which all that he had previously had to do had been in the character of an adversary. The Vaudois churches now applied for a pastor who could preach in Italian. Geoffrey Varaille was sent to them, and was settled in the parish of St. John. Here, then, was he in these same valleys in which his father had conducted a persecuting crusade. O, how unlike are God's ways to our ways! The son was called to take charge, as a pastor, of that same flock which his father had sought to exterminate.

After having spent some months in the valleys, he desired to see the little town of Busque, where he was born; his family was not yet quite extinct there, and a few evangelical Christians who began to appear in that place, were to him a family whom his heart did not less dearly love. This journey, however, was not without perils; he received notice that spies were employed by his enemies to watch his movements. But his courage seemed to have increased with his years, as if under his white hairs the ardour of youth had returned along with evangelical fervour. In truth, the life of the soul is in old men a youth without decay, the dawn of immortality.

Nevertheless, he enjoyed the satisfaction of visiting his family, and edifying the brethren at Busque, without anything happening

to him. But on his return, passing by Barges, at the base of the Mount Viso, he was denounced by the Prior of the abbey of Staffarde (to which a part of the Vaudois valleys had been granted in the 9th century),¹ and arrested by a criminal officer, a nephew of the Archdeacon of Saluces.

He was treated with respect; a richly furnished house was assigned him for his prison, and he was even allowed to be at large upon parole. How many ordinary prisoners would have taken advantage of it to have fled! But the true Christian is not like one of those Papists who declared in their council² that a man may break his word without breaking the law of God. Having even learned that some of the reformed of Bubiano, who formed part of his parish, had an intention of coming to deliver him by force, he sent them word to refrain, and to leave the matter in the hands of God. And yet the edicts of Francis I., who had conquered Piedmont, and of Henry II., who then reigned there, authorized the greatest severities against him.

After several examinations he was conducted to Turin, firmly bound. The responses which he made to his judges, and the written arguments which he presented to them in support of his religion, are a monument of his talents, his knowledge, and his piety.

During his imprisonment, Calvin wrote to him from Geneva a letter in Latin, of which the following is a translation:—

"Most dear and beloved brother!—Whilst the news of your imprisonment has extremely grieved us, the Lord, who can bring light out of darkness, has united therewith a cause of joy and consolation, in the spectacle of the fruits which your affliction has already produced, and the glory which sustained St. Paul ought also to impart courage to you; for if you are bound, the Word of God is not bound, and you have it in your power to testify regarding it to many, who will spread farther abroad the seed of life which they have received from your mouth. Jesus Christ requires this testimony from every one; but he has laid the obligation in a more especial manner upon you, by the seal of the ministry which you have received, to preach the doctrine of salvation which is now assailed in your person. Remember, then, to seal, if need be, with your blood, that doctrine which you have taught with your mouth. He has promised that the death of his own shall be precious to him; let this recompense suffice you. I shall dwell no longer on this point, persuaded that you repose confidently on him, in whom, whether we live or die, our eternal happiness is to be found. My

¹ Amongst others, the *Combe of Glausarand*, or *Val Guichard*. See *Monumenta patriæ*, T. I., No. DXIII, anno 821.

² Oecum. Const. 1415.

companions and brethren salute you.—Geneva, 17th of September, 1557."

It would have been pleasant to have met with more tender outpourings of the heart, in the great man whose name a portion of the Christian church still bears. But perhaps this inflexibility was necessary to that commanding influence over the minds of others by which he consolidated the Reformation.

The humble Vaudois pastor encouraged no one to face death, but he went forward to it himself with a heroic firmness. When the sentence of death was announced to him, he said with a solemn voice, "Be assured, gentlemen, that you will sooner want wood for piles, than ministers of the gospel to seal their faith upon them; for they multiply daily, and the word of God endures for ever." The court, Crespín says, pronounced sentence of death against him, rather for fear of reproach, than from conviction that he deserved it. O Pilate, Pilate! how numerous are thy race in the world!

Geoffrey Varaille was burned alive in the square of the castle at Turin, on the 29th of March, 1558. When he had ascended the pile the executioner approached; it was thought that he meant to apply the fire. Not at all; he knelt at the feet of the martyr, entreating him to pardon him the death which he was about to inflict upon him. "Not only thee," replied Varaille, "but all those who have caused it." Then, whilst the assistant executioners applied the fire in front, the principal executioner strangled him from behind; "and many people," says Crespín, "relate, as a notable fact, that a dove flew around the fire and rose into the air, which was esteemed a sign of the innocence of the martyr. But for the circumstances of this death, we have confined ourselves to the principal matter, without curiously staying upon mere externals." The true miracles of the gospel are the miracles of faith, for the gospel of Christ is the power of God unto salvation, unto all those that believe.

Along with Varaille, says Gilles, there was conducted to the place of execution, a good old man, who had already suffered much for the cause of truth, and after he had been compelled to witness the death of that worthy martyr of the Lord, and had been whipped, red hot irons were taken from that same pile, and he was marked with them, with the king's mark.

In the same year, a young man, who was born at Quiers, a short distance from the Vaudois valleys, happening to be at Aosta, on Good Friday, heard a preacher who said that the sacrifice of Jesus Christ was renewed daily in the sacrifice of the mass. "Christ has only died once," murmured the young man, "and he is now in

heaven, from which he will not come again until the last day." "You do not, then, believe in his corporal presence in the host?" demanded a clerk, named Ripet. "Truly, God forbid! Do you know the creed?" "Yes; but what of that?" "Is it not there said that Jesus is now seated at the right hand of the Father?" "Yes." "Well, then, he is not in the host." Not being able to reply to this argument, they imprisoned him who used it.

He was twenty-six years of age; his name was Nicolas Sartoire. His friends contrived to secure his escape by night; he then left the town of Aosta, the ancient Augusta Prætoria, a place full of ruins and superstitions, and as he had already dwelt at Lausanne, he took the way by the St. Bernard, to take refuge in Switzerland. But at the village of St. Remy, the last which he would have had to pass through before crossing the frontier, he was arrested anew, and brought back to prison. His friends of Aosta then wrote to those whom he had at Lausanne, that they should apply to the authorities of Berne, who might demand him, as an inhabitant of that country. These attempts were made, but without effect. Nicolas Sartoire was tortured. "Retract your errors!" said the ecclesiastical judge. "Prove to me that I have errors." "The Church condemns you." "But the Bible acquits me." "You incur the punishment of death by your obstinacy." "He who shall persevere unto the end shall be saved." "You wish, then, to die?" "I wish to have eternal life." And torments, as well as solicitations, were without effect.

After the rack, he was made to endure the strapado, but his courage did not forsake him. "And for his obstinacy," says the sentence, "he was condemned to be burned alive." His friends implored him to retract; assured, they said, of being able still to obtain his pardon. "The pardon which I desire," he replied, "I have already obtained from my God." This courageous child of the Lord died on the pile, at Aosta, on the 4th of May, 1557, refusing to the last to purchase life by abjuring his religion.

About the same time, says Gilles, one of the ministers of the valley of Lucerna, returning from Geneva, was taken prisoner at Suza, and conducted thence to Turin. He displayed the same steadfastness, and his judges displayed the same barbarity. He was condemned to be burned alive. But it appears that his dignity, his gentleness, and the imposing and modest seriousness of his speech, had produced a profound impression upon those around him, for the day of the execution being come, one of the executioners feigned himself ill, and concealed himself; the other, after having put to death some malefactors, afraid of being compelled to execute the

minister, fled; so that the execution being prevented from taking place, the minister found means to make his escape, and returned to his church.¹ Gilles has not preserved the name of this pastor; he relates in the briefest way this extraordinary history, in which we see the executioners fleeing before the victim—the executioners more conscientious than the judges, and refusing to have anything to do with the execution—the executioners giving the Church of Rome a lesson of humanity! Many others Christians of the Vaudois valleys, or of the places adjacent, were also condemned to death in the 16th century; but very rare were the instances in which they succeeded in escaping the execution of the sentence, and the example is perhaps unparalleled of a pastor returning to his church after having been spared by four or five executioners.

In 1560, many of the reformed or Vaudois of Piedmont were made prisoners, having been surprised in the very fact of social prayer and religious assemblies beyond the limits of the actual territory of the Vaudois valleys; and by a procedure more worthy of Mahometans than of Christians, they were condemned to be burned three days after their incarceration, without pleadings, without examination, without the formalities of trial, and simply on the strength of the accusation alone.

However, if they made profession of Popery, they were set at liberty; but if they refused to go to mass their heresy was demonstrated; in that case they had these three days allowed them to abjure, and if they did not yield, an end was put to their life. Abjuration or death: such was the language of the jurisprudence matured beneath the shade of Catholicism.

It was in the town of Carignan that the executions commenced. A French fugitive, named Mathurin, was the first seized. The commissioners enjoined him to abjure his religion if he would escape death. He preferred to die. "We give you three days to reflect," said they, "but after that time you will be burned alive if you refuse to come to mass." The family of Mathurin were more distressed than himself. He had married a Vaudois woman. His wife applied to the commissioners for leave to see him. "Provided that you do not harden him in his errors," said they. "I promise you," she replied, "that I will not speak to him except for his good." The commissioners never thought of any greater good than life, and conducted the young woman to the prisoner, in the hope that she would persuade him to prolong his days by a recantation.

But the courageous daughter of the martyrs dreaded, on the contrary, that her husband might be induced to follow that course out

¹ Gilles, chap. x. p. 67.

of affection for her, or through human weakness, and the good which she wished to do him was to confirm him in his resolution. "Accordingly," says our old chronicler, "she exhorted him, in presence of the commissioners, as earnestly as possible, steadfastly to persevere in his religion, without putting the death of the body, which is of brief duration, in the balance against the eternal salvation of his soul." The commissioners, transported with rage, on hearing language so different from what they expected upon her part, loaded her with reproaches; but she, unmoved and earnest, continued to address her husband, saying to him, with a firm and gentle voice, "Let not the assaults of the wicked one make you abandon the profession of your hope in Jesus Christ." "Exhort him to obey us, or you shall both be hanged," cried the magistrates. "And let not the love of this world's possessions make you lose the inheritance of heaven!" said the Christian woman, without pausing in her calm exhortations. "Heretical she-devil!" they exclaimed, "if you do not change your tone, you shall be burned to-morrow." "Would I have come to persuade him to die rather than to abjure," she replied, "if I could myself seek to escape death by apostasy?" "You should fear, at any rate, the torments of the pile." "I fear him who is able to cast both body and soul into a more terrible fire than that of your billets." "Hell is for heretics; save yourselves by renouncing your errors." "Where can the truth be if not in the words of God?" "This will be the destruction of you both," said the magistrates, if that name can be given to such cruel fanatics. "Blessed be God!" said the woman to her husband, "because having united us in life, he will not separate us in death!" "Instead of one, we shall have two of them to burn," sneeringly muttered the executioner's satellites. "I will be thy companion to the end," the heroic woman simply added. "Will you come to mass and have your pardon?" said the magistrates again. "I would much rather go to the pile and have eternal life." "If you do not abjure, Mathurin shall be burned to-morrow, and you three days after." "We shall meet again in heaven," replied she, mildly. "Think of the delay that is still granted you." "The length of it is of no consequence, for my resolution is for life." "Say, rather, it is for death." "The death of the body, but the life of the soul." "Have you nothing else to say to us, you damned obstinate wretch?" "Nothing; except that I beseech you not to put off my execution for three days, but to let me die with my husband." Her request was granted. She had entered the prison a free woman, but she remained a captive, and only came out again to mount the pile.

The name of this woman was Joan, and this name, pronounced in such circumstances, involuntarily recalls that of Joan of Arc. Why should not the heroism of the Christian woman be admired as much as that of the young female warrior of Orleans? Ought the victims of faith to be less thought of than those of battle? Alas! one may more readily become illustrious in this world by taking the lives of his enemies, than by giving his own for the love of the brethren. But those who do so give their lives, do it not with an eye to worldly glory.

The two martyr spouses had a last evening of prayer and meditation to spend together on this earth. It is pleasing to think that it cannot have been the least sweet of their evenings, for Jesus says, "Wherever even two shall be met in my name, I will be with them, in the midst of them." And when were the conditions of that promise ever more completely realized than at that hour?

Next day, being the 2d of March, 1560, a pile was formed in the public square of Carignan, and there these worthy confessors of the gospel died, holding one another by the hand, and with souls united in the love of the Saviour.

A new pile was formed twelve days after, in the same place, for the execution of a young man who had been arrested three days before, on the way from Lucerna to Pignerol. His name was John De Cartignon, and as he was a jeweller, he was called *Johanni delle Spinelle*. He had already been a prisoner upon account of religion; it was upon this account that he had retired to the valley of Lucerna, for he was not a native of it. Finding himself once more a captive, he concluded that this would be the last time. "My deliverance," he said, "will not come from men, but from God." And, indeed, God sustained him, for he endured the torment of his execution with rare courage.

The inquisition called these atrocious barbarities acts of faith—*autos da fe*. Such were, therefore, the acts of the Catholic faith; those of the Protestant faith were glorious martyrdoms. Which are most worthy of the name?

"In 1535," says Gilles, "Bersour having been commissioned to proceed against the Vaudois, laid hold of so great a number of them that he filled with them his castle of Miradol, and the prisons and convent of Pignerol, as well as the dungeons of the inquisition at Turin." Many of the prisoners were condemned to be burned alive. One of them, Catalan Girardet, of St. John, on his way to the place of execution, lifted two stones, and rubbing them one against another in his hands, said to the inquisitors, "See these impenetrable pebbles; all that you can do to annihilate our

churches, will no more destroy them than I can wear away and destroy these stones." He endured his death with admirable firmness. These words of his have caused his name to be preserved; but how many others died like him, and with the same courage?

Many prisoners also perished without its being ever known what became of them! Such was the case at this period with Mark Chanavas of Pinache, Julian Colombat of Villar Pérouse, and George Stalè of Fenil.

Let us bestow a thought upon these unknown victims, whose sufferings and courage perhaps increased together during whole years of unmeasured distress, occasioned at once by their being forgotten, and by disease and hunger. Some one striking circumstance is enough to give distinction to a name, but this perseverance throughout ages (for in dungeons a year is an age), this termless resignation, does it not require even more strength of soul, and ought it not to excite in us even more profound sympathies than the enthusiasm of a moment?

A few years later, the pastor of St. Germain was brought by a traitor within the grasp of a troop of malefactors in the pay of the abbey of Pignerol. Some of his parishioners, who attempted to defend him, were arrested along with him. But the torments and death of the victims of Rome, and the victories of their faith, were things then so common, that Gilles, without even mentioning the name of this pastor, merely tells us that, after having overcome all the temptations which were employed in order to make him abjure, he was condemned to be burned alive by a slow fire; and adds that some women of St. Germain, who were prisoners along with him, were constrained to carry faggots to the pile where their pastor was patiently enduring martyrdom. What a picture, however, is here presented to us of holy resolution maintained in the midst of horrors!

Still later, in 1560, the hamlet of Les Bonnets, situated between La Tour and Le Villar, was assailed by soldiers, who came at once from both of these last-named places, where at that time were fortifications, which are now demolished. After having destroyed and pillaged everything, they bore off fourteen prisoners. Two men alone had escaped them. These men hastened to post themselves above a steep slope by which the aggressors must pass. No sooner had the troop of spoliators got upon this declivity with their prisoners, than the two Vaudois, who lay concealed, set in motion a great number of stones, which rolled down upon them, and threw them into confusion, so that twelve of the prisoners found opportunity of taking to flight. The two captives who remained in the

hands of the assailants both belonged to a family named Geymet; the name of the one was John, that of the other Udolph. They were conveyed to the castle of La Tour. There, after both cruelties and promises had been employed in order to make them abjure, the captain of the garrison, named Joseph Banster, strangled John Geymet with his own hands. Udolph was fastened to a table, stripped of his garments, and put to death by an unparalleled torture. The following is the simple and laconic account which Gilles gives of it:—"The soldiers having collected a great number of those creatures which live in the dung and carrion of animals, filled therewith a bowl, which they placed upon his belly, and fastened it to his body, so that these vermin went into his entrails and devoured him, he being yet alive. These cruelties have been related by the very soldiers of the garrison. Thus died this poor martyr, in the sixtieth year of his age."

Here let us pause. The mind recoils, horror-stricken, from the thought of so many victims, and of such atrocious refinements of cruelty. Was this a race of savages, who could ruthlessly shed so much blood? And if they did it in name of their religion, ought not that religion to be execrated of mankind? Can altars which have been served by the inquisition, by Jesuitism, and by simony, pretend a right to the servile homage of civilized men! Cain killed his brother through envy, in a moment of passion, without having known the light of the gospel; he killed him alone; but Rome, which assumes the name of Christian, beneath whose very tiara the tradition of assassination has been transmitted—Rome has destroyed thousands of victims, has murdered them in cold blood, has premeditated their death, has prolonged their agonies, has invented refinements of torture, and whensoever the interests of her own empire were concerned, her work has been to betray, to corrupt, and to kill.

But these poor oppressed ones, the victims of her tyranny—these Christians who enjoyed no rest, and martyrs who exhibited no weakness—knew also well that it is said in the gospel, "Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." But it is not necessary to suffer martyrdom in order to die unto the Lord; and every Christian, however mean his condition, says, in the words recorded in ancient Bible history, "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his."

CHAPTER IX.

HISTORY OF THE EVANGELICAL CHURCHES OF PAËSANE,
PRAVIGLELM, AND SALUCES.¹

(A.D. 1550 TO A.D. 1580.)

The Marquisate of Saluces—Inquisitors sent to extirpate heresy in 1308—Persecutions of 1499–1510—Margaret De Foix, Marchioness of Saluces—Expulsion of the Vaudois from Saluces—They take refuge in the other valleys—Their return to Saluces in 1512—Influence of the Reformation—Increase and extension of the church.

IN the bottom of the basin and on the elevated level grounds of Paësane, and in the deep valleys of Cruzzol and Onzino, where the head-waters of the Po descend from Mount Visol, the Vaudois appear to have had their most ancient settlements in the province of Saluces. It has been alleged that their origin amongst these mountains was contemporaneous with that of the other Vaudois who inhabit the left bank of the Po. But Gilles informs us that the inhabitants of Praviglelm, Biolet, and Biétonnet, came from the valley of Lucerna. This emigration must be referred to a very remote date, since those who descended from it had peopled the

¹ AUTHORITIES.—Perrin, Gilles, Léger, Rorengo.—“*Brief discours des persécutions advenues aux églises du marquisat de Saluces.*” Genève, chez Paul Marceau, 1620. (This work was composed by order, and printed at the expense of the Synod held at Briançon in June, 1620.)—“*Memorabilis historia persec. bellorumque in pop. vulgo Valdensem appellatum, &c.*” Genevæ. Excudebat Eustathius Vignon M.D.LXXXI. (Small 8vo, of 150 pages in italics.)—“*Relatione all’eminentissima congregazione de propaganda fide, dei luoghi di alcune valle di Piemonte, all’A.R. di Savoia soggetti . . .*” Torino. No dato, small 18mo, pp. 523.—Massi, “*Storia de Pinerolo . . .*” 3 vols.—Semeria, “*Storia della chiesa metropolitana di Torino.*” 8vo. 1840.—“*Le bannissement des gens de la religion prétendue réformée, hors des états de Savoye, le tout, selon l’ordonnance et arrest de l’Inquisition et Sénat de Piedmont.*” Paris, M.D.C.XIX. (Relates exclusively to the Vaudois of Saluces.)—“*Lettres des fidèles du marquisat de Saluces, souveraineté du duc de Savoye, envoyées à MM. les Pasteurs de l’Eglise de Genève, contenant l’histoire de leurs persécutions, . . . &c.*”—“*Jouste la copie écrite à Genève.*” 1619.—Soleri, “*Diario dei fatti successi in Torino, . . . &c.*”—Muletti, “*Mém. hist. sur le marquisat de Saluces,*” (t. vi.)—Costa de Beauregard, “*Mém. hist. sur la maison roy. de Savoye.*” Turin, 1816. 3 vols. 8vo.—“*Litteræ quædam nondum editæ . . . ex authentographis . . . editis Bretneider.*” Lipsiæ, 1835. 8vo.—(Contains a letter of the pastor of Praviglelm, dated 23d July, 1563.)—General and particular histories of Piedmont, and of the Marquisate of Saluces.—“*L’Art de vérifier les dates.*”—Histories of France (for the period during which Piedmont was included in the French dominions).—Various documents found in the archives of Saluces, Lucerna, Pignerol, and Turin.—A MS. of the Royal Library at Turin, the “*Chronicle of the family of the Sollaro*” (in Italian).—Private letters of MM. Cibrario, Duboin, César de Saluces, &c.—Some of the authorities here noted belong to the subsequent chapters.

marquisate of Saluces, and we find that the Vaudois were already there in the 13th century. We know, indeed, that the Vaudois of Provence issued from it; and in the confession of faith which they presented to Francis I., on the 6th of April, 1541, they refer their settlement in Provence to more than 200 years before that date.

The Vaudois of Saluces themselves, including those of the valleys of the Po, gave out that they and their fathers had existed in that country from time immemorial.¹ Perhaps it was this which gave rise to the opinion, which has recently been expressed, that the Vaudois of all other parts of Piedmont issued from these districts;² but Gilles positively affirms that those of Saluces themselves derived their origin from the valley of Lucerna.³

The marquisate of Saluces dates its existence from the 12th century. This tract of country was given as a dowry to Beatrix, grand-daughter of Adelaide of Suza, who enlarged the abbey of Pignerol, and in whose behalf the emperor, Henry the Aged, her son-in-law, erected the fiefs of the territory of Saluces into a marquisate. They remained, therefore, dependent, as secondary fiefs, upon the *marche* of Suza, and when the territory of Seuzie passed into the hands of the Counts of Savoy, these counts found themselves also the *suzerains* of the Marquises of Saluces.

In 1308 inquisitors were sent into this region to destroy heresy; but after having been repulsed and defeated in discussion, they sustained a new defeat in their attempt to triumph by means of violence. Surrounded in a castle, and retained as prisoners by the inhabitants of the district which they came to convert, and who seemed to be unanimous in repelling them, they were compelled to submit to conditions instead of imposing them, and retired from these countries without having even commenced the work for which they had come thither.⁴ Pope John XXII., in his brief to John de Badis, intimated to the Marquises of Saluces, to the Counts of Lucerna, and to the Duke of Savoy, his desire that they would assist the inquisition with all their power against these disorganizers of the Church of Rome. But the power most formidable to that church, and effectual in disorganizing it, is the word of God, and not the rebellion of men. Let the Bible reign in any place,

¹ Perrin, p. 185. Léger, p. cxi.

² De Rougemont, “*Précis d’ethnographie, de statist. et de géographie hist.*” t. i. p. 210.

³ Gilles, p. 18.

⁴ *Prænominati hæretici ipsum Inquisitorem in quodam castello patenter et publice obsederunt, sic eum oportuit quod inde recedere, inquisitionis hujusmodi officio relicto, totaliter imperfecto.*—Brief of John XXII. to John de Badis, 23d July, 1332.

and there Popery must be overcome. This appeal of the pontiff had no other result than the apprehension of a Barba of the valley of Lucerna, named Martin Pastre. He was on his way to the churches of Saluces, and he justified, by a courageous martyrdom, the choice which had been made of him for that evangelical mission.

The edict of the Duchess Iolande, in 1476, enjoining the châtelains of Pignerol, Cavour, and Lucerna, to cause all the Vaudois of the Italian Alps to return within the pale of the Catholic Church, could not but affect in some measure those on the right bank of the Po; but it was in 1499 that they began to be assailed with the most direct violence.

Margaret de Foix, the widow of the Marquis of Saluces, finding herself free from his control, and being a slave to her confessor, became in the hands of fanaticism a ready instrument of persecution. She was connected by family ties with Pope Julius II., and obtained from him the creation of a bishopric in the marquisate. In return for this favour, she erected, at her own expense, the episcopal palace in which Anthony de la Rovera, the first bishop of Saluces, and nephew of Julius II., was received more as a prince than as a pastor. It was she, also, who built the church of St. Clara, in which her tomb may be seen unto this day; but whilst she built churches of stone, she sought to destroy the living church, which preserved within it the gospel of the earliest times; and at the instigation of the clergy by whom she was surrounded, she issued a decree, by which the Vaudois were enjoined, under pain of death, to embrace Catholicism or to quit the country.¹

The unfortunate people retired to the banks of the Po. The marchioness would have pursued them, but the seigneurs of Paësane, with whom the fugitives had found shelter, represented that to themselves alone, in concert with the bishop and the inquisitors, belonged the right of proceeding in that way against any persons on their lands; their own vassals, moreover, were almost all of the Vaudois faith. The marchioness then purchased from the bishop and inquisitors the right of prosecution which belonged to them; and being thus possessed of two-thirds of that barbarous jurisdiction, she sent out *missionaries*, whose first act was to ordain all the inhabitants of St. Frons, Praviglelm, Paësane, Biolet, Biétonet, Serre di Momian, and Borga d'Oncino, to come and perform an act of penitence at Paësane, before Brother Angiolo Ricciardino de Saviglian.

No one came, and the prosecutions commenced. Two men were

¹ Muletto, vi. 29, 331.

arrested at St. Frons. "To what place do you belong?" "To these mountains." "Are you Vaudois?" "We all are." "Abjure the heresy." "When it has been proved to us." It was not proved, but the two Christians were thrown into prison. Two others were arrested in another place, and likewise declared themselves Vaudois. The one belonged to Praviglelm, and the other to Oncino. "None of our people will abjure," said they to the inquisitors. The Marchioness of Saluces then armed 200 men, and caused them to march towards the mountains. The greater part of the inhabitants fled to Barges with their cattle, but some were taken and cast into prisons. Their trial having been finished, *and tortures not spared*,¹ five of them were condemned to death on the 24th of March, 1510. Their execution was reserved for Palm Sunday. Human victims! the offerings of the Church of Rome to its false gods!

The Vaudois prisoners were to be burned alive, in a meadow situated opposite to the paternal home of one of them, named Maynard. This name, which occurs also amongst the persecuted in Provence, attests the affiliation of the Vaudois churches of the two sides of the Alps. The pile was prepared, but when the day came, there fell such a quantity of rain and snow, that the wood could not be got to burn. The execution was put off to the next day. During the night, a secret friend managed to convey a file to the unhappy captives, and they freed themselves from their fetters, and glorifying God for this deliverance, took refuge at Barges with their brethren in the faith.

The executioners revenged themselves upon other prisoners for the flight of these victims. Mary and Julia Gienet, with one of their brethren, named Lanfré Balangier, were burned alive on the bank of the Po, on the 2d day of May following. But the prisons were not yet emptied. Many were subjected to the ignoble and cruel punishment of the bastinado, and many died under these atrocious inflictions. Some of their companions in captivity perished by slow degrees in the subterranean dungeons of the castle of Paësane. Some made profession of repentance, a small number were pardoned, and all who could make their escape retired to Barges, and from thence into the valley of Lucerna.

The property of these poor people was confiscated, two-thirds of it going to the Marchioness of Saluces. It was a profitable business, for she made more by it than the right of prosecution had cost her. Accordingly, she gave a share of the spoils of the heretics to the monks of Riffredo. The traffickers in human blood are

¹ *Uditi testimonii, non risparmiati itormenti.*—Muletto, vi. 385.

a step in advance of brutes, which give up no part of their prey. The last third of these confiscations was divided betwixt the seigneurs of Oncino and Paësane, on whose lands they had taken place. They had opposed the murder, but they shared the spoil.

At length, on the 18th of July, 1510, which the reader will observe was before the Reformation, the Inquisition caused the Vaudois place of worship to be demolished; which a contemporary manuscript calls the *synagogue of the heretics*, saying that it was white and of good appearance on the outside, but full of windings within, and constructed almost like a labyrinth!

Next year, also, five Vaudois were burned alive at St. Frons. Unfortunate race, but worthy of admiration! Confiscation deprived them of their property, their families were decimated by the sword, the piles of their martyrs became more and more numerous, but their faith did not perish.

All those who had escaped the weapons of the soldiers and the flames of the Holy Office, and who were hidden in the mountains, or had fled to Barges and Bagnols, retired to the valley of Lucerna, where seigneurs more powerful and more just protected their vassals against such aggressions. And what shows better than any other consideration the primitive brotherliness which really prevailed amongst the Vaudois, and the profound practical charity which governed their lives, is the fact that all this large number of refugees lived for five whole years with the poor mountaineers of those Vaudois valleys, which had been the cradle of their race.¹ Sharing at once in their bread and their worship, praying and labouring with them, the proscribed refugees continued always expectant of some termination of that precarious state of things. They were mostly divided amongst the communes of Angrogna, Rora, and Bobi, and had named a syndicate, commissioned to watch over their common interests.

Numerous applications were made as soon as possible to the Marchioness of Saluces that they might be permitted to return to their ancient possessions. All these petitions remained unanswered. However, the prolonged sojourn of so many new families with a people themselves so few as the inhabitants of the valley of Lucerna, was a thing that must some time have an end. To recover possession of their native country was a duty recommended to them by a regard for others, enforced by justice, and which it belonged to their courage to perform. An intrepid man stood up in the midst

¹ They did not all arrive at the same time, but successively from A.D. 1505 to 1510, and their removal took place in 1512. Some of them, therefore, must have remained only two years, and some of them seven.

of them. "My friends!" he exclaimed, "let us return to our own inheritances! it will be the best way of gaining possession of them." "But will not those who occupy them prevent us?" "We will take again, in spite of them, what they took in spite of us. Let us put our trust in God! his blessing is upon justice and not upon iniquity. If we have been persecuted for our faith, we shall also be protected by it, for it is of God, and God is mightier than our enemies." They assembled in arms in the valley of Rora, set out by night, traversed the mountains of Crussol, descended into the valley of the Po, reached their ancient abodes, fell like thunder upon their plunderers when unarmed, fought with them, overthrew them, pursued those who made any resistance, cleared the country of them, got the upper hand in it through the terror which audacity and success inspire, re-established themselves in their hereditary possessions, and brought back to their old abodes the faith of their forefathers. Only five Vaudois lost their lives in this expedition. Why did they not more frequently listen to the voice of that courage which restored to them their native land! Valour has a more imposing effect than weakness; and the moderation of the Vaudois has many a time doubled the arrogance of their enemies.

After this the churches of the valley of the Po enjoyed tranquillity for some years. The news of the Reformation began to agitate men's minds. We have seen what effect was thereby produced in the other Vaudois valleys. New light was diffused everywhere. The evangelical doctrines spread all around these mountains, which, for so long a time before, had been brightened by the dawn of that bright day.

As in France the upper classes of society were the first to produce defenders of the Reformation, so the noblest families of Piedmont soon partook of the honour of being connected with it. In the province of Saluces the seigneurs of Montroux opened their castle for the religious meetings of the new reformed. Several members of the family of Villanova Sollaro embraced their religion. The Duke of Savoy himself wrote to them several times to persuade them to relinquish it. These urgencies, from so high a quarter, added still more importance, in public estimation, to the profession of evangelical religion which they were intended to overthrow. The number of the reformed increased instead of diminishing; they demanded pastors, and, until these should come, betook themselves with eagerness to the regular preaching which went on in the valley of Lucerna.

This influx of hearers from other parts, who thus crowded to the living springs of grace as to another Siloah, very soon became so

considerable that the Duke of Savoy prohibited his subjects, who did not belong to the Vaudois valleys, from being present at these preachings.¹ At the same time, he himself sent Catholic missionaries to oppose the progress of these doctrines. But the doctrine was the doctrine of the gospel, and they were to oppose God! therefore they failed. Yet Duke Philibert displayed all possible personal activity to promote the success of his preachers. He wrote no fewer than four letters, in the month of May, 1565, to the Châtelain, to the Podestat, to the Official, and to the inhabitants of Carail, in order to recommend the missionary whom he sent to them.

But as the whole marquisate of Saluces was then under the dominion of France, these endeavours produced little effect there. On the contrary, the number of the reformed increased daily, and in consequence of the *Edict of Pacification*, newly obtained by the King of Navarre in favour of his co-religionists, the church of Dronéro, one of the most flourishing in the marquisate, obtained from the Royal Council letters-patent,² which authorized the opening of a Protestant place of worship without the gates of the town. Louis de Birague, who at this time succeeded the Count de Nevers as the king's lieutenant in the province of Savoy, wrote to the court to have this authorization withdrawn. Charles IX. himself³ replied, in these terms:—"By the advice of our much honoured lady and mother,⁴ we declare by these presents, that in the edict of pacification we never intended to comprehend the exercise of religion in the towns of Piedmont."⁵ Thus did Catharine de Médicis exercise her fatal power even over these churches of brethren! But their courage was not daunted; and next year they spontaneously organized themselves as reformed churches. They had pastors, deacons, and consistories, and established a regular religious service, which only could not always be conducted in public.

France was then desolated by wars of religion; the Huguenots had been massacred at Vassy and in Champagne; the Guises excited the Catholic party; the Protestant party was supported by the Bourbons. These intestine commotions distracted the attention of the government from the external provinces. The churches of Saluces, protected by their isolation, were permitted peacefully to increase beyond the reach of these distant storms. Accordingly, in a few years they became numerous and flourishing. The times of quiet are those which offer the least materials for history. Happy

¹ Edict of 15th February, 1560.

² Dated 6th June, 1563.

³ From Dieppe, 7th August, 1563.

⁴ Catharine de Médicis.

⁵ This letter is preserved in the Archives of Pignerol, class xxv. file i. No. 3.

is the people all whose vicissitudes can be comprehended in a page! But spiritual history advances with all the conversions which take place when that of human actions stands still. This epoch was one of the most fruitful for the gospel in the province of Saluces. Ten pastors, serving twenty-one churches, independent of those of Coni, Carail, and Ozasc, already exercised the gospel ministry there in 1567.¹ By this we may see with what life they were filled, and what splendid promise they gave for the future, if liberty of conscience might have been allowed to prevail. But the great conquests of humanity are not attained in a day. In yielding liberty Rome would have fallen into destruction; but it is by her own tyranny that she is doomed to perish.

Let us leave the churches of Saluces to the enjoyment of their short-lived prosperity, and consider what was then taking place around them in other parts of Piedmont.

¹ The following are the names of these pastors, and of the parishes which were assigned them by the Synods of 2d June and 14th October, 1567, held, the one at Praviglelm, the other at Dronéro, or Dronier:—

The pastor Galatée (who was sent to plead the cause of these churches before Charles IX.) had for his field of labour *Saluces*, *Savillan*, *Carmagnole*, *Lavodis* (*Lévadiggi*), and *Villefalet*. (The names in italics are those of places where there was a place of worship.)

The minister Segont de Masseran (*Mattervo*) had in his district *Verzol*, *Alpease*, and *Costilloles*.

Francis Trucchi served the church of *Dronier*; Andrew Lacianois those of *St. Damian*, *Paillers*, and *Cartignano*; Peter Gelido that of *Aceil* (*Asceglia*); James Isoard those of *St. Michael*, *Pras*, and *Chianois*.

Francis Soulf was pastor of *Praviglelm*; and Bertrand Jordan of *Biolet*, and of *Biétonet*.

Besides these, two other pastors, who were not present at the Synod, served the churches of *Demont* and *Testeone*. Lastly, there was also a pastor at *Carail* (*Caraglo*), whose name is not preserved.

CHAPTER X.

HISTORY OF THE PROGRESS AND EXTINCTION OF THE REFORMATION AT CONI, AND IN THE PLAIN OF PIEDMONT.¹

(A.D. 1550 TO A.D. 1580.)

The Reformation in towns near the Vaudois valleys—Timidity—Persecution—Many of the Protestants take refuge among the Vaudois—Martyrdom of the Pastor Jacob—Protestantism in Turin—Persecutions in various parts of Piedmont—The churches of Coni and Carail—Persecutions—Suppression of the Reformation in Coni.

In the space between Turin and the Vaudois valleys, there is perhaps not a single town in which the religious reformation of the 16th century did not find adherents, and obtain the sympathy of many.

Catholicism had fallen into a state of degradation of which we can scarcely form an idea at the present day. An inquisitor of Racconis,² writing to the Holy Office of Rome in 1567, says, "I cannot describe to you the utter decay of everything connected with religion in this country; the churches in ruin, the altars despoiled, the sacerdotal vestments tattered, the priests ignorant, and all things held in contempt." Like the quickening dawn of morning, the evangelical revival, therefore, spreading over that bare and arid soil, restored life and vigour, and a thousand unexpected views of heaven and of earth opened at once before the spiritual vision of men. Life increased along with truth; the dew came with the light. The people, who had hitherto partaken of the immovable petrification of Popery, now illustrated and verified that saying of the Saviour's forerunner, "Even of these stones God is able to raise up children to Abraham." But, like children, also, they were weak and timid. That dawning light was not then able to give them either the courage of conviction or the martyr's faith. Moreover, the most artful partisans of Rome restrained the natural development of the new opinions, by appearing to participate in them. "A reform is necessary," said they; "every one feels it; the Church will make it; this is not the time for separating from her."

Such was the language of Dominic Baronius,³ who was at that time in Piedmont, and who was oftener than once in communication

¹ AUTHORITIES.—The same as in the preceding chapter.

² His name was Cornelio D'Adro; his letter is dated the 22d of October, 1567. (Archives of Turin.)

³ He was a native of Florence; his namesake, Cæsar Baronius, who was a cardinal, and librarian of the Vatican, was a Neapolitan.

with the doctors of the Vaudois churches. Perhaps his conviction was sincere, seeing that he wrote, in his book on *Human Institutions*, with reference to the serious corruptions which Popery had introduced into the celebration of the Lord's Supper, "Weep ye, and lament, for the sacrilegious profanation of this divine mystery! I would restrain my pen, but, O God! the zeal of thy house consumes me. Impiety, idolatry, ambition, venality surround thine altars!" And yet he did not dare openly to abandon that idolatry and impiety. Rome pardoned his offence upon account of his submission. "He affected to wonder," says Gilles, "that he found no danger in launching out against the abuses of the papacy, but in the time of persecution he made use of a hypocritical dissimulation, and persuaded others to do the same." Maximilian of Saluces, one of his adherents, wrote thus to the Vaudois pastors: "We condemn, as well as you, the errors of the Papal Church, we desire that they may be reformed; but, in the first place, it is necessary that we reform ourselves inwardly, and that we know how to accommodate ourselves to circumstances, and not to expose ourselves to needless perils in too sharply attacking received usages." Such was also the language of Erasmus, and even to a certain extent that of Melancthon.

The Vaudois pastors expressed themselves with less eloquence, but they acted with more courage. "Our rule of conduct," said they, "ought to be that declaration of Jesus, 'Whosoever shall confess me upon earth, him will I confess in heaven; and whosoever shall deny me upon earth, him will I deny in heaven.' We choose rather to be rejected by the Papal Church than by our Saviour."

The pastors of Geneva likewise sent to the different towns of Piedmont in which the gospel had begun to be introduced, letters strongly encouraging to perseverance. Celsus of Martiningue, who was pastor of the Italian church in that town, wrote to Baronius, with the view of inducing him to follow a course more open and evangelical. But the greatest effort to which the convictions of the latter, who was an abbé, ever proved equal, was that of introducing certain modifications in the manner of celebrating mass. He would have wished to reunite the two parties, and that by measures deemed sufficient upon both sides; but his example caused many persons to stop half-way in a course which would otherwise have resulted in a complete change. This hesitation on the one side, augmented the decision upon the other. The duke was solicited to issue an express prohibition of Protestant religious services beyond the bounds of the Vaudois valleys, and to restrain

those from repairing to the valleys who did not inhabit them. This prohibition was published on the 15th of February, 1560.

Proceedings were immediately commenced against the Protestants in Piedmont. The uncle of the reigning duke had been stirred up to undertake the charge of these proceedings himself. "The officers of justice," says Gilles, "were incessantly running up and down, apprehending upon the highways, in the fields, and even in their houses, persons obnoxious upon account of their religion, whom they afterwards delivered into the hands of the commissaries." These commissaries were inquisitors, and the stake was their ultimate argument. Two martyrs were burned alive at Carignan, in the beginning of the year.

The Protestants, affrighted, like a flock of sheep surprised in a novel and dangerous situation, dispersed in disorder. Those of Carignan and of Vigon retired to Quiers or Chiéri; those of Bubiano and of Briqueras to La Tour. As at that time a part of Piedmont belonged to France, the fugitives were able to get out of reach of the inquisitorial prosecutions both in the French villages and in the Vaudois valleys, where the religious liberty which was at that time assailed but energetically defended, was in the following year officially guaranteed.

The officers of justice then turned in the direction of Suza, entered the valley of Méane, and made a great number of prisoners. Their pastor, named Jacob, was condemned to be burned alive. "The will of God be done on earth as it is in heaven," said the old man. And amidst the torments which the earth had in store for him, he served the Lord with as lively a faith as the elect can amidst the celestial beatitudes. Pardon was offered him upon condition of his abjuring, but he refused; and that he might not be able to make a public profession of his faith, he was conducted to the pile with his mouth gagged, and his arms tied. There he was burned in a slow fire. But his countenance, full of resignation and of resolution during this cruel torture, so shook the minds of the judges, that the Senator De Corbis resolved to have nothing more to do with such prosecutions; and the Count of Racconis, says Gilles, "was so softened towards the reformed, that thereafter, instead of persecuting them, he did all that was in his power to procure their deliverance from their troubles." Thus the silent death of the martyr was productive of more advantage to his brethren than a victory won in the field of battle. He had conquered on the pile, where courage is more difficult than in the excitement of combat.

The city of Turin at that time belonged to France. In it there

were pastors who preached publicly to an audience which always became more and more numerous. The Catholic clergy obtained the appointment of deputies, who were commissioned to present themselves before Charles IX., in name of the inhabitants of that city, to induce him to take measures for repressing this Protestantism. The young monarch replied, on the 17th of February, 1561, by a letter to the governor of Turin, and a proclamation to his "good and loyal subjects," in both of which he announced his resolution not to suffer the practice of the reformed religion either in the city or in the vicinity. Scarcely had these documents arrived at Turin, when the Protestant pastors were ordered to remove from it. It would appear that they had very soon after contrived to return, for it was found necessary to renew this order of banishment next year. This was only the prelude to a more general measure. Catharine de Médicis had written, at the same time with her son, to the Duke of Savoy, to inform him that the king's intention was to put an end to the reformed worship throughout the whole extent of Piedmont. She therefore entreated Emmanuel Philibert to take steps for the same purpose in his own dominions.

It might have been hoped that the duke would not have entered into these violent measures, as his wife, Catharine of France, sister of Henry II., was favourable to the Reformation, having acquired a knowledge of it in the company of the Queen of Navarre, and of René of France, the daughter of Louis XII., who participated in the new opinions. But Philip of Savoy, uncle of the duke, had been gained to the Catholic party by the Archbishop of Turin, and prepared to aid it by force of arms. It was he who, under the name of the Count of Racconis, distinguished himself in a manner so little to his honour, in the persecutions instituted at this time against the inhabitants of the Vaudois valleys, as we shall shortly see. The influence which he then exercised over his august nephew, united with that which the brief of Pope Pius IV. must have had—a brief dated 15th November, 1561, by which that pontiff adjured all the inhabitants of Piedmont to be upon their guard against heresy, and to put it away from them—decided Emmanuel Philibert to adopt severe measures against the Protestants. The courtier prelates by whom he was surrounded, incessantly endeavoured to interest his thirst for glory in their annihilation; they would have liked to have destroyed by a single blow all those evangelical churches, of which the germs began to appear so full of life in all parts of Piedmont. The first step taken was to enjoin all magistrates to watch over assemblies *for religion*; that was the expres-

sion employed; the next was to forbid these assemblies. Those who were taken in the fact of joining in social prayer and meditation on the Scriptures, were treated as criminals. The towns of Chiéri, Ozasc, Busque, and Frossac, became the theatres of cruel and often bloody proceedings against the reformed. Of this we have seen proofs in the preceding chapter, in perusing the details which have been preserved concerning some of their inhabitants who suffered martyrdom at that time.

The Countess of Moretta, who protected the reformed, was herself obliged to retire before their persecutors. The Countess of Carde, who also protected them, having died, they were constrained either to go to mass or to leave their native land. The same injunction was intimated to those of Ozasc and of Frossac. These simple and sincere men, although newly born to the gospel life, were already nourished with the pure spiritual milk which strengthens the soul of the Christian. They had tasted that the Lord is gracious, and rather than abandon his ways, they renounced their country, their goods, the homes in which they were born, and their hereditary fields, in order to preserve their religion. These unfortunate persons, or rather these happy faithful ones of Christ, almost all repaired to the valley of Lucerna, where they were kindly received, as the fugitives of Paësane and St. Frons had been half-a-century before.

Meanwhile, in the churches of Coni and Carail there had been an increase of the number of awakened souls, who from a little flock grew up more and more into a holy nation, a peculiar and willing people; and as the dawning light first touches the summits of the mountains in the horizon over which it is to spread, so it was chiefly amongst the upper classes that the doctrines of the Reformation were received.

After a war of twenty-three years, peace had been concluded betwixt France and Spain.¹ The Duke of Savoy had been the ally of the latter power, and had lost all his possessions, which, however, were now restored to him, with the exception of Turin, Pignerol, and Saluces. Many of the seigneurs who fought by his side had embraced Protestantism. So long as their aid seemed necessary to him, he had allowed these valiant adherents of the Reformation to enjoy liberty of conscience and religious quiet, which the recollection of their services secured to them. But scarcely had the more eminent of the secular clergy resumed the place of these men of arms around their sovereign, than the voice of honour was succeeded by that of the church. The duke was

¹ By the treaty of Chateau Cambresis, April, 1559.

told that having returned to possession of his hereditary states, his glory required the re-establishment also, in its integrity, of the religion of his ancestors. It was by these artful methods that a prince was induced to become the executioner of his most faithful subjects, to weaken his states, and to destroy his people; and this they called glory! "Woe unto them!" says the prophet, "that call evil good, and good evil."

The duke began by interdicting the Protestants from all kinds of public worship beyond the limits of the Vaudois valleys; then he issued an edict at Coni,¹ by which all the inhabitants were required to give up to the magistrates all books of religion which they might possess. As the Bible is simply called *the book*, so the profession of its doctrines revived by the Reformation was simply called *religion*. These terms, by general use, came to be acknowledged as part of the language, the popular good sense, which instinctively created this form of speech, thus unconsciously attesting the truth that religion was indeed there and there alone.

The Duke of Savoy at the same time enjoined his subjects to attend the preaching of the missionaries whom he was about to send them. But what did the missionary thus recommended preach at Carail? *Che Dio faceva far l'invernata bona, accioche d'il mese seguente avanzas (sic) a fare di legna per poter bruschiar gli luterani*; that is, "that God was giving them so mild a winter that year, in order that they might be able to save wood for burning the heretics in the succeeding months." It may be imagined that this eloquence was not very persuasive in the way of inducing souls to prefer the religion of the stake and pile to that of the gospel. Accordingly, the preacher was very soon forsaken; but, in the month following, on the 28th of December, 1561, a fresh edict renewed the order to deliver up all bibles to the magistrates, and enjoined all the inhabitants of the country to go to mass without more ado. But the number of those who refused was so great, that no step durst be taken to obtain the execution of this edict. Nay, about this time Emmanuel Philibert conceded the free exercise of their worship to the inhabitants of the Vaudois valleys;² the seigneurs who had followed him in the war still enjoyed in their independence the benefit of the remembrance of their recent exploits; and it was impossible to proceed with severe measures so quickly as the Church of Rome would have desired.

But a few years after, in 1565, the same prince having commanded the Vaudois to abjure within the space of two months,

¹ 28th September, 1561.

² At Verceil, on 10th January, and at Cavour, on 3d July, 1561.

effect was given in the Church of Coni to the edict of 1561. Each family was required to appear before the magistrates, and to make a declaration of Romish orthodoxy, under peril of the severest penalties.

It may be conceived that these obstacles must have had the effect of retaining in the Church of Rome men who perceived its errors, but were timid—men of enlightened minds, but feeble, who had embraced the cause of the Reformation. However, there were still found fifty-five families who, in presence of the magistrates, had the courage openly to renounce all connection with Popery, and to declare themselves Protestants. It was an act of proscription; and accordingly the greater part of them, knowing the full consequence of that avowal, made haste of their own accord to set their affairs in order, to sell what they possessed, and to retire elsewhere.

A few only of the most influential and respected obtained, under special security from a Catholic proprietor, the favour of retaining both their properties and their beliefs, but solely on condition that they should abstain from any religious exercise, whether in their houses or elsewhere, under pain of total confiscation of all that they possessed. The poorer class, less encumbered with this world's goods, had rejected all shackles; the rich suffered them to be imposed upon them. The Protestant party was divided; it would have been better for them if they had resisted together, for the Bible assures us that there is great strength in the unity of brethren. It was at this same period that the young martyr of Coni, whose life has been given in the history of the Vaudois of Calabria, died at Rome. That humble Bethany from which he derived his birth, was less cruelly treated than the adopted church to which he devoted himself; but the flock that was beginning to be formed at Coni disappeared, as well as the ancient Church of Calabria.

The bundle being loosed, each separate stick is easily broken. The humbler of the people had removed from the place; the noble families retired to their estates, hoping to live there in greater freedom and tranquillity. It seemed, in fact, as if they were forgotten for some time, and they allowed themselves to be lulled into a false security; but very soon, by a gradual process, noiselessly and secretly, they were decimated; their most eminent members were taken away, the persons of greatest zeal being arrested in their dwellings, on the pretext, always plausible, that they had been guilty of family prayer and of the secret worship of their God.

Of these new prisoners there were some who made their escape; part of them by their courage, and part by means of bribes. Some perished in dungeons, a number were put to death, and some at

last abjured, under the constraint of violence, the faith which they had embraced from conviction.

Thus that church ceased to exist upon the banks of the Stura, where, thenceforth, the truth shed only rare and trembling gleams. It was brought into being beneath the radiance of Divine grace; its enemies sought to drown it in blood; and it may be said of it, that its beauty departed from it as soon as it ceased to be free. The light placed under a bushel is in a fair way for going out.

CHAPTER XI.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES OF CARAIL, CHERI, AND DRONIER.¹

(A.D. 1560 TO A.D. 1605.)

Commencement of persecution against the Reformed Church of Carail—The noble family of Villanova-Sollaro—Activity of the popish clergy—Suppression of the Reformation at Carail—Condition of the church in the marquisate of Saluces—St. Bartholomew's Day—Vacca, Archdeacon of Saluces, resists the massacre of the Protestants—French civil wars—The marquisate of Saluces becomes part of the dominions of the Duke of Savoy—The Protestant Church of Dronier—Its suppression—Persecuting measures adopted against the Vaudois of Praviglelm and of the whole upper valley of the Po.

THE church of Carail was destined to endure nearly the same vicissitudes as that of Coni. In the first place, a list of the reformed was demanded from the magistrates.² In this list were immediately included nearly 900 persons, although many were absent, and their names did not appear there.³ An ancient house at Carail, that of Villanova-Sollaro, was distinguished by attachment to the doctrines of the gospel; and it was under its protection that the church against which proceedings were now commenced had risen and been sheltered. The Duke of Savoy caused letters to be written about the commencement of the year⁴ to the heads of this noble family, that if they wished to retain the favour of their prince, they must cease to extend their support to a heresy already too widely spread. But the seigneurs of Sollaro, whilst they protested their

¹ AUTHORITIES.—The same as in Chapter IX.

² In the month of March, 1565.

³ Letter of Gioanetto Arnaudo, one of the commissioners appointed to prepare this list. Chronicle of the family of Villanova-Sollaro. (MS. of the Royal Library at Turin.)

⁴ 27th February, 1565.

devotedness to their sovereign, demanded the privilege of proving also their devotedness to their religion.

After the list was prepared, Emmanuel Philibert himself wrote to them,¹ and summoned the Count of Sollaro to his presence. He urged him, in the strongest manner, to return within the pale of the Church of Rome, sternly declaring his resolution not to suffer two religions in his dominions. But the count respectfully replied, that he would render to Cæsar the things which were Cæsar's, but to God the things which were God's.

A few days after the duke sent a missionary to Carail,² commanding all the inhabitants of the town to attend his preaching. The greater part of the reformed refused to go. Thereupon an officer of the Council of State apprised the syndics that they must get ready a special list of these latter within the space of four days;³ and at the same time there arrived a proclamation by the duke, in which he exhorted all the reformed of the town to change their doctrines, threatening them with his wrath if they persisted in their heresy. The greater part of these Christians now took to flight, which left a great blank, and spread desolation over the country. The duke perceived that he had gone too far, or rather too fast, and he sought to bring them back, by causing a letter to be written to them on the 20th of May, in which he urged them to return to their homes, promising that no new step should be taken without new notice. But this new notice was not long of making its appearance. On the 10th of June an edict was published, by which all the Protestants of Carail who would not abjure were ordered to leave the country within the space of six months. A year was allowed them to effect the sale of their properties, by agents appointed for that purpose.

A number of efforts were made to obtain the revocation of this edict, at once so unjust, so impolitic, and so barbarous. The Duchess of Savoy besought her husband to recal it. The seigneurs of Sollaro, who enjoyed a credit merited alike by their enlightenment, their illustrious rank, and their virtues, repaired to the presence of their sovereign, who seemed at first to yield to their remonstrances; but scarcely were they gone when the influence of the Catholic clergy enveloped him again; and on the 30th of November, 1565, the Podestat of Carail received orders to have the edict of the 10th of June put in execution. In this state of things the reformed had only to choose between the two alternatives, abjuration or exile. They did not hesitate, but made their preparations for departure.

¹ On the 14th of April.

² He arrived at Carail on the 28th of April.

³ On the 8th of May, 1565.

Popish charity, however, thought fit not even to leave them the solace which remains for the proscribed; the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts were prohibited from receiving the fugitives.

We may form some notion of the character and the activity which Rome must have displayed in these proceedings against so great a number of people, by her bloodthirsty eagerness, in the case of a single person, neither of title nor rank. In that same year the Cardinal Bobba wrote from Rome to the Duke of Savoy, by order of his Holiness (what a title of mockery!), to inform him that he would recal the nuncio accredited to his court, if he refused to put to death a relapsed heretic of Vercelli. The letter is dated from Rome, 22d of October, 1566. The name of the prisoner was George Olivet. He was a proselyte whom Catholicism had not been able to retain. His *Holiness*, the *Holy* Church, the *Holy* Office demanded that he should die; it was made an occasion of diplomatic rupture; and these pretensions to holiness which Popery is continually putting forth in the midst of the most odious iniquities, involuntarily recal what has been said of bravery—those who boast of it most have least of it in reality. From this document we learn that the Duke of Savoy, notwithstanding his severities, was still accused of resistance to the plans of Rome. No master can be more difficult to serve than tyranny, and none is more ungrateful.

Orders were therefore transmitted to the governors of the surrounding towns, that the fugitive reformed should not be received in them. Emmanuel Philibert even wrote to this effect to the governors of Saluces, Nice, and Provence, as well as to Charles IX., to whom by this means he hoped to make himself agreeable. The instructions did not bear that shelter must be absolutely refused to the reformed, but that they must not be received without their promising to abjure. This measure, however, was equivalent to an absolute proscription, for if they had chosen to have abjured, they would have had no need to have sought shelter so far from home.

The good Duchess of Savoy, fully perceiving how inhuman and senseless these arbitrary orders were, besought her husband at least to postpone the execution of them till he had gone in person to Carail, to judge with his own eyes of their propriety. Emmanuel Philibert arrived at Carail about the end of the month of August, 1566. Two days before his arrival he had commanded all Protestants not belonging to it to leave it. On his approach, the reformed of the place fell into the error of betaking themselves

also to flight. That flight was regarded as a mark of alienation from their sovereign, and of sympathy for the strangers whom he had just expelled. It may be imagined that good reasons might perhaps be assigned for these movements, but in reality the people only yielded to a feeling of alarm and apprehension, which did not stay to reason.

The duke was irritated, and immediately caused a proclamation to be issued in Carail, expressly forbidding any kind of provisions being carried out of the town, in order to punish in this way the reformed who had unfortunately left it upon his arrival.

Such a reception was certainly little calculated to induce a long stay, and he very soon departed again, leaving a garrison in the town, the soldiers of which were to be maintained and lodged in the very houses of the Protestants, whether fugitive or remaining at home, until the latter should return to Catholicism. But as those who had fled did not come back to the town, they were summoned to appear before the Podestat of Coni, who was then advocate-fiscal, and a noted opponent of biblical doctrines. These wandering and dispossessed families not daring to appear before him, he pronounced against them sentence of confiscation of property, and of banishment.

The Archbishop of Turin then repaired to Carail,¹ in the hope of bringing back the people the more readily to the Church of Rome. He made his appearance there escorted by a numerous suite, and manifested at first only paternal and benevolent feelings, calling the fugitive Christians poor wandering sheep. He sent them safe-conducts, and invited them to conference with himself. Some came, but the greater part stayed away, and of those who came a small number were drawn back to Popery. The sentence of banishment and confiscation was confirmed against those who did not appear, or who resisted the solicitations of the prelate.

However, indications of war having appeared between Savoy and France, Emmanuel Philibert gave orders to the Podestat of Coni to restore the dispersed Protestants to their residences, on condition that they should abstain from all exercise of their religion, under pain of death. The rich returned; the poor preferred exile. But those who returned were not long till they found reason to repent of it. They were arrested one after another, under pretext of religion, as had already been done in the town of Coni. Once arrested, if they refused to abjure, they were allowed to perish in the prisons, unless, indeed, they were sent to the galleys.

¹ On the 20th of September, 1566.

The family of Villanova-Sollaro displayed the greatness of true nobility amidst these adversities. They had supported the Protestant Church in the days of its growth, and they did not abandon it in its downfall. Conviction imposes a necessity as well as nobility,¹ said these ancient seigneurs of a region once so flourishing and now rendered so desolate. There were six brothers of this family. The chancellor, Count of Stropiano, their relative, assembled them in name of his royal highness, to entreat them to abjure, but they were immovable. "Let our sovereign," said they, "demand any other sacrifice, and we shall have pleasure in making it." "He repeats to you, by my mouth," said the chancellor, "that it is his resolution not to suffer two religions in the country." These noble Protestants understood the threat conveyed in these words, returned to Carail, sold a part of their lands, and retired to the marquisate of Saluces, then in the possession of France. During five years of trouble and domestic agitation, they were sometimes in France, sometimes in Piedmont, wanderers and always kept in alarm. The narrative of these events has been preserved in the chronicle which still exists of that illustrious and ill-fated house.

In 1570, the seigneurs of Sollaro were summoned to appear before the Senate of Turin, with other persons of rank, guilty, like them, of having returned to the gospel, an offence which the Church of Rome could by no means pardon. Through the influential intercessions made for them, amongst which the first place must be assigned to those of the Duchess of Savoy and of the Elector Palatine,² the prosecutions against them were suspended for a short time. But they were subsequently renewed; and the Sollaros were condemned and banished, their property confiscated, and the members of their family dispersed and forgotten.

The third of these six brothers retired to the valley of Lucerna, where his descendants continued to exist for more than a century. Of this branch of the family was that pious and beautiful Octavia Sollaro, whose sad story Gilles has preserved in one of the pages of his simple and unadorned chronicles.

One of the descendants of this third brother, called Vallerio Sollaro, appeared before the Synod of Villar, held in 1607, in order that he might obtain the hand of a young girl of the valley of St. Martin, who refused to marry him because he was of noble

¹ An allusion to the French proverb, *Noblesse oblige*.—TRANSLATOR.

² He had sent to Turin, in February, 1566, a special ambassador, named Junius, The advocate-fiscal, Barberi, having learned that his secretary, Chaillet, was a Protestant minister, caused him to be arrested in the very hotel of the ambassador. To this secretary we are indebted for a narration of all the operations of the embassy, in a long letter, preserved by Gilles, chap. xxxiii.

birth, and she was a simple peasant. The representations which the Synod itself addressed to the young noble on the unsuitableness of so unequal an alliance, did not shake his resolution, and the marriage took place. The ancient escutcheon was not, however, dishonoured by this alliance; for the antiquity of the Vaudois family was higher still, and its patents of nobility, inscribed in the word of God, are more imperishable than the heraldic distinctions of men.

Whilst in the territories of the Duke of Savoy the Church of Carail thus disappeared before tyrannic persecution, the churches of Saluces enjoyed, under the dominion of France, a toleration equal to the other Protestants of that country; but their pastors were mostly foreigners, some natives of Switzerland, some of the Vaudois valleys, and some of other parts of Piedmont.

In these latter regions all foreigners had already been commanded to leave the country within the space of twenty-four hours.¹ Next year, the Vicar of Chiéri, a town not far from Saluces, received orders to cause all Protestants to depart from that territory, who had fixed their residence in it without his authorization, or whose permitted time of sojourn had expired.² The Duke of Savoy at the same time demanded of the lieutenant of the king of France in the province of Saluces,³ that he should cause all who were not born within the kingdom to remove out of his government, and that he should not receive any fugitive natives of Piedmont who might retire to it. The governor of Saluces gave orders accordingly. Persons not natives of the province were commanded to quit it with their families within the space of three days, and prohibited from returning to it without special permission, under penalty of death and confiscation of goods.⁴

This blow was principally directed against the pastors who were not natives of the marquisate; but not being able to determine upon forsaking their flocks, they remained in the country. Truchi, a native of Cental in Provence, and Soulf, a native of Coni in Piedmont, were imprisoned at Saluces. Their colleague, Galatée, although a very aged man, repaired to La Rochelle to address the King of Navarre in their favour, and was happily successful. The Duke of Nevers, governor of Saluces, even received orders to set all the prisoners at liberty.⁵ These poor churches, after a brief alarm, raised their heads again with more than their former courage, like a vigorous plant, which the storm, that does not

¹ Edict of 20th April, 1566.

² Then the Duke of Nevers.

³ By letter, dated 14th October, 1571.

⁴ Edict of 1st April, 1567.

⁵ Decree of 19th October, 1567.

altogether break it down, causes to strike root more deeply in the soil.

Upon hearing of the marriage of the King of Navarre (Henry IV.) with Margaret of France, the sister of Charles IX., they thought themselves secure of a long period of peace. But they left Catharine de Médicis out of their calculations. All at once burst the sanguinary thunders of St. Bartholomew; sixty thousand victims butchered in a few days. The news of this event were welcomed in Catholic countries with transports of inexpressible joy. Pius V. had just died, after having launched a bull of excommunication against all princes who tolerated heretics in their dominions. He did not live to enjoy the slowly ripened fruit of his labours; but his successor, Gregory XIII., although less cruel than he, did not repudiate the heritage. He caused a medal to be struck, public rejoicings to be made, and *Te Deum* to be sung in honour of this prodigious extermination.

An order to cause all the Protestants of the province of Saluces to be massacred in one night, had been sent to Birague, who was then governor. Ignorant that this measure related to the whole of France, he was troubled at the order, and submitted it to the Chapter of the place. Some gave their opinion in favour of a complete and immediate execution of it; but sentiments more humane were also expressed, and here I cannot but proclaim the Christian joy which I feel in being able to ascribe them to a Catholic priest, the Archdeacon of Saluces, Samuel Vacca by name, who strenuously opposed the massacre of the Protestants. "It is only a few months," said he, "since we received letters-patent from the king, that the pastors who were in confinement should be set at large, and their flocks left at liberty. But nothing has since happened which can be regarded as a reason for such a change; it must be supposed that this cruel order has been occasioned by false reports. Let us inform his majesty that these are honest and peaceable people, and that nobody has anything to lay to their charge, except in regard to their religious opinions, and if the king persists in his design, it will always be but too soon to carry it into execution."

Thus the Protestants of Saluces were saved, for the reprobation which immediately arose against these base butcheries prevented the renewal of them. Rorengo censures this moderation, saying that it served only to strengthen the cause of heresy; let us hope, on the contrary, that it will serve to cover many inquisitorial sins and cruelties, veiling them with the grateful and blessed recollections which are connected with the name of one worthy old man. Why are there not more to emulate his fame! "The time is

coming," says a writer on political economy, "when Rome would give all the St. Bartholomews, all the proscriptions, all the *autos-da-fe* in the world for a single act of faith, of hope, and of charity."

Amidst the anxiety which the news of these massacres occasioned almost everywhere, the Duke of Savoy hastened to re-assure the Vaudois valleys, by strongly declaring that he reprobated such crimes; and at Saluces also, a number of Protestant families, dreading the execution of the orders which had been received, took refuge with Catholic families, on whose kindness they could reckon, and who sheltered them as brethren till the storm was past. Thus did humanity triumph on the Italian side of the Alps, and it is a pleasant page of our history, in which we can twice pay so just a tribute to our adversaries and our sovereigns.

In 1574, the Marshal de Bellegarde was appointed governor of the province of Saluces. He was a man superior to the prejudices of his time. This appointment followed upon the return of Henry III., who quitted the throne of Poland, from which he fled as from a prison, to mount the throne of France, left vacant by the untimely, mysterious, and terrible death of Charles IX.

The new governor, by his impartiality to all under his jurisdiction, was not long of exciting the complaints of the Catholic party, then all powerful at the court. But the king himself became a partisan; he consented to be chief of the League, setting an example of coalition to those of the opposite side. Lesdiguières stood forward as leader of the reformed in the rich valleys of the Isère and the Durance. When things were in this state the Marshal was requested to resign his government. The reformed entreated him not to leave them, and De Bellegarde remained at Saluces. The governor of Provence was ordered to march against him; but Lesdiguières, at the head of the Protestants of Dauphiny, hastened to his support. The Vaudois of Lucerna and of Pragela joined him, and the governor of Saluces was maintained in his position. Complaints were made to the Duke of Savoy, relative to the aid which his subjects had lent to a stranger; remonstrances were addressed by the duke to the magistrates of the valleys, and prosecutions commenced against the Vaudois who had taken arms; but the almost simultaneous death of the Marshal and the prince put an end to this affair.¹

During this time, however, the churches of Saluces increased in strength. The pastor of St. Germain,² who had already brought the Catholics of Pramol to embrace Protestantism, had, with ardour

¹ The Duke of Savoy died on the 30th of August, 1580, and the Marshal De Bellegarde on the 4th of December of the same year.

² Francis Guérin.

and activity worthy of a soldier of the cross, followed the Vaudois troops as they passed into the marquisate, and remained in that territory in order to give greater consistency and strength to the Protestant communities which were already there, by organizing them in a manner similar to that of the churches of the valleys. A general synod was held for that purpose at Château Dauphin, in which all these churches were represented.

In the valley of Maira, the Catholic and Protestant chiefs even formed a common alliance, promising one another, says Gilles, "good friendship and union, without injury or reproach on account of religion; but, on the contrary, mutual aid in case of necessity, against any assailant whomsoever." The people have always understood more of brotherhood than kings and pontiffs. A religious system pervaded by the spirit of formalism and the feelings of a body corporate, unites men not in a brotherhood, but in an association.

At this time, therefore, the churches of Saluces had peace, and flourished. The numerous conversions which we have related, sufficiently prove that this fine country was not hostile to the Reformation, and that it would nowhere have spread more rapidly, if human thought had been respected in that liberty which inalienably belongs to it. But the sword, chains, and fire, were employed to combat thought,—the arms of the Romish Church, but not of the gospel. Neither kings nor pontiffs have ever respected liberty any more than brotherhood.

It is probable that the reformed churches of Saluces would have subsisted unto this day, like those of Dauphiny and the Cevennes, if that province had remained under the dominion of France. Henry IV. soon ascended the throne, and during a number of years these churches continued to increase and to gain strength. The Edict of Nantes, issued in 1598, appeared to give them a lasting stability. But war was then raging between France and Piedmont, and the marquisate of Saluces was successively taken and retaken by the two powers, until it remained at last in the possession of the Duke of Savoy, in terms of the treaty of 17th January, 1601, concluded at Lyons, betwixt Henry IV. and Charles Emmanuel. By this treaty, the King of France ceded to the duke his possessions in Piedmont, to wit, the provinces of Saluces and Pignerol, in exchange for La Bresse and Le Bugey. It was said in reference to this exchange, that the King of France had made a ducal peace, and the duke a royal one.

But it must be observed that, twelve years before this event, in 1588, Charles Emmanuel had already seized upon the marquisate,

taking advantage of the civil wars by which France was then paralyzed. Scarcely had he made himself master of this province, than, faithful to the engagements into which he had entered with his allies, he began to require the reformed churches of Saluces to conform to the Catholic worship. The letter which he wrote them to this purpose is dated 27th March, 1597. The evangelical party respectfully replied that they were grateful for the interest which his royal highness testified in their spiritual welfare, but that they entreated him to do them the favour to respect their conscientious convictions, and to maintain things as they were when they became his subjects:—"Our religion is founded on the Holy Scriptures," said they in conclusion, "as are also our loyalty and our behaviour, and we hope that your royal highness will always find in us faithful subjects, upright citizens, and serious Christians." The duke pushed his efforts no farther at that time, the province of Saluces being then a very insecure possession. But after the treaty of Lyons, when he found himself its undisputed master, he issued a decree by which all Protestants were required to quit his dominions within two months, unless they abjured within fifteen days.¹ Disregard of this decree was to be punished with loss of life and confiscation of goods.

The most considerable of the Protestant churches which had arisen was at that time the church of Dronier (Dronero), situated at the entry of the valley of Mayra (Valle di Magra), in one of the richest basins of that fertile country. "Scarcely," says Rorengo, "were there any traces of Catholicism there to be seen."² In the first instance, missionaries were sent thither, who made few proselytes; and thereupon Charles Emmanuel was solicited to employ means more expeditious. The Church of Rome has never triumphed except by aids which have nothing to do with conviction and the power of truth. In this we have one evidence that it cannot defend itself nor triumph by the word and faith; it needs the help of violence and servility. Why, then, should it be called a church?

When the edict of proscription, apostasy, or death, was issued by the Duke of Savoy, the Church of Dronier showed its respect for the covenant of its God. An earnest and respectful supplication, enforced by strong arguments, was addressed to the sovereign on the part of the Vaudois and the reformed. Meanwhile they were fervent in prayer, and as they were encouraged to hope for the revocation, or at least the mitigation of that barbarous edict, they soothed themselves with the idea that it might be only a passing gust, after which they would again enjoy the calm. The threatening aspect

¹ July, 1601.

² *Memorie istoriche*, p. 145.

of the clouds which began to arise in the horizon of their happiness, betokening calamity, they regarded as a warning to serve God better, and not to forsake him.

With such thoughts they allowed the time pointed out in the edict to slip over, without having sold their properties or made their preparations for departing,—I do not say without abjuring, for of that none of them thought. At the end of two months they received inexorable orders to conform without delay to the clerical edict. Then, full of affright and anxiety, taken by surprise, losing their self-possession, beset upon all hands by the most pressing solicitations from monks and magistrates, trembling for their families, and scarce knowing what they did, a great number of that disorganized church were hurriedly gained over to the ranks of the Church of Rome. It was against their consciences; but that was of no consequence to Popery. It gloried in these external conversions, as it still glories in its mere external and material unity, which hypocrisy always suffices.

Those who had strength enough of faith to forsake their country and all that they possessed, withdrew to France, or to Geneva, or to the Vaudois valleys, where they found an asylum, notwithstanding the edict which banished them from the ducal dominions.

They had nothing left! the world would say. But are the treasures of a good conscience and the peace of God nothing?

It seems surprising, however, that all the reformed and Vaudois of the province did not act with more energy and concert, opposing a courageous resistance to these iniquities. Their adversaries themselves were afraid of it; and therefore they had spread the report on all hands, and did not cease to repeat that, although the edict was so general, it was not meant against any but the Protestants of the plain, and that those of the mountains would not be disturbed, provided always they kept themselves quiet during the proceedings against the former. "Bear ye one another's burdens," says the Bible, "and so fulfil ye the law of Christ." The inhabitants of the mountains left their Christian brethren of the plain to bear their trials alone, and in their turn they had none to help them in those which awaited themselves. Scarcely had the Protestants been got out of the way who occupied the districts nearest to the great towns, when the injunction to conform to the edict was formally addressed also to those of the most retired villages. The influence under which this edict was concocted, was effectual to extend still further its range of depopulation and death.

Hitherto, however, no threat had been addressed to the Vaudois of Praviglelm and of the whole upper valley of the Po, where they

had exercised their evangelical worship from time immemorial. They regarded the maintenance of it as a right acquired by antiquity, and did not think it possible that it could be disputed. But the crying injustice of which their brethren were the victims ought to have opened their eyes; for if justice and humanity were not respected in the plain, what reason was there they should be respected amongst their rocks? And if they could bear to see the acts of injustice which touched not themselves, why should they not be exposed to similar sufferings?

But they did not reason so far, and as they were told that the edict did not concern them, they lived as tranquil as if it had never existed. At last, when all their brethren were banished or dispersed, they were given to understand in their turn that they must submit to the edict as well as the others.

Then these apathetic mountaineers, seeing the question assume the form of one of life and death for themselves, transported with an indignation which perhaps they had long restrained, flew to arms without premeditation or concert, made vows of courage and mutual aid, and by their union, their energy, and their valour, saved, for some time, at least, their imperilled cause. Abandoning their flocks, their houses, and their families, they assembled in arms, and threatened the Catholics amongst whom they dwelt that they would destroy all with fire and sword, if any ill befell their wives or their children. They then descended to the plain, marched against their oppressors, seized upon the fortress of Château Dauphin, and threatened to lay everything waste if the measures which had already caused so much distress were not revoked in so far as they were concerned.

The Catholics, who had never suffered from the neighbourhood of the Protestants, and who must have well understood the reason of their irritation, were the first to intercede for them, less from desire of justice than from fear of their resentment. Numerous petitions were addressed to Charles Emmanuel; the magistrates of the country themselves gave advice that a troop so determined should not be driven to despair; a former pastor of Pravigne, Domenic Vignaux, who was then pastor at Villar in the valley of Lucerna, and who had preserved friendly relations with the governor of Saluces, joined his entreaties to those of the inhabitants of the country in favour of his former parishioners; and at last the inhabitants of those deep valleys where the Po takes its rise, were permitted to return to their abodes, and to preserve their religion.

This success was obtained without effusion of blood, so true it is that energy spares it more than feebleness. How many martyrs

have perished, one after another, by the most cruel sufferings, who, if they had acted in concert, would have been saved by the mere display of courageous resistance! But notwithstanding their present triumph, the Vaudois of Pravigne, in consequence of having held their peace when their brethren were proscribed, fell afterwards into that state of isolation which is fatal; and their churches, like the other churches of Saluces, are now destroyed. In the following chapters we shall see some of the events which led to their extinction.

CHAPTER XII.

A SKETCH OF THE VICISSITUDES ENDURED BY THE CHRISTIANS OF THE VALLEYS SITUATED AROUND THE VAUDOIS VALLEYS; PARTICULARLY THOSE OF BUBIANO, LUCERNA, CAMPILLON, AND FENIL.¹

(A.D. 1560 TO A.D. 1630.)

Protestants in the neighbourhood of the Vaudois valleys forbidden to attend religious meetings there—Fines and confiscations—Count William of Lucerna—Treaty of Cavour—Castrocaro, governor of the Vaudois valleys—Unsuccessful attempts to proselytize at Lucerna and Bubiano—Certain of the Vaudois summoned to Turin—Interview of Valentine Boules with the Duke of Savoy—Theological discussion between a Vaudois pastor and a Jesuit—Captain Cappel—Systematic persecution of the Protestants of Lucerna—Confirmation of Vaudois privileges—Extortion and injustice—Peter Queyras and Bartholomew Boules—Arrests—Sufferings of the Protestants of Bubiano and other places—Final prohibition of Protestantism beyond the limits of the Vaudois valleys.

WE have already seen that, in the beginning of the year 1560, the Duke Emmanuel Philibert had prohibited all the inhabitants of his dominions from going to hear the Protestant ministers in the Vaudois valleys, and from celebrating the reformed worship without the limits of these valleys.² But this edict did not specify how far their limits were to extend. Commissioners were appointed, who were to determine this at their discretion, according to the cases which arose, and to prosecute those who were guilty of what they should deem contraventions of the edict.

But as the contravention of the edict was punishable with a fine of 100 crowns,³ and as the half of this sum was to go to the

¹ AUTHORITIES.—The same as in Chapter IX.

² Edict of Nice, 15th February, 1560.

³ In terms of the above edict.

informers, there were sure to be found, in the vicinity of the Vaudois valleys, some ardent lovers of Catholic worship and of the money of the reformed, who would lie in wait as spies of the humble pilgrimage of the Christians of the plain going to the mountain assemblies. The monks of the abbey of Pignerol even took into their pay a troop of miscreants, who scoured the country and made prisoners of these poor people. Whilst this troop chiefly devoted its labours to the valley of Pérouse, it carried its efforts and its ravages as far as Briqueras, Fenil, and Campillon. There, moreover, their place was more than supplied by Count William of Lucerna. A vain silly man, who delighted in showing himself off like a peacock on a richly caparisoned horse, making a display of his glittering ornaments, he had dissipated his fortune in the pursuit of pomp and pleasures, and he thought to recover it again by the wages of espionage. It was he who advised the Duke of Savoy to build the fort of Mirabouc.¹

"At that time," says Gilles, "the most influential and wealthiest of the inhabitants of Garsiliano, Fenil, Bubiano, and other little towns situated in the vicinity of the Vaudois churches, were of the same religion with us, and very diligent in their attendance on our worship. Nay, the greater part of the population of Campillon and Fenil was Protestant."

The Count of Lucerna gathered about him a few persons of birth and brutality like his own, and of these, along with his domestics well armed, he formed a little troop of brigands, or rather of sbirri, whose exploits consisted in surprising and arresting the Protestants as they went to the valleys to attend the religious assemblies. These noble adventurers hoped to enrich themselves by the spoils of their victims, and they even settled by anticipation the division of the property of most of them. Captain Scaramuzza had the property of Claude Cot, of Vigon, who took refuge in the valley of Lucerna in 1560. Count William obtained an assignation of 1000 crowns, of which 800 were to be taken from the commune of Rora, and 200 from those of the plain; but the general persecution which then arose against all the inhabitants of the valleys, and which was terminated by the treaty of Cavour (concluded on the 5th of June, 1561), made that right of spoliation worthless, and destroyed all the future prospects of these banditti.

By this treaty, all the Protestants of Bubiano, Fenil, Briqueras, and other towns contiguous to the territory of the valleys, were

¹ By letter, dated Bubiano, 24th October, 1560. It is in the State Archives, amongst the *Correspondence of Emmanuel Philibert with his Ministers*; but the Duke of Savoy at that time was Charles III.

authorized to repair thither freely, and to attend public worship. The Vaudois won their liberty of conscience by the most generous efforts and the most heroic exploits. The inhabitants of the towns just named, whose goods had been confiscated, and who had been obliged to flee, were allowed to return freely to their possessions. Of this number were three lawyers of Campillon, the Podestat of Angrogna, who belonged to Bubiano; Clarenton, a physician, and Reinier, a lawyer, also of that town; Anthony Falc, who afterwards devoted himself to the ministry; Daniel and Baptist Florius, as well as a great number of merchants, farmers, and artisans of every description.

The above-mentioned towns thereafter enjoyed some years of real tranquillity, for which they were indebted to the energy of the Vaudois people, who had secured it for them.

Without having the right to open places of worship, the inhabitants of these towns had the right of repairing to those of the Vaudois, and of celebrating family worship in their own houses. They even had it in their power to send for the pastors in case of sickness, or in order to the funeral service of those of their own religion. In 1564, however, the Dominican Garossia attempted to apply to them the provisions of an edict of the year preceding, relative only to other towns of Piedmont, by which the Catholics were interdicted from having anything to do with the Protestants. He attempted also to take from them the Bibles and religious books which they used; but, resting upon the terms of the treaty of Cavour, they sheltered themselves from his designs: and by the confirmation of all their privileges, which was granted to the Vaudois in 1574, for the payment of 4000 crowns, they still obtained a further abatement of the restrictions under which they were placed.

But the clergy, by their unprincipled proceedings, gradually obtained the upper hand again. In 1565, Castrocaro, then governor of the valleys, caused the place of worship at St. John to be closed; and the Countess of Cardes, the Baroness of Termes, and other persons of high rank, who were accustomed to come from their castles, to attend at the celebration of the Lord's Supper in the valleys, according to the reformed worship, received orders to abstain from so doing in future. The Vaudois pastors met and resolved to resist the iniquitous attempts of the governor. They wrote to the Duchess of Savoy, and by her good offices they obtained from Emmanuel Philibert a new confirmation of their liberties. However, intrigues and vexations of every kind continued to press upon the scattered Protestants of Piedmont. The goods of Claude

Cot, a rich burghess of Vigon, had been confiscated. The ambassador of the Elector Palatin was then at Turin. The Duke of Savoy wanted to make him a present: "Would your royal highness," said he, "give me the house which has been confiscated at Vigon." It was bestowed on him in absolute possession, by a ducal patent of the 12th of April, 1566. The worthy ambassador, Junius, immediately restored it to the persecuted family. But Junius had no sooner departed, than Castrocaro, who was then governor of the Vaudois valleys, prohibited all the reformed of Lucerna, Bubiano, and Campillon, from attending the Protestant worship of the valleys, under pain of death.¹ He caused those who did not give heed to this order to be apprehended. They appealed to the duke: the Vaudois also sent two deputies to represent to him that the Edict of Cavour authorized their fellow-Protestants of the plain in attending their worship. A new authorization confirmed the privilege, and all who had been made prisoners upon this occasion were released, through the intercession of the good duchess.

But by degrees the limits were narrowed within which burned the radiant fires of evangelical truth and of independence; and at last, by an edict of the 25th of February, 1602, the towns of Lucerna, Bubiano, Campillon, Briqueras, Fenil, Montbrun, Garsiliano, and St. Segont, the only towns in which religious liberty was maintained, were completely detached from the territory of the valleys. This was done in the hope that the bond being thus broken which attached the Protestants of the plain to those of the mountains, their unity of faith would be equally broken, and their mutual relations and brotherhood.

Forthwith the governor of the province and the Archbishop of Turin repaired to these regions, accompanied by a grand train of preaching monks, polemical clergy, Capuchins, Jesuits, and missionaries, in hope of accomplishing at once the conversion of all the Protestants. When a few trembling green leaves still remain upon the uppermost boughs of a tree which the winds have swept bare, a light breeze will be enough to bring them down. But the sap by which these churches were nourished still retained all its vitality.

The prelate having arrived in the beginning of the month of February, had taken up his abode in the palace of the counts of Lucerna. After having held some private conferences with the count and the governor, he began by causing all the heads of Protestant families residing in Lucerna to be summoned into his pre-

¹ This order was dated 21st April, 1566.

sence. "There were a good number of them," says Gilles, "and these among the principal families of the country, who had always dwelt in it from time immemorial." His royal highness, they were told, was resolved not to suffer two religions in that town, "and he has sent us to you," said the prelate and governor, "for your own good, that you may make up your minds to live as good and faithful Catholics, which if you do not, you will be obliged to sell your goods and leave the country." Of course these insinuating speeches did not remain unanswered; but more energetic language was next employed. "You cannot resist the orders of your sovereign without being accused of rebellion, and then you will be treated as rebels; whilst if you return to your duty," that is to say, to the Church of Rome, "not only will you save all your property, but you will be largely rewarded." "If it is a duty," replied the more resolute ones firmly, "why speak of reward? and if not, why try to make us deviate from our duty?" "Those will be rewarded who do what is agreeable to their sovereign." "Our fidelity ought to be agreeable to him, and he would have reason to doubt it if we were unfaithful to our God." The greater part of the Protestants of Lucerna, therefore, remained unmoved by the offers and the threats with which they were plied; but the resolution of some gave way. Presently proclamation was made that exemption from taxes was granted to those who had newly become Catholics, and to those who should intimate an intention of following their example.¹

The archbishop, the governor, and the count then proceeded to Bubiano, where all to a man were inflexible.

Attributing this unanimous resistance to the heads of two or three eminent families, as zealous for their religion as influential and honourable in virtue of their station, they caused them to be cited to Turin, before the Duke of Savoy. There were Peter Morèse, Samuel Falc, and the brothers Matthew and Valentine Boulles. The last-named had married a young woman, by birth a Catholic, but converted to Protestantism, a god-daughter of the Count of Lucerna. On their arrival in Turin they were surrounded by devoted courtiers, who said to them, "Take care what you do! for our prince is very angry at you four, for having prevented the conversion of the Protestants of Bubiano. He proposes to speak to you in a friendly way; but if you think proper to oppose him, you may expect something rough and disagreeable." They paid little

¹ These exemptions were dated on the 22d of February. They were renewed on the 10th of May, and are to be found in the Archives of the Court of Accounts at Turin. Reg. *Patenti e concessioni*, No. xxvi. fol. 198 and 268.

heed, however, to these artful suggestions, and presented themselves at the palace, where his highness caused them to be informed that he would receive them in private, one by one.

Valentine Boulles was the first introduced. The duke spoke kindly to him. "I desire," said he, "that my subjects should all be united in the same religion; and knowing how useful you have it in your power to be in promoting these views in the part of the country in which you dwell, I have thought fit to see you, that I may myself exhort you to follow the religion of your prince, and to gain your neighbours to it. Be persuaded," added he, "that in acting thus, besides the spiritual advantage which will thence result to yourself, you will reap other benefits, by which you will learn how great satisfaction you have given to your sovereign." "After the service of God," replied the Christian, "there is none to which I deem it so much an honour to devote myself as that of your highness; and I am ready heartily to spend in it my life and my property. But my religion is more precious still to me than my life. I believe it to be the true religion, the only religion founded upon the word of God, and I cannot abandon it without losing all peace, all consolation. Your highness may rest assured of my devotedness to your service, but be pleased to leave me my religion, without which I could not live." "And think you, then," rejoined the duke, "that I have not taken care for the salvation of my soul? If I were not persuaded that my religion is the true one, I would not follow it, and I would not try to get any other person to follow it. However, I am disposed to make those who embrace it understand how agreeable their so doing is to me; but I do not wish to do violence to anybody's conscience. You may retire."

Valentine Boulles was conducted out by another gate from that by which he had entered, and his companions were told that he had yielded to the solicitations of his prince, and had become a Catholic. They having then been successively introduced, replied to the duke, that having lived hitherto in the Protestant religion, they would have deemed it a precious favour to have been permitted to die in it, but that if his highness demanded the contrary, they were ready to do all that was agreeable to him. "That is really agreeable to me," said the duke, "and I will know how, in fitting time and place, to make you know it."

Notwithstanding these words of favour, they went out little comforted by their weakness; but what was their grief when they learned the firmness of their brother, and the more satisfactory words which the duke had addressed to him, leaving him his freedom of conscience! The poor men were so humbled for their fall,

that far from waiting to receive the favours of their prince, they had scarcely returned to the valleys when they made public profession of repentance, to expiate that fault and re-enter the fellowship of their church. The promise to the contrary had doubtless been wrung from them by a sort of surprise, but advantage was taken of it to represent to the duke that the conversion of the Vaudois was not so difficult a thing to secure, their adversaries not being ashamed to say that, like the sheep of their fields, they would all follow where the first went. "These persons," they said, "were made to believe that the first had become a Catholic, and the rest agreed to abjure; afterwards they learned that he had remained in his errors, and they immediately returned to them. Let your highness, then, display a little energy in the work which has been undertaken, and when two or three families have been converted, all the rest will follow like a flock." Such were the irreparable consequences of that momentary weakness. The rising again, it is true, was as prompt as the fall had been sudden, the repentance as deep as its occasion had been serious; but nothing could destroy the impression which that moment had produced.

The honourable firmness of Valentine Boulles had been respected by the prince, and the Vaudois, respected like him, might have found in their sovereign's justice reason to entertain better prospects for the future; for men will treat those more considerately whom they respect, than those whom they despise, and whose constancy they hope to shake; and from that time forth the inhabitants of the valleys were treated with a sort of disdain and rigour, very unlike the habitual moderation of Charles Emmanuel. If each of the persons summoned from Bubiano had only studied his conscience, and not considered his situation or what another might have done before him; if each of them had replied to the prince with the noble and respectful firmness of the first who appeared in his presence, perhaps their church would have been saved. But its enemies saw their opportunity for making a first assault upon it, and they did not suffer the opportunity to escape them.

Immediately afterwards, in fact, an order was published, requiring all the Protestants of Lucerna, of Bubiano, of Campillon, and of Fenil, to become Catholics, or to leave the country within five days, under pain of death and confiscation of goods.

The churches of the valley lost no time in addressing a petition to the sovereign, setting forth arguments to persuade him to revoke this edict. They reminded the duke that, in returning from the Fort of Mirabouc, taken from the French in 1595, he had said to the Protestants who came to congratulate him at Villar, "I will

make no change in regard to your religion; and if any one molest you, I will redress it as soon as I am informed of it." To this the duke caused it to be replied that he had not changed his intentions concerning them, but that what was being done related solely to the heretics dwelling beyond the limits of their valley. The governor of Pignerol, renewing his previous orders, then enjoined the Protestants who were in these latter circumstances to quit their abodes within two days, unless they obtained special permission from the archbishop to remain. Some individuals went to the prelate to obtain this; but, as may well be supposed, he insisted, in the first place, upon having an abjuration from them. "We would not like to abjure without knowing wherein our religion is wrong," replied the people with simple good sense. Forthwith appeared clergy, and monks, and Jesuits, who entangled them amidst a confused mass of theological arguments, for which the reading of the Bible had not prepared them. "We cannot dispute with you," replied they, "but if you would be pleased to confer with our pastor, and to prove to him that the mass and other ceremonies of your worship are not contrary to the word of God, we promise you that we will attend them without so much scruple."

The archbishop, thinking himself sure of victory, made haste to send a safe-conduct to the pastor, Augustus Gros, who had been named to him, and who was himself a former Augustine monk of Villefranche, converted to Protestantism. But he, remembering the decision of the Council of Constance, which sanctions breach of faith on the part of a Catholic towards persons of another communion, refused to go to Bubiano, and proposed St. John or Angrogna for this meeting, "not refusing," said he, "to confer with the prelate, or with those of his theologians whom he may think proper to send, with the weapons of the word of God, and according to the conditions essential to a sober and well-conducted debate."

The archbishop accepted this proposal, and nominated to enter the lists a Turin professor, by name Anthony Marchesi, a doctor of theology, and rector of the Jesuits in that capital. The commencement of the conferences was fixed for the 12th of March. They were opened, on the part of the Catholics, by the exposition of this thesis—*The mass was instituted by Jesus Christ, and is to be found in the Holy Scripture.* The Jesuit displayed great talent in his argument in support of it. But the pastor, coming after, and exposing in detail, one after another, all the parts of the mass, demanded that the whole ceremonial should be shown him in the Bible. Marchesi was then obliged to grant that the greater part of the rites had been instituted by the Church of Rome at divers

times and in diverse circumstances. "Then," said the pastor, "I promise to go myself to the mass, and to exhort my hearers to go, provided that it be stripped of all these human additions, and restored as it was instituted by Christ." The Jesuit looked down to the ground; silence prevailed throughout the meeting, and the president of the conference declared that, this first question being exhausted, the consideration of that of auricular confession would be put off till next day.

Each went his own way, but the Papists returned no more. Some time afterwards Augustus Gros was informed that the Jesuit boasted of having had the advantage in this conference. "I would have been very much surprised if he had spoken otherwise," replied the pastor; "he had not the courage to confess the truth contained in the word of God; what could be more confidently expected, then, than that he would deny a truth uttered by the lips of men?"

The archbishop, with all his suite, retreated after this unsuccessful conference; and instead of the great triumph of conversion, with the expectation of which they had flattered themselves, the enemies of the Protestants were obliged to be contented with subjecting them to partial and vexatious treatment in a multitude of ways.

Valentine Boules, in particular, the first of the persons summoned from Bubiano who had appeared before the Duke of Savoy, and whom they accused of having destroyed, by his perseverance, all the good effects of that experiment, was exposed to incessant recriminations. His wife, a Catholic by birth, was daily subjected to urgent solicitations that she should return to the church in which she had been baptized. Wearied out at last by this life of perpetual oppression, they resolved to flee from it, and to seek a more tranquil existence, with the peaceful exercise of their religion and conjugal happiness, in the seclusion of a retreat at a distance from all these wicked annoyances. They therefore quitted Bubiano, and settled at the lower part of the valley of Lucerna, in the little village of Bobi.

In 1619, a Protestant joiner having died at Campillon, the seigneur of that place objected to his being buried in the ordinary cemetery of the Protestants, which was contiguous to that of the Catholics, pretending that the proximity of the mortal remains of a heretic would pollute the holy earth set apart for the reception of the coffins of faithful Papists. Alas! they place holiness in the earth rather than in the heart; a cemetery is the fit emblem of their church, which is motionless as death. Why should human pride and fanaticism carry division even into the tomb?

It must be observed that, a few days before, an edict prohibiting the Vaudois from assembling at a funeral in greater number than six persons, had been secretly published. I say *secretly published*, because it concerned the Protestants alone, and had been read only at the close of the Catholic service. The greater part of those interested in it were therefore completely ignorant of it. The seigneur of Campillon, to carry out his opposition to this funeral, collected his armed retainers. The Protestants, on their side, took arms, under the direction of Captain Cappel. The obsequies took place without a conflict, in consequence of the firm front presented by the Vaudois, but all who were present were denounced as having infringed the edict. The trial of this case belonged to the podestat of Lucerna; but, by an infraction of the juridical laws then in force, the provost-general of justice took it up, and sent out his officers in pursuit of the Vaudois, who were very soon entangled amidst the meshes of inextricable assignations, protocols, comparences, examinations, confrontings, and proceedings, to such a degree that no criminal case ever assumed such formidable dimensions as this. An unjust judge is the scourge of a people!

The greater part of the accused were condemned for contumacy, but it was thought proper that they should be made prisoners. The most difficult to lay hold of was Captain Cappel, "a terrible man," says Gilles, "and who made himself to be much dreaded."

Treachery came to the aid of injustice. The colonel of a regiment offered a company to this redoubtable captain, and invited him to meet him on that business at Pignerol. "Remember your Virgil," said one of his friends, to whom he made known this proposal—

"Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes."¹

But his own boldness prevailed over this prudent advice. He repaired to Pignerol, was conducted into the castle, and retained a prisoner. From thence he was transferred to Turin, thrown into a dungeon, and condemned to death. Two Vaudois, Samuel Truchi and the minister Guérin, brothers-in-law of Lesdiguières, besought that illustrious general to intercede for the unfortunate captain; and in September, 1620, Lesdiguières, having come to Turin, obtained a pardon for Cappel. However, he was destined to die in prison; for in 1630 he was arrested anew, and died of pestilence in the prisons of Pignerol.

After he was first arrested, the provost-criminal caused all the other Protestants who had been present at the funeral of the poor artisan of Campillon, to be summoned to appear before him within three months. At the end of that time, not having appeared, they

¹ I dread the Greeks, even when they come with gifts.

were all condemned for contumacy, and declared to be banished from the dominions of his royal highness. Thereupon their fellow-Christians of all the valleys made common cause with them, offered them an asylum, and interceded with the sovereign. For fear that the duke might find fault with the unjust severities of which they had been made the victims, and that at the close of the reckoning the seigneur of Campillon, the eager mover in the whole affair, might find himself in a dangerous predicament, that seigneur thought proper to interpose in their favour. We shall by and by see whether or not he was sincere in so doing.

His interposition was offered to the Vaudois by a Papist, who called himself a Protestant. This commencement did not promise much sincerity. The seigneur signified his confidence of obtaining remission of the sentence, provided the co-religionists of the parties would address a petition to the sovereign in which they should offer him money. This might have seemed a gross insult to his royal highness, but he knew nothing about it, for his seigneurial excellence of Campillon took charge both of the petition and the money. Meanwhile the provost-criminal continued to carry his sentence into execution against the Protestants residing at Lucerna, on the right bank of the Pélis.

At length the Vaudois themselves sent deputies to Turin. The duke was not there; his ministers demanded from them 5000 ducatoons (nearly 30,000 francs¹), that an end might be put to the vexations of which they complained. It may well be said that they were all alike, seigneurs, provosts, and ministers. The deputies could not venture to engage for the payment of such a sum; the 3000 livres which the seigneur of Campillon had already taken charge of had made them timid; they returned to the valleys, and the provost continued more actively his prosecutions, processes, intimations, and sentences, which always issued in heavy expenses.

At last, they learned that Charles Emmanuel was on his return to Turin. New deputies immediately repaired thither; a new petition was presented, new difficulties were every day thrown in their way, and finally they retired, leaving the charge of their business to two delegates remaining on the spot—Anthony Bastie, a notary of St. John, and James Fontaine, the gonfalonier or standard-bearer of Le Villar. At the end of some months they obtained a draft of a decree, of which the following were the principal provisions:—The ancient privileges of the Vaudois to be confirmed, and all the proceedings commenced against them, upon account of religion, to be abolished, upon payment of the sum of 6000 ducatoons.

¹ Or about £1200 sterling.

toons (34,800 francs¹). It contained an injunction, moreover, that the Protestants should not labour in public on the days of the Catholic festivals; that they should *show reverence* to processions, or retire out of their way; and finally, that they should close the new place of worship which they had opened at St. John (at Les Stalliats).

"May it please your royal highness," said the deputies to Charles Emmanuel, "for many years the humble confidence which your faithful Protestant subjects² have reposed in your goodness, has been entertained with fair words and good hopes, without any amelioration of their condition. At the present time it is still proposed to restrain the exercise of our religion, and on this account a considerable tribute is exacted from us." They might have added, in reference to the proceedings which it was proposed to abolish, "Ought the cessation of an injustice to be purchased? and would its long continuance not rather give a right to compensation?"

Be these things as they might, the duke replied with his accustomed amiability and suavity, saying that *there was nothing he desired more than to see them contented*. But those who surrounded him were less noble, less just, and, above all, less disinterested. When the Vaudois deputies were about to depart, to carry this reply to the valleys, the procurator-fiscal caused them to be arrested and detained until the complete payment of the 6000 ducatoons, which the advisers of his royal highness had decided to impose upon the Vaudois.

This was on the 12th of March, 1620; they were kept prisoners for five months in the castle, which still stands beside the museum of painting in Turin; and on the same day the governor of Pignerol, Ponte by name, upon the suggestion of the Archbishop of Turin, caused twelve Vaudois to be likewise incarcerated, who had come to the market of Pignerol. There was no help for it but to resolve upon payment of the tribute demanded. Long negotiations still took place, and at last, on the 20th of June, 1620, an edict was issued conformable to the projected arrangement, save only that it contained nothing relative to the Catholic festivals and ceremonies.

Next year, in the month of April, new annoyances were commenced against the Vaudois, in regard to a valuation of property, which required them to present themselves individually at Pignerol, which some of them had failed to do. The great means employed

¹ Or about £1400 sterling.

² *Sujets de la religion*. The Protestants are frequently designated *gens de la religion*, or *religionnaires*.—TR.

against the Vaudois, which consisted in raising criminal prosecutions, on pretext of rebellion against the orders of the sovereign, was again resorted to; and in order to escape, these unfortunate adherents of a persecuted religion consented to augment their tribute by another 1000 ducatoons.

This sum was apportioned amongst all the inhabitants of the valleys, although those of Campillon alone had been originally the cause of the tribute. The distress was great; many families were obliged to pinch themselves in the very necessities of life, and murmured at such hardships. Then it was that the monks and Jesuits set their emissaries to work amongst the poorer and more isolated. This influence was brought to bear, especially along the disputed boundary line where Protestantism was in contact with Romanism, in the towns of Bubiano, Campillon, Fenil, Garsiliano, and Briqueras.

The agents of the clergy, both regular and secular, under pretence of compassion for the hardships endured by these poor families, offered, with all appearance of generous interest, not only to pay their quota of the debt for which the Vaudois were subscribing, but also to obtain for them a long exemption from taxes, and even immediate rewards, on condition that they would only consent not to reject boons still more precious, namely, the abandonment of Protestantism, and the adoption of the Church of Rome. A number were prevailed upon, and thus sold themselves, yielding to the fallacious and gilded seductions of the tempter.

Thus, under these perpetual assaults, these scattered churches, consisting of no great numbers of persons, were weakened, being constantly exposed to the danger either of violence or of temptation. And when in our own days we see so much religious indifference prevailing amongst religious communities not only enjoying freedom, but loaded with gifts, addressed with invitations rather than with threats, surrounded with encouragements instead of obstacles, honoured instead of being despised for the discharge of their duties—when we see scriptural faith and life extinguished before the breath of selfishness and corruption, by the mere power of the infirmities of our nature—we may well be astonished that the scattered Christians of the plain of Piedmont should have been able to survive at all, during a whole century, the numerous falls which made gaps in their ranks, or the strokes of persecution which were meant for their destruction.

I cannot recount in detail all their distresses, all the troubles with which they were beset, or the injuries to which they were for a long time subjected. Charles Emmanuel might, perhaps, have been inclined to be favourable rather than hostile to them, but

when the animosity of the government against them was abated, they had to endure that of private enemies. After the judicial proceedings followed the doings of the fanatics.

In 1624, for example, two Protestants being in the public square of Bubiano, some new converts reproached them with remaining faithful to a religion which had never made men anything but martyrs. "If I were in the prince's place," said one of them, "I would very soon make you abjure." "In what way?" "By force." "We thank God that he has given us a prince more moderate than you." This saying was reported to the magistrates in the following amended form: "The Protestants said that the prince is less zealous for religion than the new converts."

"The prince is insulted!" exclaimed the Catholics. The magistrates, urged on by their clamours, caused the two unfortunate Protestants to be prosecuted for the crime of lese-majesty. They were not only heretics, but rebels. The name of the one was Peter Queyras, and that of the other, Bartholemew Boulles. They succeeded at first in withdrawing from the pursuit of which they were the objects, and which, to say the truth, does not seem to have been urged with much rigour. The whole affair seemed to be forgotten, when Queyras was one day invited to dine with a seigneur of the valley. His conduct will show whether or not the seigneur was truly noble. He caused his servants to arrest the Protestant, and deliver him to the sbirri of Lucerna. He was cast into prison, and Boulles, his innocent accomplice in the language laid to his charge, thereupon fled to the mountains of Rora.

Queyras was conveyed to the dungeons of Turin. His liberation was demanded in vain. The inquisition supposed that a new victim had come into its hands. But the wife of the prisoner took her infant in her arms, went and cast herself at the feet of the prince, and informed him that the words spoken by her husband were a tribute to the wisdom of the sovereign, and not an insult to him; and supplicating in favour of the father of the child which she carried with her, she had the good fortune to obtain the pardon which she asked. "A faithful wife," says the Bible, "is a treasure from the Lord." The princes of the house of Savoy almost never showed themselves unjust or cruel, unless under the influence of the Church of Rome.

Next year (in 1625) a senator came to Bubiano, and, in virtue of secret informations of which he was possessed, caused many persons to be apprehended in that district. A petition was addressed to Charles Emmanuel, to obtain the enlargement of the captives. The duke replied that that business belonged to the judge Barbéri,

who had been commissioned to inquire into it; but his benevolence did not forget it, and after a time they were set at liberty.

Thus the Protestants of Bubiano and of the neighbouring towns still retained, at that date, some measure of liberty of conscience, which they owed to the sovereign's toleration; for, according to the edict of 28th September, 1617, their religion was not to have been tolerated for more than three years beyond the bounds appointed by the edict of 1602. Not residing within these boundaries, they must have abjured, or sold their goods, to withdraw to some other quarter, or have incurred the penalties pronounced by the edict. Some authors even say that only three months were allowed them for this purpose; and eight years had now already passed without their having either abjured or sold their lands. They might, therefore, hope for the permanent continuance of this favour, the prolongation of which had been tacitly conceded to them by the kindness of the sovereign. The monks and the inquisitors were only the more eager to proceed against them; they wished to make victims of them, and not to see them indulged.

One day ten young persons were apprehended on their way to Pignerol; the monks of the abbey turned it to their own account. Subsequently a man and woman, both advanced in life, were seized at Briqueras, and conducted to Cavour. The inquisition made them its prey. Every now and then, indeed, travellers or foreign merchants were surprised on their journeys, and cast into dungeons, where they often remained without being heard of more.

In 1627 a number of persons were arrested simultaneously at Bubiano, Campillon, and Fenil. The prisoners were in the first place conveyed to Cavour, then to the castle of Villefranche, after which nothing more was to be heard of them. Their relatives, their friends, and all their compatriots, were deeply afflicted. Urgent solicitations were addressed to Count Philip of Lucerna, who appears to have been no stranger to these acts of violence, and from whom none but evasive answers could be obtained. The Vaudois then addressed a petition to their prince, and sent deputies to present it to him. A person of noble birth offered his intervention with the sovereign; it was accepted; they set out and came to Turin. "I have a friend in great favour at court," said their new protector; "intrust me with your petition to show it to him, and I promise you his support." The petition was given up, but not returned. The Vaudois demanded it. "I have presented it to the duke," replied their noble friend, "but his highness was excessively angry, because of a report which accused you of having taken arms to rescue the prisoners by force. I have assured him of the false-

hood of that report, and I hope to calm him completely; but you will be obliged to make some outlay, and you will not forget, in particular, to pay me the great expenses which I have incurred on this occasion."

The people of the valleys were much discontented with the turn which this affair took, and found great fault with their deputies for having let the petition pass out of their hands, which they ought themselves to have presented to the sovereign. At last a reply was obtained, and they were informed that this business was remitted to the judgment of the Archbishop of Turin and the grand chancellor. To the latter they therefore addressed themselves; but he replied that his highness, and the heir presumptive of the crown, were about to take it into their own consideration. The unhappy captives were therefore transferred to Turin, after a preventive detention of several months, ignorant even what crime was laid to their charge. The brother of Sebastian Bazan, whose name we shall meet with again in the next chapter of martyrs, was amongst the number of these prisoners. Some more weeks passed, during which the archbishop died; and after this, upon the renewed petition of the Vaudois, the duke ordered the chancellor to bring the affair to a close.

On the 21st of July, Barbéri, abusing his high position, repaired to Lucerna, escorted by a troop of constables and officers of justice, or rather brigands; for, violently entering the houses of the reformed, they pillaged at discretion, and drew up an inventory of what they left. They went on to Bubiano, where they repeated the same proceedings, and thence, in like manner, to Campillon and Fenil. After this he published an order, requiring all the notaries and syndics of these communes to render him an exact account of all the possessions of the Protestants, who, he said, were all guilty, in one way or other, and merited, without exception, to be condemned to death, and to have their goods confiscated; but that, of his clemency, he would permit them to live, on condition that they should pay a large ransom. What justice! What a senator!

The Vaudois, indignant, refused to pay this monstrous tribute. Thereupon the report was spread that an army was coming to exterminate them. The inhabitants of Bubiano, and of the other towns of the plain, hastened to convey their families to the mountains, and to carry off whatever they had most valuable. The mountaineers, on the other hand, descended in arms, and posted themselves before Lucerna, to be ready to receive the army that was spoken of. But another senator, named Syllan, being then at Lucerna on his own private business, sent emissaries to re-assure the

Vaudois as to this subject. He afterwards caused them to be informed, that if they would pay the expense of Barbéri's troop it would be withdrawn, and the movables which had been taken away would be restored.

It seemed a little hard to pay the expense of the injustice to which they had been subjected; but the Catholics of Bubiano and the other towns above-named, offered to the Vaudois to pay for them the half of the sum, in order to be delivered from that horde whose presence was disastrous for all. This act of brotherliness upon the part of the people was more Christian than all the acts of persecution on the part of the church. The offer was accepted, and Barbéri accordingly went away with the tribute which he had sought. But it soon came to be known that he had received no orders from the prince to act against the Vaudois; and they therefore drew up a detailed account of all the hardships to which they had been subjected, and it began to be spoken of that they should be made to pay something again, in order to get a stop put to them, when unexpected circumstances occurred, which completely changed the aspect of this affair.

Many persons had been apprehended at Lucerna, Garsiliano, and Briquéras, but it often happened that when the case of one of these prisoners was to be proceeded with, he was not to be found. On the other hand, the informations against persons alleged to frequent the Protestant worship in the valleys, multiplied so much, that the higher authorities could not conceive that the Vaudois had so great a number of adherents in Piedmont. What rendered the whole thing still more incomprehensible was, that some of the captives who had disappeared from the prisons were again seen at liberty amongst the mountains. Let us tell the whole story of this mystery at once. The informers received a reward from the magistrates, and the inferior magistrates received a ransom from the accused, who were too happy to escape in this way from these unjust and cruel prosecutions. The prospect of these ransoms and recompenses had made the whole neighbourhood of the valleys a mere prey to a set of informers. But the work of the wicked deceives him. These informations began to include persons higher in station and influence, who, instead of compounding, proved the falsehood of the accusation, and brought the accuser to punishment.

Thereupon the superior authorities, whose uprightness is one of the glories of Piedmont, suspended all the prosecutions which had been begun. A severe investigation was instituted concerning the previous course of these proceedings, and many false witnesses were discovered, who had caused the innocent to be condemned, and who

were in their turn condemned to the galleys. But the Church of Rome, which attacks evangelical truth, must needs defend calumny; and, by the intervention of the Jesuits, many of these false witnesses succeeded in escaping the punishment to which they had become liable.

The Vaudois made no complaints; they were too happy to have their brethren restored to them. The prisoners of Villefranche were set at liberty. Those of Campillon and Bubiano, of Fenil and Briqueras, were not long of returning to the bosom of their families. The attempts directed against them had resulted in mischief to their enemies. The feet of the plotters of evil were taken in the snares which they themselves had hid. The eternal wisdom of Heaven never fails to be justified in these things by the perpetual folly of men.

In consequence of this restoration to legal rights, the Christians of Bubiano, Campillon, and Fenil—where the reformed, Gilles says, were more numerous than the Catholics¹—obtained the privilege of continuing, *secondo il solito* (according to use and wont), the free exercise of their family worship, as well as the power of repairing to the valleys for public worship, and even of sending for the Vaudois pastors in case of sickness or death. Their right to have a Protestant schoolmaster was also recognized.

This was nothing more than what was allowed by the edicts of the 10th of January and 5th of July, 1561; but it was a great victory to have maintained them. The Catholic clergy were not long of disputing their enjoyment of the fruits of it, and, under the most futile pretexts, raised prosecutions against the Vaudois, which always concluded with the alternative of apostasy or a ransom, "insomuch," says the author above quoted, "that there was no fault so petty but it was very difficult to settle for it without this condition, nor crime so enormous that it was not readily to be pardoned to those who would abjure their religion."

The monks, in particular, ceased not to complain of the pretended vexations which they endured from the Vaudois. At La Tour, for example, where an ancient Protestant cemetery was just beside the walls of their convent, and the use of the cemetery had upon that account been interdicted² to those of our religion, it so happened that the inmates of the cloisters exposed some of the bones in digging the foundation for a wall. A Vaudois woman gathered up the bones and buried them. Forthwith the monks wrote to Turin that the Vaudois impeded them in their labours, carried away their materials, were guilty of thefts from them, &c. And

¹ Gilles, p. 402.

² By decrees of 2d July, 1618, and 25th June, 1620.

in this manner, upon false reports, severe prosecutions sometimes lodged the innocent in prison.

La Fontaine was not yet born: but it seems that the fable of the wolf and the lamb was already known; for the learned and simple historian who relates these facts, boldly compares these monks to the wolves, "incessantly crying," says he, "that the lambs were troubling the water."

But the monks were kept in countenance by others; and sometimes the secular authorities, and sometimes the seigneurs, played the part of the *wolves*. We have seen proof of this in the ambushes of William of Lucerna, and the ransoms of those who were condemned. In 1629, for example, a Protestant of Campillon, named Perron, was assailed in his own house by a band of constables, whom his four sons and he valiantly repelled for half-a-day. One of his sons was killed, and another dangerously wounded. But particulars of this kind are so numerous, that they cannot all be mentioned.

Under the reign of Victor Amadeus I., orders were given to the authorities of Lucerna, Bubiano, Briqueras, Campillon, and Fenil, and often reiterated, to proceed with the extirpation of the *heretics* who could not be got to relinquish their heresy. These orders were dated on the 9th and 11th of November, 1634, the 6th and 27th of May, 1635, the 10th of April, 1636, and the 3d of November, 1637. But whether the sentiments of the sovereign were milder than his words, or whether the indulgence of the judges mitigated the severity of his decrees, the Vaudois continued to exist in these towns, where they had existed so long.

An edict of 28th January, 1641, definitively pronounced their goods confiscated everywhere without the limits of the valleys. On the 17th of February, 1644, they were forbidden to come without the territory of these valleys, except for the purpose of trafficking at the fairs; but it appears, nevertheless, that there were always some shoots of the old evangelical churches remaining at Lucerna, Bubiano, Campillon, Fenil, and Briqueras; for the prohibition against the Vaudois residing in these towns was frequently renewed at later dates. It is repeated in the edicts, amongst others, of the 31st of May and of the 15th of September, 1661, of the 31st of January, 1725, and of the 20th of June, 1730.

It was reserved for our days to see these unjust and puerile barriers at last disappear, which had been raised betwixt one set of people and another, in order to circumscribe thought. The doctrines of the gospel, like the enlightenment of civilization, will not be confined within manorial boundaries. What have the marches

of a territory to do with the limits of error and of truth? May these fair regions soon recover, in their liberty, the gifts which once they exhibited so admirably in the days of their bondage!

CHAPTER XIII.

REVIVAL OF THE EVANGELICAL CHURCHES OF SALUCES, AND NEW VICISSITUDES TO WHICH THEY WERE SUBJECTED.¹

(A.D. 1602 TO A.D. 1616.)

Valleys of the Stura, the Vrayta and Valgrane—Edict of 12th June, 1602—The Protestants driven into exile—Persecution conducted by the Capuchin Ribotti—Effects of long-continued oppression—The *Digiunati*—Irritation and disorder—Negotiations—The Duke of Savoy grants favourable terms to the Vaudois—Protestant churches spring up anew—Popish missionaries—Expatriation of Protestants—Their manifesto—A breathing time.

THE number of Protestants in the province of Saluces was not confined to the members of the churches which we have named, but in the valley of the Stura, in the valley of the Vrayta, and in Valgrane, there were fugitives from the great towns, who had retired to the most secluded villages. Thither each of them brought with him a portion of the evangelical light of their dispersed church, a spark of the common faith, which was thus extended in their exile.

Light has the property of communication without diminution; it enlarges its sphere by multiplying the centres from which it shines. Accordingly, the number of enlightened souls increased around the proscribed refugees, and these forgotten villages gradually became new churches. Moreover, many of the families which had embraced the external forms of Catholicism when it was imposed upon them by violence, hastened to return to the natural expression of their faith when the oppression had ceased.

Then, also, the persecuting attention of Popery was again drawn to them. The edict of the 25th of February, 1602, which interdicted Protestant worship without the limits of the Vaudois valleys, had no other object than to put an end to it in the towns of the province of Pignerol, situated on the outskirts of these valleys; but it was made a terrible weapon in the province of Saluces.

In the first place, missionaries were sent thither under the direction of Father Ribotti, in order that those who did not yield to their arguments might be treated as hardened and obstinate rebels.

¹ AUTHORITIES.—As in Chapter IX.

The governor of Dronéro and the vice-seneschal of Saluces were invited to assist in this enterprise.

The reformed then addressed a petition to Charles Emmanuel,¹ in the hope of obtaining some mitigation of the provisions of that edict, the force of which they felt, without being named in it. They entreated, amongst other favours, that they might not be subjected to any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but only to the civil magistrates; and nothing could be more just, because the ecclesiastical tribunals belonged to the Church of Rome, and could not be expected to judge, but only to condemn the adherents of another communion. They asked, also, that those of their religious persuasion who had been for more than seven years settled in that part of the country, should not be driven into exile; and, finally, that mixed marriages, solemnized by Protestant ministers whilst the province belonged to France, should not be annulled. This was, however, the thing which the Catholic clergy demanded most of all, without any regard to the confusion of every kind which this measure could not fail to produce in families.

These three points were conceded to the Vaudois of Saluces. But before this was done, a priest of the neighbourhood had taken upon him to issue, upon his own private authority, an order of expulsion against all the reformed of his parish. This abuse of power was complained of to the Duke of Savoy, who replied that he would write upon the subject to the governor.

The reformed and the Vaudois originally belonging to this province, had therefore reason to hope that for them days of tranquillity were at last come; but through the solicitations of the Capuchins and Jesuits, the justice promised and the concessions obtained, very soon gave place to new severities. On the 12th of June, 1602, appeared the following edict:—

“Having laboured, by all means possible, for the extirpation of heresy, in order to the glory of God and the salvation of souls, we are grieved to learn that in the marquisate of Saluces, the people whom we have prohibited from the exercise of their worship live without ostensible religion, and thereby run the risk of falling into atheism. To prevent this horrible evil, we ordain all the adherents of the pretended reformed religion, whether born in the country or only settled in it, to embrace the Catholic faith within fifteen days, or to leave our dominions and to sell their properties within the space of six months, under pain of confiscation and death.”

The Protestants of these regions, preferring the pains of exile to a base desertion of the faith of their fathers, left the province of

¹ On the 15th of May, 1602.

Saluces in a body, and retired once more to that Ephraim of the Vaudois valleys, where the exiled always found a refuge, where Christians always found brethren, and where sacred consolations were always ministered to the afflicted.

But many of them settled upon the left bank of the Cluson, in the valley of Perouse, at Les Portes, Pinache, Doublon, and Perouse itself, where, according to an edict recently promulgated,¹ the reformed worship was equally to be abolished; and the Capuchin Ribotti, always breathing out fury against the Vaudois, pursued thither also these unfortunate and fugitive victims.

Aided by the urgency of the nuncio, and solicitations directly addressed by Paul V. himself to the Duke of Savoy, Ribotti obtained an edict,² by which that prince renewed in a more general manner the prohibition to celebrate Protestant worship in his dominions, without the arbitrary limits to which the territory of the Vaudois valleys had been restricted. The Protestants did not make any haste to abjure, and the duke did not make any haste to punish; but by multiplying his prohibitions, he multiplied the claims which Popery could urge for the employment of measures so severe as to be effective. The prince, notwithstanding his natural mildness, could not refuse to cause the orders which he had already issued to be put in execution; but it may be easily enough seen, from the instructions which he addressed in these circumstances to the governors of provinces, that the real author of these cruelties was the pope, and not himself. "Desiring," said he, "that the holy enterprise of the extirpation of heresy should be accomplished in our dominions, and his Holiness having for this purpose sent missionaries, at the head of whom is Father Ribotti, we enjoin all our officers to render him all assistance."³ Then, denying himself the credit of his own clemency, he recommended them to treat the Vaudois with some tenderness, and to make them suppose that they owed it to the personal kindness of Father Ribotti; for assuming, with good enough reason, that that monk would be pitiless, the duke wrote a private letter to the governor of Saluces, in which he said, "In order that his severities may not make him too odious to these poor people, you will take care to show them indulgence in some things, and to grant them some mitigations, as if they were owing to his intercession."⁴ But the missionaries understood nothing of the employment of any such means; and at this juncture the above circular was issued, which was by no means calculated to calm men's tempers. The unhappy peasants, so often annoyed, proscribed, dispossessed, and now again

¹ 28th May, 1602.

² Circular of 5th September, 1602.

³ Issued on the 3d of July, 1602.

⁴ This letter is dated 8th July, 1602.

chased from their abodes, already also exasperated and excited by a troop of discontented and banished men like themselves, but who certainly had not the same Christianity, assembled in an armed band among the mountains. They proclaimed themselves the defenders of the oppressed, not concealing their intention of resisting the troops of the sovereign himself, if he should employ his troops against them or their adherents.

But there were no stores of provisions in the mountains; and for subsistence this body made frequent forays into the plain, supplying themselves with victuals by pillage, in which the Catholics, and those who had recently become Catholics, were the principal sufferers. Hence arose many reprehensible disorders.

This famished band received the name of the band of the *Digiunati*, and by the intimidation which they exercised, they compelled a number of Protestants who had recently become Catholics, to return to the Reformed Church, which violence had driven them to leave. Wretched and deplorable conversions on both sides! But what was only an exception with Protestantism, was habitual with the Church of Rome.

The Duke of Savoy, having been informed of these troubles, commanded the magistrates to cause the syndics of the communes which were frequented by the *Digiunati* to be summoned before them, and to make each of these syndics responsible for the disorders committed in his commune. At the same time, he enjoined the Protestants of the towns situated in the plain of Piedmont, on the border of the Vaudois valleys, to quit their abodes, or else to become Catholics within the space of fifteen days.¹

The irritation of the parties had reached its height, when, in addition of all other calamities, a general famine aggravated the distress of the numerous families of Protestants, who, without having left the territories of Savoy, lived in wandering and banishment. The *Digiunati* became the agents of depredation and vengeance; and in spite of the severe but ineffective proceedings adopted against them—in spite of the express prohibition to give them any harbour, assistance, or supply of food—their number continued to increase. All the fugitive victims of persecution or of famine joined them. Exerting themselves in this vagabond and savage life to do as much injury as possible to their enemies, they became every day more dreaded. Their presence in the mountains afforded a kind of refuge for all who were persecuted, and the exasperation continually increased, from the combination of so many miseries and animosities.

¹ Orders of 2d March and 28th May, 1602.

Four young men of Bubiano having met with one of the agents of the Inquisition, killed him as they would a mischievous beast, and went to join the *Digiunati*. Another assassination was committed upon the person of a Catholic of Bagnols, who had come and joined himself to the refugees in order to betray them; "and besides these," says Gilles, "they performed many other acts of vengeance, which displeased well-disposed people, notwithstanding all the pretexts and all the reasons which they brought forward in opposition to their censures."

But disorder is like a conflagration; it increases by its own violence. And ought we to be astonished that these unfortunate people, with a price set upon their heads, should have endeavoured both to defend and to avenge themselves? In times of war the nations eagerly rush to that systematized murder, which decimates them without dishonour; and in times of persecution, is it not conceivable that proscribed persons, whose lives are more cruelly threatened than in a battle, may have been drawn into crimes of which, in other circumstances, they would have been incapable? What is said of offences may be applied also to these excesses—woe be to those by whom they come!

The inhabitants of the surrounding districts, moreover, including the Catholics themselves, although suffering from this state of things, regarded the resistance made by these unfortunate people, driven as they were to despair, as most natural; and all their wishes were, not for their death, but for an arrangement which would permit the proscribed to return to their ordinary life. "Scarcely were we arrived at Lucerna," says a traveller of that period, "when we were surrounded by men and women, entreating us with clasped hands that an accommodation might be come to. In this we remarked the judgment of God; for the banished people had been driven from Lucerna upon account of their religion, and now these were the Papists, who could not venture out of the town because of the banished." This traveller was the Count of Lucerna, who interposed on their behalf, and particularly on behalf of those of Saluces, who had been so long time dispersed. He demanded that a petition should be intrusted to him. All the Vaudois and Reformed churches, from Suza to Coni, constituting, as they said, one body in Christ, made haste to sign it.¹

Meanwhile, the *Digiunati* continued their raids. Six of them having come down to Lucerna to buy victuals,² the Chevalier of

¹ In March, 1603. The reply of Charles Emmanuel was on the 9th of April.

² This was on the 6th of March, 1603.

Lucerna¹ and Captain Crespini of Bubiano, aided by 100 armed men, resolved to apprehend them. They cut off their passage at both ends of a narrow street, in which they were transacting business; and they, finding themselves hunted like deer, knowing that a price was set upon their heads, perceiving that they were surrounded, yet with no safety but in flight, rushed upon their enemies with the courage of despair, drove back the soldiers, killed the captain, and passed through the midst of the fifty men whom he commanded, without leaving a single prisoner in their hands. The soldiers pursued them, and the *Digiunati* took different routes, and all escaped, with the exception of one, who, having leaped from the top of a wall, broke his thigh in falling, and could not save himself. He was taken, fastened to four horses, and torn in pieces alive. This was not the way to calm men's minds.

At length the petition of the Vaudois was presented to Charles Emmanuel. The duke perceived how dangerous it was for the Catholics, as well as for the Protestants, that the causes of these fatal divisions should be perpetuated, and he decided² that all the banished should be permitted to return to their habitations, that the confiscations which had taken place of their goods should be annulled, and even that Protestants who had become Catholics should have the right to return to the church which they had left, if their consciences demanded it.

However, a certain number of the *Digiunati* were excepted from these provisions, and orders were renewed to deliver them up dead or alive. But this was only a desperate fraction of that numerous people who everywhere arose to hail with delight the restored religion of their fathers, insomuch that in that region, where, on the day before, all was Catholic, at least in appearance, a multitude of Protestant families suddenly flung off the veil of the established superstitions, and openly proclaimed their respect for the Bible. Thus the churches of Savigliano, Levadiggi, Demont, Dronéro, and St. Michael speedily re-appeared. Their elements were not to be formed, they were only to be united together again. Some of them were found to be stronger after this revival than they had been previously; as, for example, those of St. Damian, Verzol, and Aceil. But like those swarms of devouring locusts which return to a plain that sprouts again and becomes green, the Jesuits and Capuchins re-appeared in these countries when they began once more to flourish. This would have been of little consequence if they had kept

¹ The brother of the count, who offered to become intercessor for the Vaudois with the sovereign. The chevalier's name was Emmanuel, that of the count was Charles.

² At Coni, 9th April, 1603.

themselves to preaching and discussions. The doctrines of the Bible would only have gained thereby; it is by conflicts that they are confirmed. Yes! by conflicts, but not by bloodshed.

These new missionaries¹ had, in the first place, frequent conferences with the pastors. The governor of the province took a fancy to bring them together at dinner, in order to be present at their discussions. A number of monks and Catholic priests were led, by these discussions with the Protestants, to embrace the gospel, which strengthened the Protestant cause. Thus the Reformed Church recruited itself, and added to its forces from the very ranks of those who came to combat against it. It was in the valley of the Vrayta, which at that time belonged to France, that that church most rapidly extended itself. "The Protestants," says Rorengo, "held their meetings there both by day and by night; their worship was public, and the poor Catholics themselves durst not set out their faces to go to mass, for fear of hearing the cry of idolaters raised against them!"

One of the ministers of this valley was a converted priest, and his example had been followed by numbers of his parishioners.² Short as the time had been during which the field had been left open to the Reformation, it had established itself everywhere, solely by the influence of the Bible, mightier than the secular arm.

It was in 1603 that the Capuchin missionaries came to the valley of the Vrayta, in order to prepare the way for the employment of new measures of severity. They first made their appearance at Château Dauphin, a place surrounded by wild and rugged mountains of vast height. Particular mention is made of their superior, Joseph de Tenda, and of Brother Zachary, author of four polemical volumes against the Reformation. From Château Dauphin they proceeded to the Val de Grano, and established missions at Carail, Aceil, and Verzol, at the entry to Saluces. They re-opened the deserted churches, restored the pageants of the Catholic worship, and renewed the annoyances against the Protestants. As for the Jesuits, they had one residence at Aceil, another at Dronier, another at St. Damian, and a fourth in the manor-house of Château Dauphin. What must have been the activity in mischief of all these men planted in different localities, and associated for the same cause,

¹ The Jesuits had, however, been introduced into the diocese of Saluces in 1596.

² Rorengo attributes his conversion to a motive adduced in so many cases, that it must certainly be deemed a very powerful one by those who so often allege it. It was, he says, from the desire to break the celibate, to which he had bound himself when he entered into orders; and as if it were not enough to have made it a crime in him to have taken a wife, the worthy Rorengo goes on to accuse him of bigamy. All this without proofs, as usual.—*Memorie Istoricke*, p. 178.

emulating each other in their exertions in their common work, stimulating each other to the destruction of heresy, convinced, perhaps, that theirs was the true religion, but animated with a bitter zeal, very remote from the spirit of the gospel! Was there not in this a real plague to the Protestants, analogous to that of the swarm of insects which brought upon Egypt desolation and death?

"It is impossible to relate all the efforts which these missionaries at that time made."¹ These words of Rorengo suggest much. We know not what the efforts were of which he speaks; but we may judge of a tree by its fruits; and at this time, says Perrin,² "not only was the free exercise of religion interdicted at Saluces, in the valley of the Mayra, which contained Verzol, St. Damian, Aceil, and Dronéro, but also, by a new edict, all the Protestants were required to become Catholics. Inquisitors were sent from house to house, and more than 500 families were compelled to go into exile. They retired into the dominions of France, part of them to Provence, where they aided in restoring the ancient Vaudois churches of the Leberon, part of them to Dauphiny, where they added to the churches of Pragela, which was then included in that province."

Thus, like the waters, which always follow a natural inclination in flowing towards the central basins among the hills, these people, truly attached to the gospel, kept by their spiritual native land when they removed beyond the horizon of the districts in which they were born.

But before thus dispersing and separating from one another—before thus going into exile—they drew up a declaration, which all the other churches of the Vaudois valleys subscribed along with them, in order to make known the causes of this proscription.

"Let all men know," say they, "that it is not for any crime or rebellion that we are this day deprived of our properties and our abodes. This happens by reason of an edict of abjuration or exile, which his royal highness, deceived, no doubt, by false reports, has issued against us. But our forefathers and our families having been brought up in the doctrine professed at this day by the Reformed Church, we are resolved to live and die in it. And, therefore, we declare and affirm, that this doctrine which they would prohibit to us, is held by us to be the only true doctrine—the only doctrine approved of God, and the only doctrine able to conduct us in the way of salvation. And if any one pretend that we are in error, far from being obstinate in defending it, we profess ourselves ready immediately to abjure it, upon our being convinced by the

¹ *Le diligenze de Padri missionarij, tanto gesuiti che capuccini, furono indicibili.* Rorengo, p. 179.

² P. 184.

word of God. But if it is attempted, by mere force and constraint, to make us change our beliefs, we prefer rather to renounce all that we have, yea, even our lives, rather than the salvation of our souls."¹ These noble and courageous words ought to have gained for the proscribed all the sympathy of generous minds. But they exasperated still more the Catholic clergy, and led them to adopt violent measures, by revealing to them their utter inability to convince. When, therefore, a number of these expatriated families showed an inclination to return to Piedmont, entering it again by the Vaudois valleys, an edict was obtained from Charles Emmanuel, by which all strangers were prohibited from settling in the valleys, and all Vaudois were prohibited from going beyond their limits.² But it would seem that these enactments, over the execution of which it was so difficult to watch, did not arrest the movement against which they were directed; for a little while after, new orders—obtained as before, by the solicitation of the Capuchins, the Jesuits, and the nuncio—recalled the attention of the governors of the province, not only to this particular edict, but to all the previous regulations adopted in a spirit of hostility to Protestantism.³

The year following (in 1610) the Duke of Savoy entered into an alliance with Henry IV. against the Spaniards, and in 1612 the wars of Montferrat began, which endured for four years; so that the attention of the monarch, and the influences which impelled him to action, were for a brief period abstracted from religious questions. This time of general agitation was therefore a season of tranquillity for the churches of Saluces. No doubt it was tranquillity only in a relative sense—not peace, but respite; not a regular and enduring state of rest, but temporary exemption from persecution. Yet, as in a stormy day, if the clouds but clear up a little, the darkest sky will immediately re-assume the colours of life, so an aspect of sudden prosperity, like a precarious sunbeam, re-appeared for a few years in these tormented churches.

Among the *Papers connected with the country of Provence*, under date 17th April, 1612, occurs a petition to the king, in the following terms:—"May it please your majesty to provide that persons belonging to the marquisate of Saluces, refugees in this country, may have power freely to pass and traffic in the territories of the Duke of Savoy, without being pursued after upon account of religion;"⁴ and among the papers of Dauphiny of the same period

¹ This declaration is published entire by Perrin, pp. 185-189; and by Léger, P. I. ch. xvii. pp. 111-113.

² Edict of 2d July, 1609.

³ Orders of 21st November, 1609.

⁴ MS. of Peyresk, Library of Carpentras, Register XXXI. vol. I. fol. 361, art. xvii.

is a similar request, that "his majesty (the King of France) would exert his influence with the Duke of Savoy to obtain liberty of trading in his dominions in favour of the refugees of Saluces."¹ Both these points were conceded.

At the same time, the still existing churches of Saluces caused earnest solicitations to be addressed to the duke, through the mediation of Switzerland, that liberty of conscience might be granted to them. And in 1613, the Vaudois valleys having been required to furnish a contingent of troops for the war of Montferrat, it so happened that these troops were sent as a garrison into the province of Saluces. They had the privilege of meeting for the exercise of their worship, and their brethren in religion sometimes joined them in these little meetings, so as to increase their number, thus taking steps, as it were, to reclaim for themselves the enjoyment of religious liberty.

But meanwhile the Jesuits and the Capuchins, on the other hand, only became more active in watching and in prosecutions. To give some satisfaction to these worthy coadjutors, who found so little in the results of their preaching, the magistrates from time to time made new prisoners.

Those against whom the clergy were most active in directing severe proceedings were the *relapsed*, or those who had become Catholics *invitâ conscientia*, to whom the superstitions of the Catholic paganism rendered dearer still the simplicity of evangelical Christianity, and who made haste to return to it upon the first favourable opportunity, with firmer attachment than ever. But when they were discovered, they were denounced to the Holy Office, and often disappeared, noiselessly, in the mysterious chambers of the Inquisition.² However, the war continued, and the Vaudois came to be more and more needed; the secular power, less cruel than the church, gradually relaxed its severity; the Protestants of Saluces began to look around them and breathe freely. But for them to breathe at all was to worship God and serve him according to the gospel. "Those of Dronier," says a work of that period,³ were the first to set the good example, and from the year 1616, they began to hold their meetings." These meetings were held in secret; but every day the number of faithful attendants was increased by new admissions. "The news soon travelled to Rome,

¹ MS. of Peyresk, Library of Carpentras, Register XXXI. vol. I. fol. 371, art. xxvii.

² *Si denunciava al Santo-Offizio, e così le cose passavano con molto quiete, con occultissima vigilanza.* Rorengo, p. 183.

³ *Brief discours des persécutions advenues en ce temps aux fidèles des Eglises de Saluces.* Geneva, 1620.

the pope was very angry about it; his highness was apprised of it, and the clergy omitted no means of opposition."¹

The Protestants would not have been able to have avoided some new catastrophe, but for a providential circumstance, which, on the contrary, gave them unexpected support. The events which led to it, and those which followed from it, will form the subject of next chapter.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONCLUSION OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCHES OF SALUCES; PARTICULARLY OF THOSE OF ACEIL, VERZOL, ST. MICHAEL, AND PRAVIGLELM.²

(A.D. 1616 TO A.D. 1633.)

Lesdiguières intercedes for the Vaudois of Saluces—Increase of Protestantism in the valleys of the Stura and of Mayra—The Bishop of Saluces at Dronier—Protestant worship interrupted—Proscriptions—Vexations—Renewed intercessions of Lesdiguières—Disorders—Plot for a general massacre of the reformed in the province of Saluces—Outrages and cruelties—Martyrdom of Peter Marquisy and Maurice Mongie—The pope grants to the Duke of Savoy a tithe of ecclesiastical revenues for six years—Further persecutions—Sentence of banishment against the inhabitants of Praviglelm and Paësane—Intercession of Lesdiguières—The churches of Saluces gradually weakened by continued persecutions—Victor Amadeus—Extinction of the churches of Saluces.

It has been already stated that at this time Charles Emmanuel was at war with Spain about the matter of Montferrat. He asked aid from France, and Lesdiguières was sent to him. This illustrious general, who was then regarded as the head of the Protestant party in France, entered the province of Saluces in 1617.

Indignant at the manifold annoyances to which those of his own church were subjected, he interceded for them with their sovereign. The court of Savoy readily understood that the leader of the reformed could not fight its battles with very much zeal if it persecuted his party. On the ground of prudence, therefore, some repose was granted to the Vaudois of Saluces; and on the 28th of September, 1617, the duke, being at Asti, issued a decree to this effect. He said—"Out of particular regard for a great personage, we grant permission to the Protestant refugees, and persons ban-

¹ *Brief discours des persécutions advenues en ce temps aux fidèles des Eglises de Saluces.* Geneva, 1620.

² *AUTHORITIES.*—The same as in Chapter IX.

ished from the marquisate of Saluces, to return and enter into free possession of their properties and their abodes, for a period of three full years;¹ to make arrangements about them, and sell them at their own pleasure during that time, they being prohibited, however, from spreading their heretical opinions or asserting their doctrines, upon pain of death. The prisoners detained upon account of religion shall be set at liberty, and enjoy the same privileges; and as to properties confiscated or sold, they shall be returned to their former owners upon a just indemnity, which we will grant to those who have acquired them."

These provisions would have been of great value if they had been permanent; but to assign them beforehand a limit so confined, was to grant nothing; it was only to sow the seed for fresh troubles and more ruin at a future time. The Protestants, nevertheless, showed themselves very grateful. Their conscientious sensitiveness was awakened only upon one point, and they wrote to the pastors of Geneva to know if they ought to accept this decree, seeing that it treated them as heretics.² Why did they not insist that these advantages should repose upon a less precarious foundation? The intercession of Lesdiguières obtained for them the omission of the reference to *heresy*, and in their honest simplicity these unsophisticated mountaineers, confiding in the justice of their prince, never imagined that he could make any revocation of this edict. With them what was just and true over night must needs be still just and true in the morning. The variations of the Catholic Church, in point of honesty, would be found still more numerous than those of the Protestant Church in point of doctrine. Sad changes were already in preparation for the Vaudois, notwithstanding these things at present favourable to them, to which the Papal Church was obliged, in the meantime, to submit, but to which it hoped soon to put an end.

Nevertheless, the happy effect which they in the first instance produced surpassed all expectation. In a few days the aspect of the country was altered. "The night before," say the Capuchins, "we would have thought it almost purged of heretics, and next day they make their appearance from all quarters, like the soldiers of Cadmus, who rose in full armour from the sand of the earth." In the valley of the Stura, which is deeper and more extensive than the others, Protestantism, which had never been eradicated, flourished again with more vigour than ever. It was in the town of Aceil (distinguished in our days as the birthplace of the famous

¹ Borelli says three months.

² Archives of the pastors of Geneva, vol. F, p. 174.

Cibrario, author of the history of European law during the middle ages), that the Reformation had the greatest number of adherents. The village of Pagliéro joined in this open profession of the gospel. The town of Verzol boldly declared for the same cause, but afterwards drew back. That of St. Michael, which appeared at first more cautious in its proceedings than the others, very soon acquired resolution, and followed Aceil with steadfastness.

The Protestants were, indeed, prohibited from having public assemblies, but the number of private meetings supplied the place of public worship; and, moreover, it was not long till they began to hold general congregations during the night, that climate being as mild as the climate of Nice. The secret of these congregations was not unfrequently betrayed by the joy which the people could not contain, either before they went to them or after they returned.

In the valley of Mayra, at Dronier, and other places,¹ so many made profession of Protestantism that the Catholics seemed to disappear. Many, instead of selling their lands, bought more; industrial activity, commerce, and agriculture, speedily made unusual advancement. It seemed as if they thought they had nothing to fear for the future; and this prosperity itself ought to have induced the Duke of Savoy to maintain the causes which had produced it, instead of destroying it, by allowing them to be removed.

It is well worthy of attention, that in all countries of the world in which Protestant doctrines have taken firm root, the people have prospered, as if an unseen benediction had been pronounced over them; and wherever Catholicism has maintained itself in greatest power, life has been extinguished, prosperity and morality have disappeared, as if under the influence of some mysterious curse.

The churches of Saluces recovered in one year all the lustre which belonged to them half a century before. "These heretics," says Rorengo (whom we cite in preference to other authorities, not as the source of our information, but in confirmation of it), "commenced to play the lords amongst the poor and disconsolate Papists, who with terror found themselves on the point of being annihilated in that country."² They no longer ventured to make processions, but cried out against the tyranny of the reformed.

The festival of Easter, in 1618, had been celebrated at Dronier by so great a concourse of Protestants, that the Bishop of Saluces repaired thither the same week, to restore in some degree the honours of his deserted church. Notwithstanding his presence at Dronier, on the Sabbath after Easter, there was still so numerous

¹ *Memorie Istoricke*, pp. 184, 185.

² *Ibid.* p. 185.

an assemblage of the reformed, that all the apartments of the private house in which they met were occupied. The hall, the landing-place before the door, the steps, and even upon the street—every place was overflowing, eye-witnesses say, with members of the church who could not find admission.¹ The pastor had commenced his opening prayer; all the people were on their knees around him, even to the outer steps of the domestic sanctuary. At that moment the bishop arrived in great pomp, escorted by soldiers and officers of justice. "In the name of his royal highness," said he, "dissolve your congregation." But the voice which prayed to God, ceased not at the bidding of that which spoke to men. The pastor continued his prayer and thanksgiving; the officers of law drew up their minute of proceedings; the bishop waited until the end of the prayer, and then renewed his summons. "In the name of our apostolical authority," said he, "we forbid you all from assembling again henceforth, contrary to the edicts of his royal highness." "In the name of Jesus," the pastor then replied, "we do not recognize any apostolical authority except in the gospel which he has given to us by the apostles, and which we faithfully preach. As for the edicts, we do not violate them, since we are assembled in a private house." This reply was taken down in the minute of proceedings, and the bishop retired. But he consulted lawyers to ascertain the legal import of the edict, and learned with victorious satisfaction that the setting forth of doctrines was forbidden. In consequence, he came back three days after, with the grand referendary, Milliot, to summon the Protestants to appear before the authorities as having been guilty of proclaiming their doctrines, contrary to the terms of the edict under which they sheltered themselves.

The Christians perceived that there was in this a plausible pretext for condemning them; and for people who had so often been condemned without reason, there was ground enough of alarm in the presence of a specious reason. However, the prohibition of asserting their doctrines could only, in fairness, be considered as a prohibition of Protestants endeavouring to convert Catholics, because, surely, they could not be prevented from speaking amongst themselves of their own beliefs; and as the number of persons authorized to meet in a private house was not limited, it could not well be made a crime in them to hold meetings more or less numerous. But these simple and honest people did not dream of having recourse to such arguments of defence; their convictions were too strong to admit of their not seeking their propagation. This was to have declared their doctrines. And after justice had already

¹ *Brief discours*, ch. iii.

been denied them in so many instances more flagrant than this, a favourable interpretation of the law was what they would certainly not have obtained. They deemed it, therefore, more prudent to escape out of the way, and took refuge in the woods situated above Dronier. There they remained for forty days, like Jesus in the wilderness, fasting and praying to God, animated by an increasing ardour, an inextinguishable and delightful thirst for prayers, hymns, and pious meditations, for which their souls longed more eagerly, and in which they found increased satisfaction, in presence of danger and in the calm of these solitudes.

It was not, however, for want of courage that they took to flight; for the referendary Milliot having proceeded against them by individual citations, a number of Protestants, who had been omitted, spontaneously went and declared themselves partakers in the same transgressions, that is to say, in the same faith, and complained to the judges that they had not been included among the proscribed. Was not this devotedness of a sincere faith as noble and as courageous as a heroic resistance would have been?

The Catholics, seeing the town of Dronier almost deserted, and the fugitives self-condemned by their own apprehensions, fancied that they already saw their goods confiscated, and might divide them in anticipation of the event as already sure. But so great a number of Protestants had caused their names to be inscribed in the lists drawn up, that the magistrates shrunk from the necessity of adopting severe measures against such a multitude, and wrote to the Duke of Savoy, to remit the matter to his decision. On their side the Vaudois entreated Lesdiguières again to intercede for them, and Charles Emmanuel put an end to these uncertainties by covering all that was past with a general amnesty, after which he simply re-established the provisions of the edict of 28th September, 1617.

The fugitives thereupon returned to their abodes, more united and more fervent than ever; the Catholic clergy redoubled their efforts to give to their worship the sovereign pomp to which it was legally entitled, and for which it lacked only the attendance of a sufficient number of people. Processions, novenæ, and pilgrimages were multiplied. The parochial clergy received orders to preach sermons in their churches; proof sufficient of the negligence which had prevailed in this respect. The missionaries laboured to unite the force of argument with the magnificence of ceremonies; but power in reasoning depends upon truth, and truth is not to be determined by decrees, like the arrangements of a festival. These foreign merchants of crosses and amulets saw the public indifference

increasing around them; they accused the Protestants of being the cause of that impious desertion, and accordingly their most earnest wishes were for the removal of Protestantism from the country. The reformed, upon their part, redoubled their zeal and ardour; and in consequence of this emulation between the two rival religions, many elements, by no means akin to piety, were mingled with their proceedings.

One day when the Bishop of Saluces,¹ accompanied by a missionary² and the superior of Coni,³ was about to enter the parish church of Dronier, a voice amongst the crowd pronounced these words, "Ere long there will be no priests, nor monks, nor prelates!" The words certainly ought not to have been uttered; but perhaps it was nothing more than a remark made in a conversation betwixt two persons. Nay, it is possible that these words, even if uttered in an offensive manner, did not proceed from the mouth of a Vaudois, but from the perfidious lips of an enemy seeking their destruction. Be this as it might, this occurrence, which in our times it would be deemed puerile to notice, greatly excited the wrath of the bishop and the indignation of the clergy. It was reported to the sovereign; and as wounded pride exaggerates everything with which it comes in contact, these words were represented as manifesting intentions, and possessing a signification, perilous to the safety of the state, and it was necessary, at the very least, that the reprobation for which they called should extend to all the Protestants.

Count Milliot, to whom the histories now give the title of vice-chancellor, now made another visit to Dronier, and commenced by requiring⁴ that all who desired to enjoy the benefit of the late edict⁵ should come and have their names inscribed in a register to be kept for that purpose. The number of names inscribed accordingly was very considerable, for the number of the Protestants was increasing, and not diminishing. Many even of the Catholics ranked themselves along with them. Rorengo mentions a doctor of laws, a captain, and a physician.⁶ This register of names was afterwards transmitted to the Senate of Turin.

Meanwhile the Catholics constantly sought to surprise the Protestants in the criminal act of public worship; and the Protestants, mistrusting the Catholics, kept upon their guard, went about armed, and were not sparing of disdain and recrimination against their adversaries. Thus the parties became more embittered by their

¹ Ottavio Viale.
² Padre Giovanni di Moncalieri.
³ That of 28th Sept., 1617.

⁴ Fra Marcello di Torino (Capuchin).
⁵ On 2d June, 1618.
⁶ P. 186.

very hostility. In such circumstances it is very difficult to avoid excesses, and the smallest spark will suffice to kindle a flame.

The Protestants were apprised that a noble personage, belonging to the family of Cardinal Almandi, had taken some steps against them. Indignation, fanaticism, and the savage excitement awakened by the wild solitudes to which they had so often been driven, armed the hand of an assassin.

The crime of the individual became a cause of offence against all. It was immediately reported to the sovereign, who, without delay, renewed the severe enactments of the ancient edicts; amongst others, those of the 25th of February, 1602, according to which the Protestant worship, mixed marriages, and the acquirement of property, were absolutely prohibited beyond the narrow limits of the Vaudois valleys. The leases and contracts by which they had taken or purchased lands from the Catholics were therefore annulled. At Aceil they had taken possession of the edifices of the Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit, and there they celebrated their worship. They were expelled from them, and prohibited from returning, under pain of death. Finally, an edict of Charles Emmanuel, of date the 2d of July, 1618, ordained all Protestant heads of families to bring, every man, a list of the names of his household to the magistrates of his canton, under penalty of a fine of 300 golden crowns, and of divers corporal punishments, even to imprisonment and the gibbet; whilst the Bishop of Saluces and the Capuchin missionaries watched, with an inexorable solicitude, to see that no one should enjoy his property beyond the expiry of the three years allowed by the edict of 28th September, 1617.

The fatal term drew near; conflicts became more numerous, especially upon occasion of funerals, at which the edict of 1618 had prohibited the Protestants from assembling in greater number than six persons, as well as from burying their dead in the Catholic cemeteries, or in ground inclosed with walls.

But in most of the communes at that time there was only one common cemetery; and in the towns where the Protestants had made one for themselves they had surrounded it with walls. It was now required that they should deposit the corpses of their brethren on the sides of the great roads, or in uninclosed grounds, open to every comer, and exposed to all profanations.

Besides, their dead were taken from them, to be transported to the cemetery of the Catholics, if it were known that the deceased had received baptism in the Church of Rome. At St. Michael even this was exceeded. A Vaudois woman had been buried for three months in the Protestant burying-place, which was inclosed with

walls. The priest of the parish ordered the body to be exhumed, and caused the half-broken coffin to be carried and deposited before the abode of her friends; one of whom, meeting the sacrilegious priest one evening on a lonely road, gave him some blows with a stick, to revenge this outrage.

Immediately fifty Protestants of St. Michael were cited to Saluces, and many of them were detained prisoners. They were set at liberty by the intercession of Lesdiguières.

At Demont, in the valley of the Stura, a few fanatical Papists, after a supper party, excited by wine, swore death to heretics, and resolved to pursue the first who made his appearance. Having recognized a young man who walked before them as a Vaudois, they drew their swords and attacked him. The young man carried a little axe; and not being able to escape from their attack by flight, he wheeled round and killed the foremost of his assailants. The rest then took to flight; but, some days after, they returned, better armed and in greater numbers, furiously took possession of the village, violated the women, injured or killed the men, flung the children upon the street, and plundered the houses like brigands; then, loaded with booty, they derisively summoned the whole population to appear at Turin.

Here a fact falls to be mentioned, equally honourable to the Protestants and to the Catholics of Demont, that the latter offered to bear a share of the expenses and losses occasioned by these disorders, and by those of the criminal process which followed. This shows how readily the two parties would have lived on good terms with one another, if the breath of Rome had not constantly excited the hatred of her adherents, whom she accused of allowing themselves to be corrupted whenever they displayed any charity. At Dronier, likewise, it was to a Catholic gentleman that the Protestants of the district owed their deliverance from a snare which was laid for them, and from the prosecutions which would have been the consequence of their having been left unwarned. Thus, wherever they were known, the Vaudois found protectors, even amongst their adversaries; the latter also became more Christian by their intercourse with them; for wherever Protestantism has prevailed, manners have always been softened. The missionary monks, who had not come under this influence, sometimes exhibited themselves in the pulpit, bearing a naked sword in one hand and a torch in the other, to exhort the people to destroy the heretics, declaring that it was of no use to make any attempt upon them but by fire and sword.¹ This was a surer method for Popery than to make attempts

¹ *Brief discours*, ch. iii.

by argument. But behold those who call themselves the ministers of God! men who pretend to grant absolution for the greatest crimes, but who have no pardon for the reading of the Bible, or for prayer!

To form a notion of these outrages, we must recollect that the episcopal palace of Saluces was the centre from which proceeded perpetual vexations to the Vaudois. But by and by their enemies went farther, and regretted that they had been spared at St. Bartholomew's-day; it was an error, they said, and must be remedied. Accordingly it was deemed a duty to arrange a scheme for a general massacre of all the reformed in the province of Saluces. Here, also, the members of the Catholic Church showed themselves to be less cruel than their spiritual guides, for the greater part of the inhabitants of the country refused to enter into that conspiracy. However, the design was not given up; but God permitted it to be discovered, and we shall now see how the Protestants came by the knowledge of it.

One of those who had the management of it, Fabricius De Pétris, picked a quarrel with a young Protestant, and attacked him, but was killed himself; and amongst his papers were found written evidences of this conspiracy.

The report of this discovery spread with the rapidity of lightning. The ferment which existed betwixt the two parties still increased. On both sides new excesses were committed every day, of which, however, the Protestants were more frequently the victims. Those of St. Pierre, for example, in the valley of the Vrayta, were expelled from their abodes by the parish priest and the provost of the town. A few days before, five inhabitants of Dronier had also been banished, and had retired to the valley of Lucerna.

It was now the year 1619, and the fermentation increased continually. The vexations to which the adherents of the Reformed Church were subjected, were multiplied upon all sorts of pretexts.

At Demont two Protestant families were cruelly afflicted. And what was laid to their charge? That they had contracted marriage within the degrees of relationship prohibited by the canons of some old council. The spouses were separated; the husbands sent to the galleys, and the wives condemned to be scourged in the public square.

But these judges, so cruelly exact in maintaining the arbitrary prohibitions as to the degrees of consanguinity, to which, moreover, the Catholics alone ought to have been subjected—these very Papists, who so promptly dissolved the family ties sanctioned by a union upon which the blessing of Heaven had been invoked—what respect

had they for virtue? It may be learned from what follows. An apothecary at Dronier, named Marin, had two daughters of rare beauty. Towards the end of July one of the Capuchins of the town sent for this man; the other monks entered his house during his absence, and seized his daughters with violence. A coach waited at the door—it was that of the Bishop of Saluces—the victims of this odious abduction were flung into it and conveyed to Turin, without regard to their tears and supplications, without pity for the distress of their family.¹

A month after² the same bishop caused a poor woman to be apprehended, against whom were brought most singular accusations. "She received at Geneva," her accusers said, "a great black robe; and, clothed in this hearse curtain, she mounted the pulpit amongst the reformed, took a cow's horn, and blew the Holy Spirit through that horn upon those who were present." The book from which we derive these particulars adds, with an air of simplicity, "It must be confessed that this was an invention sufficiently ridiculous!"³ Yet for this was this unhappy woman subjected five times to the rack, and tortured in presence of clerical dignitaries and the administrators of justice in the district. The prefect, the bishop, and the inquisitor, were there; and this in the 17th century! Yes, in the 17th century, but under the dominion of Catholicism. And in the 19th century itself, in 1845, where Popery still reigns, have we not seen a woman condemned to death for the crime of heresy?⁴

Thus passed these dark and troublous days, the storm ever threatening to break. Towards the end of the year 1619, an extraordinary meeting of priests, monks, and popish bigots of every confraternity, was convoked at Saluces, to consult as to the means of dealing effectively and conclusively with the heretics. After a repast, at which all these worthy guests were assembled, they had the leading Protestants burned in effigy, as they could not just yet do the same thing for their persons. These pastimes of the Catholic clergy sufficiently show by what spirit they were animated. They were men of no seriousness and no humanity. Cruelty and buffoonery, baseness and barbarism, were the characteristics of these pre-

¹ All these particulars are taken from the *Brief discours sur les persécutions advenues en ce temps aux Eglises du Marquisat de Saluces*, ch. iv.

² On 22d August, 1619.

³ The point is lost in the translation, depending upon the verbal expression, which cannot be preserved. *Bien cornue*, well-horned, is the phrase for *ridiculous*.—TR.

⁴ This condemnation took place in the Isle of Madeira, in August, 1845. See the journals for the month of September of that year; amongst others the *Débats*, *Siècle*, *Espérance*, &c.

tended ministers of the God of perfection and of love. On the side of the Reformers the discontent went on increasing. A conflict was inevitable, in which the weaker party must perish.

The inhabitants of Aceil, who were nearly all of the same communion, and who had never ceased to hold their evangelical assemblies, still took advantage of their numbers to continue them. The governor of Dronier, Andrea della Negra, was sent against them; he apprehended and lodged in the prisons of Saluces the two distinguished members of the church who habitually conducted these meetings for prayer. The name of the one was Peter Marquisy, of the other, Maurice Monge. The apprehension of the former took place in June, that of the latter in September, 1619. Both of them were shortly condemned to death by the Inquisition.

From this judgment they appealed to the Senate of Turin. It was hoped that some influence might be used with the Duke of Savoy to save them; but that prince was then absent; he had gone to Savoy to receive Christina of France, who was on her way to Piedmont. The senate was thus left to itself, or rather to the suggestions of the dignified clergy, all powerful at court. Most unfortunately for the interests of the prisoners of Aceil, a new tumult had taken place in that town. The governor of the province, the Count of Sommariva, was killed by a shot of an arquebuse, on the hills of Mongardino, to which he had pursued the insurgents. And in unconscious prosecution of those pagan notions so familiar to the Catholics, it was thought necessary to offer up Maurice and Marquisy as expiatory victims to the manes of the governor. These courageous leaders of the church of Aceil were forthwith executed at Saluces¹ about four o'clock in the morning. But notwithstanding the hour, the bishop of the diocese was present at their execution, being conveyed to the spot in his coach. All the particulars of their courageous and edifying death have been preserved in a letter written from Saluces on the morning after their execution, and published at Geneva some days after. Part of them shall be given in the chapter devoted to the history of the martyrs.

In return for so many concessions to the demands of Rome, the new pope, Gregory XV., granted to the Duke of Savoy, by his brief of 27th May, 1621, the privilege of retaining the tithe of ecclesiastical revenues for six years, upon condition of his devoting the money to the extirpation of heresy. The duke grasped the money, and the clergy pressed him to act. In February, 1622, he began to employ these resources, or at least to show that he was husbanding them for the stipulated work, by resuming the prose-

¹ This execution took place on the 21st of October, 1619.

cutions so often instituted against the Vaudois and the reformed of Piedmont, who did not abide within the narrow limits to which the territory of the Vaudois valleys had been circumscribed.

In the month of March following, the members of the church in Praviglelm and the surrounding communes were summoned to appear before the prefect of Saluces, under pain of death and confiscation. They might have repaired thither in so great numbers that the very display of firmness on their part would have awed their enemies. No penalty was yet denounced against those who might have obeyed. What made them hesitate? Perhaps the example of those who had been imprisoned when they made their appearance upon such a summons, with that kind of *vis inertiae* which keeps the peasant from moving from his cottage, and a vague unreflecting fear of the tribunal of Saluces, which had proved so fatal to Protestants. Be this as it may, they did not attend. In place of acting vigorously, of showing themselves united and resolved, and firmly maintaining their rights, they exhibited in their conduct weakness and indecision—a severe censor might even say cowardice, for it is cowardly to abandon the defence of a right, as it is to shrink from the defence of one's native country. Not having appeared within the time prescribed, the inhabitants of Praviglelm and Paësane were all condemned to be banished from the dominions of his royal highness, and to be hanged if they fell into the hands of the authorities. As for their goods, it needs not to be said that they were confiscated. For the exchequer and for Rome, this was the clearest part of the business.

This sentence was passed at Saluces on the 15th of March, 1622, confirmed by the Senate of Turin on the 7th of June, and published at Paësane on the 29th of the same month.

The poor people had recourse to the intervention of Lesdiguières. But what had occurred? Being one day in company with the Cardinal Ludovisio of Bologna, Lesdiguières said to him, "When your eminence shall wear the tiara, I will renounce Protestantism." But eighteen months had now elapsed since Ludovisio had been elected pope, and Lesdiguières had changed his religion at the time he named. As one demits an office—as one delivers over goods upon an appointed day—the great general had laid down his religious beliefs when the almanac informed him that the time was come. However, he had not yet imbibed the inhuman spirit of his new church, and he wrote to Charles Emmanuel in favour of his former brethren in religion in the higher valleys.¹ "They have lived," said he, "without having given offence to any;

¹ This letter is preserved by Gilles, p. 421.

and they have always been countenanced in the exercise of their religion. Whatsoever decree your highness may have issued with regard to others, may it please your highness to permit them to enjoy in peace the benefit of your kindness, which will thus augment, in the persons of these poor people, the obligations which make me, Monseigneur, your very humble," &c. The letter is dated from Grenoble, 29th July, 1622. Lesdiguières wrote with the same object to the French ambassador at the court of Turin; and, in consequence, the Vaudois, without obtaining a formal revocation of the atrocious sentence, received nevertheless a promise that no steps would be taken upon it, and that they might live in peace on the little heritages that had been transmitted to them from their fathers. Some of them, however, who had already left the country, were apprehended on their return.

The same pope, who had received the abjuration of the French general, founded at that time (in 1622) the sanguinary congregation *de propagandâ fide et extirpandis hæreticis*, and canonized Ignatius de Loyola. This congregation was, for nearly a century, the most formidable engine which fanaticism and error ever employed to prevent the triumph of the doctrines of the Bible. But it was in Piedmont especially that the *Propaganda*, that disgraceful offspring of Jesuitism and the Inquisition, perpetrated its terrible ravages. We shall shortly see it at work in the Vaudois valleys. Meanwhile let us attend to its operations in the marquissate of Saluces, where it lost no time in establishing itself, and where it thenceforth became a permanent source of trouble and persecution.

In 1627, the valley of Stura was cruelly tormented by proselytizers. The last vestiges of Protestantism which remained at Carail, were rooted out, according to the heart's wish of the monks by fire and sword. It was now no longer necessary to have been present at the meetings of the reformed in order to be thrown into prison; it was enough not to go to mass. At St. Michael, at Pagliero, and at Demont, the incessant prosecutions to which the Vaudois were subjected, deprived these once flourishing little towns of the peaceful citizens to whom they owed their prosperity, to fill the prisons with victims, and to people the mountains with outlawed men. The greater part retired to France, but, ere long, France also became utterly inhospitable to them. The history of a family has been discovered at Berlin, which left Demont at this period, settled in Provence, and was afterwards expelled from the latter country at the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. What miseries religious wars and antipathies have occasioned!

And how far must the general feeling have become alienated from the doctrine of Christ, ere that impious combination of words, *Religious wars and antipathies*, could be introduced into language!

Some of the many prisoners made by the Propaganda at this period, bought their lives by the payment of a heavy ransom. The fortune gathered by the father for his children, went to enrich convents, jailers, and executioners.

Thus impoverished, decimated, proscribed, and persecuted everywhere, these unfortunate churches of Saluces became weaker daily. For many years, every manifestation of evangelical life, except patience and resignation, was forbidden to them; and if the sacred fire survived in their paralyzed members, it was like the last pulsations of a heart slowly dying in the breast of a motionless sufferer, against whom the tortures of the Inquisition are still ferociously employed. O! why should religious congregations have acted like wild beasts, destroying human beings in this way?

In the higher valleys of the Po, at Oncino, Praviglelm, and Bietonet, the proscribed worship still survived for a time in the retirements of poor cottages and Alpine shepherds' huts. But it was not long that these first and last branches of the great Vaudois family, in the province of Saluces, were exempted from persecution. When the fire has devoured the outer parts, it spares not the heart of the tree.

In 1629, the Count De La Mente, who was lieutenant-general of the duke's armies in the marquissate, imposed a fine of 400 ducats on the Protestants of Praviglelm. They did not make haste to pay it. This, probably, was what had been expected; it was the triumph of the persecuting skill of the *Propaganda* and the clergy. Without loss of time, the Count De La Mente sent four hundred soldiers to Praviglelm to lay waste the fields, carry off the cattle, and plunder the dwellings of the unfortunate Vaudois. The booty was transported to Paësane, and 1000 ducats had to be paid before it was restored.

Another seigneur, envious of the success of this expedition, came some days after at the head of twenty-five men, in order to seize the pastor of Praviglelm, and to carry off some hostages, whom he would not have released afterwards without a heavy ransom. These poor mountaineers were abandoned to all incursions, as a country without a master is abandoned to the first who chooses to take possession. This time, however, they repelled the aggressor, with his twenty-five men; but he came back very soon, accompanied no longer by soldiers, but by monks. A few words will explain the meaning of this new expedition.

The captain of this cowed legion began by ordering all the inhabitants of the district to attend the preaching of the missionaries, under pain of a fine of a crown of gold for each instance of disobedience. The instances were numerous, and, under pretence of making the Vaudois pay the fines incurred, their crops and their goods were again seized. Hereupon the inhabitants of the valley of Lucerna decided upon taking arms, to go to the assistance of their brethren in the valley of the Po. At the same time, their first plunderer, the Count De La Mente, afraid that things might be carried too far, and that he himself might be brought to a reckoning, put an end to these scandalous extortions.

The plague which ravaged Piedmont in 1630, did not spare the inhabitants of these mountains; but this scourge, at all events, did not produce irritation and division amongst men. A new outbreaking of popish zeal soon succeeded it, attended by all these sad effects.

Victor Amadeus had ascended the throne; the nuncio, the prelates, the monkish congregations, and all the representatives of Popery thronged in haste around him. "What a glory it would be for your highness to carry into full effect at last the designs transmitted from generation to generation of your predecessors, and completely to extirpate heresy from your dominions! Not only would it be a glory; it is a duty. It would be the consecration of your accession!—the best security for the blessings of God upon your crown." Such was the language addressed on every side to the new sovereign. He was then forty-three years of age. Notwithstanding the natural firmness of his character, his prudence, and the capacity which he displayed of thinking and scheming for himself, by which he had already obtained the treaty of Ratisbon,¹ and that of Quiérasque,² restoring to him the possession of a great part of his dominions, he yielded at last to these suggestions.

Happily the Vaudois valleys of Lucerna, Perouse, St. Martin, and Pragela, belonged at that time to France; but, next to that great centre of Protestantism in Piedmont, the marquisate of Saluces contained the greatest number of its professors.

The duke issued, therefore, on the 23d of September, 1623, an edict, in the following terms:—

"The princes of the earth being appointed by God, ought to have nothing more at heart than the defence of his religion. Therefore, in order to restore peace to the church, and to give proof of our indulgence to the heretics of Saluces, who have rendered themselves liable to the penalty of death by their continued obsti-

¹ 13th October, 1630.

² 6th April, 1631.

nacy, we ordain that they abjure their errors within the space of two months after the publication of the present edict, and that according to the forms which shall be prescribed to them by the Bishop of Saluces. In this case we will remit to them all the penalties to which they have become liable; but if they allow that term to pass without abjuring, they will be required to quit our dominions, under pain of death."

This was the way in which a sovereign gave proof of his kindness towards his subjects; this was the way in which he pretended to do service to the Christian religion! In this edict, here much abridged, the churches of Biolet, Biétonet, Croésio, and Praviglelm are mentioned by name. It was the death-stroke for these unfortunate communities, and our chapter must now be closed with their last sigh.

Upon the publication of this edict, many Vaudois families, perceiving that the final agony of the evangelical churches of their dear valleys was nigh at hand, silently withdrew into exile, to Dauphiny. At the same time the Bishop of Saluces, exulting in his now approaching triumph, and inflated with the importance which the edict had given him, arrived in these poor villages, escorted by monks and soldiers. The *ultima ratio regum* is also the *ultima ratio Romæ*. Shall I relate how the prelate could make his boast of having converted numbers of those indigent families, who would not have had even a trifle to support them on their journey, if they had left their native land? No; but I will relate how others, abandoning their possessions, retired to the mountains, where, in the persons of these wandering outlaws, amidst the misery and distresses of exile, were extinguished the last relics of that Vaudois Church which flourished so long about the sources of the Po. Their houses were burned and demolished, their goods confiscated, their flocks seized and sold for behoof of the bishop, the monks, and the exchequer.

Let any one compare at the present day the moral and the general condition of the Vaudois valleys in which the gospel has been maintained, with the obscurity and decay into which those of the Stura and of the Po have fallen, from which it was banished at the expense of so much time and so many efforts, and he will see if Catholicism be favourable to the prosperity of nations. If the sphere within which this comparison is made be regarded as too limited, in being confined to these humble valleys, let him pursue in all quarters of the world the same parallel betwixt Catholic and Protestant countries, and he will arrive at the same result.

Thus were these interesting Vaudois communities extinguished,

whose history no one has hitherto written. But the spirit which animated them has not disappeared. May it ever continue to animate what remains of the Israel of the Alps amongst the mountains so long moistened with the blood of martyrs!

CHAPTER XV.

MORE MARTYRS.¹

(A.D. 1535 TO A.D. 1635.)

Inquisitorial proceedings instituted both by the Court of Aix and the Senate of Turin—Martyrdom of Catalan Girardet—The pastor of Pral treacherously murdered—Intercessions of the Elector Palatine on behalf of the Vaudois—The Secretary of the Palatine Legation arrested on account of his being a Protestant minister—Conspiracy against the state, a deceitful pretext for severities against the Vaudois—Sufferings of the French Vaudois—Martyrdom of Romeyer, a merchant of Villar d'Arènes, at Draguignan—Many persons put to death on account of religion—Gaspar Orsel delivered from the inquisitors—Capture and escape of the pastor of Pravigne—Brief notices of sufferers—M. Jean of Marseilles—Secret murders in prison—Martyrdom of Peter Marquisy and Maurice Monge of Aceil—Sufferings and release of Paul Roëri de Lanfranco—The case of Sebastian Bazan—Imprisonment and trials of Bartholomew Coupin—His attempted escape—His death—The brothers Malherbe—Daniel Peillon.

As from each sheaf of a great harvest a grain used to be taken to make up the heap which was intended for the altar, so from each epoch we select a memorial, from each persecution a precious gem of courage and piety, destined to a place in the group of Vaudois martyrs, the offering of their churches on the altars of the true God.

That there may be no blank in this sketch, which is intended to refer to all the events of the history in connection with all the martyrdoms, let us first direct our thoughts to the circumstances which occasioned them.

At the period of the Reformation, the Christians of Provence and of the valleys made common cause with the Reformers. The attention of the Church of Rome was fatally drawn to them in the first instance in Provence, at the gates of Avignon. This Rome of the West could not be expected to do otherwise than contend against the religious awakening which menaced its predominance. The inquisitor, John de Roma, raised the first piles upon the slopes of Léberon. The proceedings against these victims led to the discovery, amongst the heretics of Provence, of many persons from the valleys of Piedmont. The court of Aix wrote concerning this

¹ AUTHORITIES.—The same as in Chapter VIII.

to the senate of Turin, and the senate named a commissioner (Pantaléon Bersour) to go to the places mentioned and take information.

Bersour returned from Provence with numerous particulars of precise information concerning the principal families of the Vaudois of Piedmont, and concerning the high antiquity and the extent of the ministry of the Barbas, which they carried on in silence, that it might bear the more fruit, and of which the distant ramifications were not suspected, even in the very places where they existed.

Like those marine plants which make their appearance on the surface of the waters only by a few green and almost unnoticed summits, but which pass through all the depths of the ocean to fix their roots in the primitive soil, the Vaudois, maintaining always their relation to the primitive church, had passed through centuries, and surmounted the increasing tide of superstition. Possessing no worldly eminence or personal distinction, they were not inapt to be confounded, by an indifferent observer, with the immense mass which surrounded them, and to this lowliness they owed their greatness. Their extension was carried on more successfully in the shade than it could have been in the blaze of day; they avoided the storm which might have broken on their heads; but so soon as attention and inquiry were directed to them, a discovery was made of the whole extent which their association, seemingly of so little importance, had secretly attained.

Bersour, furnished with the informations which he had received in Provence, repaired to the valleys, and continued the inquisitorial proceedings commenced by the court of Aix. Many witnesses were then brought to give evidence concerning this evangelical religion. One of them, Bernardin Féa of St. Segont, being interrogated by the judge who presided in the investigation concerning the intercourse which he had had with the heretics, replied in this manner:—

"Being at Briqueras in 1529, I met Louis Turin of St. John, who took me into his house on business. Our business being ended, another inhabitant of St. John, named Catalan Girardet, came to see us, and invited us to accompany him as far as La Tour, where he said we would hear things that were good; Louis Turin himself pressed me to accept the invitation, and we set out. When we had arrived at La Tour, Catalan conducted us behind the house of Chabert Ughet." (This was probably a descendant of the person who, in 1310, purchased from one of the last dauphins of the Viennois a house in Val Louise, that it might be used for the religious meetings of the Vaudois.) "We entered into a great apartment, where many persons were assembled. There a Barba, named Philip,

preached, and after his duties were over, he asked me some questions, and instructed me in certain points of their religion."

"What did he say to you?"

"That there is no salvation but in Jesus Christ, and that we ought to do good works, not in order to be saved, but because we are saved."

However, as this witness had not ceased to attend mass, he was not disturbed, but a prosecution was commenced against Catalan Girardet, who had drawn him to that meeting.

Compelled to quit the valleys, Catalan was arrested at Revel, about the end of the year 1535, in course of which the evidence of Bernardin Féa had been given against him. He did not for an instant attempt to disguise his opinions; and being strongly urged to abjure them, he replied to the monks who came into his dungeon to tempt him to apostasy, "You will sooner persuade these walls to go on pilgrimage, than a Christian to deny the truth."

The fear of death had no greater effect in shaking his constancy. He was condemned to be burned alive. On the way to the stake, the monks who attended him still tried to persuade him to abjure. "Why should you be obstinate in your heresy?" said they; "your rude and barbarous sect will soon be, like your own flesh, consumed in a moment." Taking up two stones from the road, and rubbing them one against another, Catalan Girardet exclaimed in reply, "It would be easier for me to rub these stones to powder, than for you to destroy our churches!"

This assurance of the martyr was not mistaken. He died firm and serene, his countenance radiant, even as seen through the flames which devoured him, with the blessed certainty of that salvation which he had received, and of that eternal happiness which he was going to receive.

But is death endured for a profession of religion the only martyrdom? And has the Christian, visited with it for Christian works, no right to be also held in pious remembrance? A short time after the Count of La Trinité had laid waste the Vaudois valleys by fire and sword,¹ the pastor of Pral, named Martin, received a visit from two men who had been in the service of the seigneurs of Le Perrier, the cruel and perfidious Truchets, those relentless enemies of the Vaudois, who had already dragged to martyrdom Bartholomew Hector, the seller of Bibles. The pastor of Pral was a native of France; the two strangers called themselves Frenchmen; Martin received them as fellow-countrymen. They then expressed a desire to enter the Reformed Church, and the good

¹ See PART SECOND, ch. ii., of this History.

pastor continued to entertain them as his guests, whilst he sought to instruct them in the way of salvation.

His parishioners, however, warned him to be upon his guard; for there is in the common people an instinctive sagacity, which sometimes gives a presentiment of danger with an accuracy of judgment, independent of evidence; moreover, as these intruders had recently carried arms against the Vaudois, it was natural enough that they should regard them with distrust. Nevertheless, the simple good pastor believed in the sincerity of their conversion, and appealed on their behalf to the charity of his flock against the insinuations which were made respecting them. His benevolent representations did not re-assure the people of Pral, who saw, with so much the more displeasure, these ill-reputed strangers dwelling under the roof of their pastor, that the latter had no family and lived by himself; but the worthy man, considering them almost as his adopted children, continued to treat them with the most generous hospitality.

One morning, however, he did not appear at church at the ordinary hour of public worship. The people gathered anxiously around his dwelling. The door was bolted; they knocked; no one answered. Some neighbours then mounted upon the roof, and penetrated into the interior by a skylight, and presently their cries of grief announced to those without some bloody catastrophe. In fact, the pastor Martin was lying lifeless, and bathed in his blood. The monsters, whom he had received with kindness, had cut his throat and taken flight, after having plundered the house of their benefactor. The Vaudois pursued after the culprits, but in vain; no trace of them could be discovered; but some time after they boldly re-appeared in the valley, being again in the service of the seigneurs of Le Perrier, who thus made themselves their accomplices, and who, perhaps, had been the instigators of this odious assassination. No doubt there was imprudence on the part of the pastor, in the too generous reception which he gave to these cut-throats; but ought not he also to be reckoned a martyr, who died confessing the gospel by the works of a charity carried the length of self-sacrifice, as much as if that self-sacrifice had been made by a profession of religion?

In consequence of the persecutions of which this execrable crime was one of the last fruits, the Elector Palatine sent an embassy to the Duke of Savoy, to intercede with him on behalf of the Vaudois. They were at that time ill used, in a multitude of ways, by the councillor Barberi, whom Emmanuel Philibert had appointed his commissioner to treat with them. The secretary of the palatine's

legation was a Protestant pastor. Barberi, thinking he might do what he pleased, caused him to be arrested by his minions at the very hotel of the ambassador; and without any other cause or pretext than simply that of his religion, he had the audacity to put him in prison. This fact, of itself, may give an idea of the fierceness which then characterized the proceedings against the Protestants; and by this we may understand how much the Vaudois must have displayed of prudence, of irreprehensible probity, of patient endurance, and of active virtues, to avoid giving any occasion to their adversaries, whereby these proceedings might appear anything else than barbarous cruelties, and flagrant acts of injustice. This secretary of legation, who himself was very soon released, wrote them an affecting letter on this subject, of which the commencement is as follows:—

“Dear brethren in the work of the Lord! All things work together for good to them that love God, and the violence to which I have been subjected will give occasion of reflection to his highness, who will from this time, I trust, show himself less prejudiced against you. If it should prove, however, that instead of becoming more mild, and moderating the severity at present exercised, the duke becomes more embittered, be assured that it will be a plain token that God is about to interpose. But I trust that God will have pity on his highness, and hear the prayers, cries, and tears of those who groan under the burden of this horrible persecution, to turn the heart of their prince, and to inspire him with compassion for his people. As to the answers which the Chancellor Stropiano has made to our intercession for you, he accuses you of being disturbers of the public peace.” (Such is the exact expression; so that it will be seen not to be of recent invention.) “He pretends that the Vaudois conspire against the state, and in support of that accusation, he quotes the case of nine religionaries who recently assembled in a frontier town” (at Bourg in Bresse, for that province was then a part of Savoy), “and whom he has caused to be imprisoned as conspirators.”

We shall now examine into some particulars of these pretended conspiracies. A few Christians had met in a private house to meditate together on the word of God; after this exercise they prayed for the triumph of the gospel, when the officers of justice, guided by a pious, that is, a Catholic information, arrived upon the spot, surrounded the place of meeting, and seized all who were present. As the captives protested against this violation of a private abode, and as no cause of complaint could be found against them, they were accused of an imaginary conspiracy. Now, the

men could not prove that they had not conspired, and so they were condemned to the galleys, as persons suspected of having conspired. “There is nothing new under the sun,” says Solomon, and the same parodies on a court and on justice were repeated in 1793, against other doctrines, and in name of another fanaticism.

The Vaudois of Dauphiny and of Provence also paid, at this time, their tribute of martyrs to maintain the constant testimony of the Christian Church against the constant assaults of Antichrist.

The valley of the Grave, which descends from Le Pelvoux in a direction opposite to that of the Val Louise, had, in former times, been enlightened by some straggling rays of that evangelical light, whose centre of radiance was in the midst of the Vaudois valleys. A mercer of Villar d'Arènes, one of the most secluded villages of this valley, after having conducted his family to Geneva, that they might there be educated, and taught to walk in the ways of the Lord, was himself brought back to France by the necessity of attending to his business. Being particularly skilful as a worker of coral, Romeyer repaired to Marseilles in order to buy corals; and on the way he endeavoured to dispose of the goods which he carried with him. Passing by Draguignan, he showed them to a goldsmith of that town, named Lanteaume, who thought them very beautiful, and would have bought them, but the artist and he not being able to agree about the price, they parted without concluding a bargain. The Baron de Lauris was then at Draguignan, the son-in-law of Menier D'Oppède, whose name is written in letters of blood in the history of the Vaudois. Lanteaume, unwilling to allow the treasures which he had seen on the previous evening to pass out of his hands, advised Romeyer to exhibit them to a wealthy seigneur, who would probably purchase them, and named to him the Baron of Lauris. When the covetousness of the baron had been awakened by the sight of so good a prey, Lanteaume went and informed him that Romeyer was a Lutheran. Confiscation of goods followed, of course, upon a sentence of death. The two participators in this meditated spoliation understood one another precisely.

Romeyer was apprehended, at command of Lauris, by the *viguier* of Draguignan, in April, 1558. After he had undergone several examinations, in which he made a frank confession of his faith, the court of Draguignan met for his trial. An Observantine monk, who preached in that town during Lent, said, “I shall sing a mass to the Holy Spirit, that he may suggest to the judges to condemn that cursed Lutheran to death.” But his mass did not produce all the effect which he expected from it; for a young advocate having

risen at the bar of the court, pointed out that Romeyer had not been guilty of any offence, that he had neither preached nor taught his doctrine in France, that he was a foreigner, and did nothing in Provence but attend to his trade, and that therefore justice ought to protect him and not to condemn him.

All the bar supported this doctrine. The votes of the court were divided, one half for acquittal, and one half for condemnation. And of what sort of magistrates was this court composed? The following fact will show. One of them, named Barbesi, having heard the firmness spoken of, which Romeyer had shown in his examinations, came to see him in his prison. He was, as Crespin tells us, an illiterate, fat, ill-formed man, with a flat large nose, a hideous aspect, a sluggish disposition, and addicted to gluttony and lasciviousness. On his entrance, he coarsely addressed the prisoner: "What place do you belong to? What are you? What do you believe in?" "I am a native of Dauphiny," was the reply; "I dwell in Geneva; I trade in coral; I believe in God and in Christ my Saviour." "Do the people of Geneva believe in God? Do they pray to him? Do they serve him?" said the judge. "Better than you!" was the quick reply of the poor captive, whose feelings were wounded by such suspicions and language. Accordingly Judge Barbesi voted for his condemnation; but in consequence of the equal division of votes, the condemnation could not be pronounced.

The Observantine monk, who made this, so to speak, his personal affair, and who already saw the credit of his prayers and his masses singularly compromised in public opinion by the uncertainty of the court, caused the bells to be violently rung, got the populace to run together, and exclaimed that good Catholics ought not to suffer an infamous heretic, a Lutheran, a man already damned, to come and defile with impunity by his presence the devout town of Draguignan. He then went with his passionate advices to the official and the consuls of the town, representing to them that it concerned their honour to maintain intact the excellent reputation of their beloved city; and all together, supported by the ragged populace and a raging rabble of priests, proceeded to the doors of the magistrates, exclaiming that if they did not condemn the heretic to be burned, they would themselves be denounced to the parliament, the king, the pope, and all the powers of the world and of hell, in order that they might be punished.

This is what Popery calls religious fervour. This worthy monk had perhaps a little too much zeal! it might be hesitatingly admitted by the hypocrites of our days, whom Rome still makes

much of as her most faithful adherents, but who give small evidence of Christianity.

The king's lieutenant, who at that period represented the government, reminded them of the respect due to judicial forms, which must not be violated, even in the case of this heretic. "Let him be put to death! Let him be put to death!" replied the people. "To the fire with him! To the fire with him! Let him be burned!" exclaimed the clergy. The magistrate above-named, not being able to appease the tumult, promised to go to Aix to refer the matter to the parliament, analogous to the *Cour Royale* of the present time. The populace would have dispersed, but the monk prevented them; and the consuls of the city sanctioned this sort of municipal comitè with their presence. It was resolved that four persons should go to Aix at the expense of the commune, to accompany the *Procureur du Roi*, and urge the condemnation of Romeyer. These four deputies were the first consul, by name Cavalien, Judge Barbesi, the advocate-general, and a registrar. But on the way they met one of the presidents of the court of Aix, named Ambrois, who said to them—"You surely need not make so much ceremony about the burning of a heretic." The deputation made haste to return, that they might hurry on the sentence of death, and the king's lieutenant pursued his way alone. Having arrived at Aix, he laid the whole matter before the court, which called up the case before itself, and interdicted the court of Draguignan from pronouncing sentence.

But fanaticism does not so readily let go its hold. Barbesi set out again for Aix, and obtained a decree that sentence should be pronounced in the court of first resort. This was, in fact, to obtain the condemnation, or rather the judicial assassination and legal tortures of poor Romeyer. He was accordingly condemned to undergo, first the rack, then the wheel, then to be burned alive, and that by a slow fire.—O justice! O charity! But did Popery ever know you?

Romeyer might still have escaped the infliction of this atrocious sentence at the expense of an abjuration; but the monk who was sent to make this proposal to him declared, as he came out from the prison, that he found him *pertinax*, and that he was a man already damned. The language of these men was as barbarous as their manners, as cruel as their doctrines.

The priests were immediately requested to announce, in all the surrounding parishes, that on the 16th of the month of May would take place, in public, the execution of a frightful Lutheran; and in the town of Draguignan proclamation was made, by sound of

trumpet, that every good Catholic should bring wood for the pile.

The king's lieutenant, who had endeavoured to save Romeyer from this unjust execution, withdrew from the town, that he might not be a witness of it. But his substitute, accompanied by a number of judges, both civil and ecclesiastical, as well as by the consuls of the town, repaired in the morning to the prison of the condemned man, in order to apply the torture. They displayed before him the rack, the cords, the wedges, the bars of iron, and, in one word, all the instruments of torture invented by the successors of the martyred apostle. They said, "Denounce your accomplices and abjure your errors, instead of exposing yourself to these tortments." "I have no accomplices," replied Romeyer; "I have nothing to abjure, for I profess nothing but the law of Christ. You now call it perverse and erroneous; but at the day of judgment God will proclaim it just and holy, to the confusion of its transgressors."

"Whereupon," says Crespin, "being placed upon the *gehenna*, and fearfully pulled by the cords, he cried without ceasing to God, that he would have pity upon him for the love of Jesus." "Implore the Virgin now!" said these idolaters. "We have only one Mediator," he replied. "O Jesus! O my God!—grace! grace!" and he fainted. "For upon his refusal the torture had been recommenced," says the chronicler, "and that in so violent a manner, that he was left for dead." Then the monks and the priests unloosed him from the wheel, fearing lest he should expire without being burned. The bones of his arms and legs were broken, and the points of the displaced parts of bone stuck out through the flesh. They gave him some cordials to recal him to life. He was then removed to the place of execution, and fastened by an iron chain to the stake, which rose from the centre of the pile. Even now a monk addressed him, saying, "Call upon the Virgin and the saints!" The poor mercer of Villar d'Arènes made a sign with his head in the negative. Thereupon the executioners set fire to the pile. As it was composed, in great part, of branches and bushes, the flame at first rose with rapidity, then the half-burned fuel sank together, so that the martyr remained suspended to the stake above the devouring fire. His inferior members were shrivelled, his entrails running out, and his poor body already half burned below, when his lips were still seen to move, without any sound proceeding from them, but attesting the martyr's last invocation of the Divine Being—his last appeal to that Christ who died for him.

And doubtless that appeal was heard. And doubtless that vengeful prophecy shall be fulfilled, which for eighteen centuries has been suspended over the head of the Apocalyptic monster, whose sins have reached up unto heaven, and whose mouth has drunk, unto intoxication, the blood of saints and of martyrs. Yet we are told that we ought to employ, with regard to the papacy, that reserve in expression which is proper enough in the case of a wicked man for whose conversion we may hope, but not as to the inveterate wickedness of ages! The tree is to be judged by its fruits; and if the old trunk, which has served as a gibbet for so many victims, bears fruits less fatal in our day, it is because of its decrepitude: but restore its strength or trace it to the source of its bloody sap, and you will find it the same as ever. Let it be known, and it must be condemned!

There were also three unfortunate persons who, in 1563, were left to die of hunger at Cabrières, in a deep pit; and forty persons put to death by the sword, the rope, or the fire in the valley of Apt; forty-six at Lourmarin, seventeen at Merindol, and twenty-two in the valley of Aiguës. All these crimes were perpetrated fifteen years after the fearful massacres of which notice has been already taken.

But, to give an example of the arrogant opposition which the Inquisition sometimes made to the will of the sovereign, and even to the edicts which he had signed, disputing with him for its victims. After the articles agreed upon at Cavour in 1561, between Emmanuel Philibert and the Vaudois, they ought not to have been proceeded against in any way, for anything that had taken place during the war of 1560. However, a man belonging to St. John, Gaspar Orsel by name, had been made prisoner at that time, and to save his life he promised to become a Catholic; but after the peace had been concluded, he returned to the sincere profession of his faith and religion. The inquisitors caused him to be watched by spies, and in 1570 he was seized, tied with cords, and conveyed to the prisons of the Holy Office at Turin. Against this the Vaudois reclaimed, on the ground of the amnesty which had been granted. The duke ordained the inquisitors to release their prisoner, but they refused to obey. The Edict of Cavour was laid before them, which this detention contravened. "Our order is not subject to the secular power," replied the worthy Dominicans. They were very willing to take advantage of that power, but not to bow to it. Upon this, Philibert, irritated, informed them in reply, that all the frocked legions upon earth would not make him break his word, and that they must forthwith set the

captive free, if they did not wish cannon to be sent to bury them under the ruins of their den.

On this unexpected language, the Holy Office found it necessary to yield. Orsel was set free, and the Duke of Savoy wrote to the Vaudois on the 20th of November, 1570, through the governor of the province, to re-assure them that they need no longer entertain any fear regarding further proceedings based upon similar promises of abjuration. The firmness which he showed in this instance in compelling respect for the edict which he had issued, is honourable to the character of the prince; but that edict itself had been obtained by the firmness which the Vaudois displayed in legitimate self-defence. The obstinacy of the Holy Office alone cannot be praised, for it was obstinacy in evil.

Although it thus appears that the attempts of the papal party were not always successful, but that those escaped against whom they were directed, I think it right to quote some other examples of their evil-doings, to give an idea of the dangers with which the Vaudois were perpetually surrounded.

The reader will remember that when they were menaced in one valley by the princes and seigneurs who ruled in it, they often retired to another beyond the bounds of their authority, or more powerful to resist them.

The pastor of Praviglelm, himself a native of Bobi, had already found such a refuge in the valley of Lucerna in 1592. It was at the time when the Duke of Savoy had just seized upon the marquisate of Saluces, and found his possession of it disputed by France. Some time after, beginning to think that he might be able to keep hold of his conquest, he began also to manifest a disposition to repress the reformed. The people of Praviglelm now received information that a project was on foot for seizing their pastor. They resolved to save him, and assembled for the purpose of opening a path for him through the snows towards St. Froure. But they were surprised by a company of soldiers belonging to the garrison of Revel, which seized the minister, and bore him off a prisoner. This took place during the night of the 27th of February, 1597.

The Vaudois immediately made the utmost exertions to have him restored to liberty. The governor of Revel gave them to understand that they might attain their object by the offer of a considerable ransom. The sum was speedily procured, for misfortune had given the Vaudois a spirit of devotedness; and the incessant perils which menaced them all, had created amongst them a feeling of unity and mutual sympathy, which realized that say-

ing of St. Paul, "If one member suffer, all the members suffer with it."

But the Inquisition had no desire to hear of ransom and enlargement; it preferred blood to money; and the garrison of Revel having been obliged to remove to a distance for some military operations, the report went that the inquisitors were coming to carry off the prisoner. His name was Anthony Bonjour. His brother-in-law obtained leave to pay him a visit, under pretext of shaving him. Whilst performing this operation, he contrived to whisper into his ear with what danger he was menaced, and to slip a parcel of ropes under the apron which he had put upon him, saying in a low voice, "Put this in your pocket, and as soon as I am out of the way, lose no time, but let yourself down over the walls, at the rocks behind the castle, into the wood." And when he had taken leave, and before the minister had apparently recovered from his perplexity, he turned back, and said, "Save yourself, Master Anthony, save yourself; flee quickly, or you are lost!" The minister thereupon ventured to attempt his escape in this way, and reached without accident the base of the rocks upon which the castle was built. Meeting no one, he set out in the direction of the mountain; but he had not gone far when he met face to face a male and a female servant of the governor, who were returning to the castle. "Ah! you are making your escape," said they to the minister. "In God's name, let me flee," said he, "for they want to take my life." The persons to whom he spoke were of the common people; the sentiments of humanity had access to their simple souls; and so these servants held their peace, and the fugitive succeeded in reaching the steep and wooded slopes which overhang the town.

Scarcely had he fled, when there were heard in the castle and neighbourhood much noise of arms and of horses, military cries, barking of dogs, and, in short, all the agitation which ensues upon the discovery of an important escape.

As for the poor pastor, after having waited till evening in the impenetrable thickets in which he had hid himself, seeing the tumult succeeded by a calm, he bent his steps for Praviglelm, and arrived there in the middle of the night. His family were at prayer, his friends in distress, his congregation in dejection; but on the unexpected news of his deliverance (for he had been more than six months a prisoner), on the arrival of the father of the family, there were, says a contemporary, "around the good pastor restored to his flock, tears and rejoicings more than can be described."

In connection with this occurrence a strange coincidence must be

noticed. It was to the absence of the governor and garrison of Revel that Bonjour owed his success in making his escape. The troops of that place had been sent against the Vaudois of the valley of Pragela; but the Vaudois were victorious, and made the governor of the castle of Revel himself a prisoner. "Ah, Sir!" said the leader of the Vaudois, "it is you who keep the minister of Praviglelm a prisoner." "I received orders to do so," he replied, "but that prisoner has always been well treated in my castle." "We will treat you in the same way here," said the Vaudois; "but you shall remain in our hands, as an hostage, till he be set free."

The men of Praviglelm, however, having assembled in arms, to the number of more than a hundred, conducted Anthony Bonjour to the place of his birth, in the village of Bobi, situated at the bottom of the valley of Lucerna. "He is now in safety," said his former jailer, on learning this news; "you asked me for his liberty; now he has it—grant me mine." Messengers were sent to Bobi to make sure of the fact. The aged pastor acknowledged the humanity which the governor of Revel had shown him, and the Vaudois of Pragela set the governor at liberty. This was being more generous than he had been, for they spared him the perilous chances of an escape, in which, perhaps, he would not have succeeded so well as his former captive.

Thus God in his goodness so ordered it, that this noble personage received the recompense of his humanity, and the humble minister of the valleys would have had, in this unexpected hostage, the means of deliverance secured to him, if his attempt at escape had not been successful. Anthony Bonjour continued to perform his pastoral functions in the valley of Lucerna for more than thirty years after this time, and died at Bobi, on the last day of October, 1631, after having escaped the ravages of the pestilence in the preceding year, and exercised the ministry of the gospel for more than half a century.

But the prisoners in general, and especially those of the Inquisition, by no means obtained so favourable an issue of their captivity.

That same year (1597) an attempt was made to carry off the pastor of Pinache, Felix Huguet; his house was plundered, and his papers carried to Pignerol, but he escaped the ravagers. Instead of this prey, which they had missed, the inquisitors caused his father and his brother to be seized, and they were thrown into the prisons of the Holy Office. The latter came out of prison at the end of three years, but after a promise of abjuration, which altered and saddened him, as if he had lost his soul. As for the aged father, nothing could shake his constancy. Threats and tortures

assailed him in vain; disease weakened him without overcoming him; the desire of seeing his family again, and of being warmed in his last days by the sun of his native spot, had no greater effect in bending him to submission. He died slowly, put to death by being thus buried alive; and in the depth and darkness of his dungeon, resigned his soul into the hands of Him who is the light and the life, not only for a few days of sorrow here below, but also to all eternity.

Nevertheless, amidst his sufferings, without earthly consolation, in these deep and gloomy subterranean cells, where his groans died away without an echo, he must have spent many hours of great distress. He had also hours of delight. One night, at the time when the universal silence of the sleeping earth rendered more perceptible the distant noises which communicated their vibrations to the sides of their dungeon, the two captives of Pragela (for his son was still with him) heard, through the walls of the prison, Christian hymns and psalms sung by unknown voices in the neighbouring cell.

After some days of labour, the wall was pierced; and the Huguets, father and son, entered into communication with their brethren in captivity. "For these nine years," said one of them, "I have lain buried before my time in this tomb; but I rejoice that God gives me strength to suffer so long for his gospel. The truth is so glorious! Salvation is so precious! My blessedness daily increases, and I confidently hope to continue thus, singing psalms and confessing the truth, to the very end of my life." The name of this martyr is not known.

There were in that prison Vaudois, Piedmontese, and foreigners. One class were destined to die in public, another to have life slowly extinguished in the bowels of the earth. There were dungeons above dungeons; in the deepest the captives were left to die of hunger. There were others in which they were crushed under a stone table, which was moved by chains; sometimes also they were poisoned, or died of sickness. The most privileged died by the hand of the executioner.

The brother of another Vaudois pastor was amongst the number of the prisoners. His name was John Baptist Gros. The inquisitors, oftener than once, offered him his liberty, on condition that his brother Augustine should come and take his place. What a justice is that of Popery! The son of this unfortunate prisoner was also apprehended some years after. He endured a long captivity, with the same courage which his father had displayed. Firmly resisting all solicitations to apostasy, he at last obtained his deliverance; but he wasted away and died some time after, having contracted his mortal disease in the dungeons, whether it was properly disease or the

effect of poison. Another minister of the valleys, named Grand-bois, died also, it was never known in what manner.

That same year (still 1597), travellers returning from Turin said in the valleys, "We saw brought out of the dungeons of the Inquisition a venerable old man; tall, emaciated, sickly, but resigned, with white hair and a gray beard, whom they conducted to the square before the castle, to burn him alive. Enfeebled as he was, his look was full of spirit; and his courageous bearing and pious behaviour sufficiently told the cause of his death, for he could not speak; they had put a gag on his mouth; but he retained his firmness to the last. Although we inquired amongst the crowd, we were not able to find out his name, nor whence he was." "Alas!" said a young surgeon of Coni, who heard this, being then at La Tour, where the story was told, "these marks lead me to believe that this martyr was M. Jean, of Marseilles, with whom I became acquainted at Coni, in the following way. One evening I was in the Place de Notre Dame, where the governor of the town then was with some monks, when I saw a man pass by, such as you have just described. The governor interrogated him:—'Whence come you, Sir?' 'From Marseilles, Sir.' 'Whither are you going?' 'To Geneva.' 'What to do?' 'To live according to the law of God.' 'Can you not do that at Marseilles?' 'No, for they want to compel me to join in the mass, and in idolatry.' 'And are we, then, idolaters here at Coni?' 'Yes, Sir.' Thereupon the governor, much enraged, caused him to be imprisoned. I was often employed to convey to him alms and offerings on the part of the members of the church in our own town. He was incessantly singing psalms in his prison. The governor threatened him with the gallows if he continued it. 'As long as I live,' said he, 'I will sing the praises of my God, and as for death, I fear it not.' We were very urgent with the governor to have him restored to liberty. At last we obtained his liberation. He went to Turin, where I have learned that he had some discussions with the monks, and since that time I have heard nothing more of him; but, after your story, I must believe that his soul now reposes in peace in the bosom of his God."

The means employed against the evangelical Christians of the valleys were sometimes much more expeditious. During that same year (1597), Sebastian Gaudin, of Rocheplate, was taken and hanged at St. Segont. At a later date (in 1603), Frache, of Angrogna, who had been one of the Vaudois deputies assembled on the 19th of November, 1602, in the palace of the counts of Lucerna, to confer with these seigneurs concerning the sufferings to which the valleys had been subjected, was allured into a lonely house near

Lucerna, and never came out of it. The particulars of his death are not known, but it is probable that he was secretly assassinated. Two men of Le Villar perished in the same manner, in a house apart from all others in La Tour, where the troops of the Baron of La Roche had been placed in garrison. This was in 1611. These men disappeared without any one knowing what had become of them; but after the departure of the troops, their bodies were discovered under a dunghill. They still bore traces of the torments to which they had been subjected before they were slaughtered.

Mention has already been made, in the history of the Vaudois churches of the former marquisate of Saluces, of two faithful servants of God, who sealed with their blood the living faith of their souls.

Peter Marquisy was one of the elders of the evangelical church of Aceil; he held also a situation as a notary, and, according to the terms of the contemporary narrative from which we derive these particulars, "he acquitted himself very worthily, both in the one office and the other, always employing himself with great zeal in the advancement of the truth."¹ But the zeal on which God looked with approbation was to work him injury among men. Compelled to flee from his native country in order to escape the hands of his persecutors, he retired to Grenoble, where he suffered both from sickness and poverty. "The Reformed church of this place," adds our narrator, "can testify that he lived free of reproach, enduring, with all patience, the trial of his affliction." But he was unwilling that his family should suffer by his absence, and, with a view to put his affairs in order, he returned to Aceil in July, 1619. His intention was not to remain there long; but so soon as the murderous slaves of Popery were apprised of his arrival, they commenced to watch his movements, and by and by he fell into their hands. He was first cast into the prisons of the castle of Dronier; but ere long he was transferred to the dungeons of the Inquisition at Saluces.

A companion in affliction was given to him. With the lawyer was joined the soldier; but although their occupations had been so different, their lives were really the same; they were brethren in the faith, and they were brethren in martyrdom. The name of the new prisoner was Maurice Monge, or Mongie. He, as well as Marquisy, was a native of Aceil. Belonging thus to one place, they had, no doubt, oftener than once, partaken of the same communion, and could support one another in their common misfortune. Having shared together in the delights of Christ's table, they could encourage one another to bear testimony for him by their death. "We

¹ *Brief discours des persec. advenues du Marq. de Saluces, chap. iii.*

have had fellowship in his grace," said these Christians to one another, "let us go on to the fellowship of his sacrifice!"

Maurice Monge, it would appear, was a distinguished soldier; he had won honourable rank by his valour. He came to Saluces to ask pardon for his countryman, on the ground of an edict of toleration, recently obtained from the Duke of Savoy by the solicitations of Lesdiguières. But far from obtaining his request, he himself was deprived of liberty; the Inquisition claimed him as a prey of which it had got hold, and he was compelled to share the chains of him whom he had hoped to deliver.

The charges against Marquisy did not, however, seem to be so serious as to involve his death. He was accused of having failed to show proper respect to a Capuchin; of having read in public a Protestant book; prevented a Protestant woman from becoming a Catholic, and led a Catholic woman to embrace Protestantism. The two latter charges rested on no positive evidence. As for Maurice Monge, he was accused of being a *relapsed* person; and he frankly avowed that, having been at mass by constraint, he had hastened to return, as soon as he could, to the evangelical worship. "Do you believe," he was asked, "that our Lord Jesus Christ is corporally present in the host?" "O! as for that," said he, "I never believed it." "To the fire! to the fire!" exclaimed the judges. And from that time it was thought that this saying would cost him his life. Nor was the anticipation erroneous.

The two Vaudois were condemned to death, by a sentence pronounced on the 1st of October, 1619. They appealed to Turin. "But," says the narrative already quoted, "they could find no advocate nor procurator who would defend them; every one, indeed, saying that the cause was just and the sentence iniquitous, but no one daring to take up the case, for fear of being ruined." The papal nuncio, the Archbishop of Turin, and other ecclesiastics, actively exerted themselves to obtain a confirmation of the sentence of death, and easily succeeded, where, in fact, there was no opposition. Nothing now remained but to carry it into effect by a double murder.

On a dark autumn morning, before even the sun was up, on Monday, the 21st of October, 1619, the Bishop of Saluces left his palace in his carriage. Does he go to administer consolation in some case of great distress? What a zeal prompts him to go out so early in the morning! Let us follow the episcopal chariot. It stops before a scaffold. At the same moment a troop of soldiers and of monks approach the same spot. They come from the palace of the Inquisition, and bring with them the two captives of Aceil,

who perceive that the hour of their death is come, and ask time to pray, but it is refused them, and the executioner immediately seizes upon Marquisy, in order to terminate his life. Some field-labourers, who have risen early for their work, and some of the humbler class of inhabitants of the town, who have got notice of the execution, hasten to the scene of death. Marquisy attempts to address them, but the executioner seizes him by the throat, and the soldiers strike him with their weapons. These words, however, escape from the lips of the martyr: "I see the heavens opened, and the angels wait for me!" "They are devils that wait for thee! damned wretch!" exclaims a monk. The bishop looks on from the window of his coach. The victim is dead, and the bishop still looks on. Another is brought; it is Maurice Monge. "Behold the corpse of your acolyte in heresy, misbeliever that you are!" says the fanatical monk. But Maurice, at that solemn moment, was above the reach of insults; they could not discompose his serenity. He deigned no reply to the unfeeling coarseness of the monk, but turning his eyes upon his friend, he said, with a mild voice, "Courage! we have gained the victory!" And thus he died, without ostentation and without weakness. He had braved death in the service of his prince, and how could he fear it in the service of his God!

Other prosecutions and other executions followed these. But nothing equalled in horrors the massacres of 1655, the terrible scenes of which would, of themselves, furnish a complete martyrology. Let us dwell, in preference, upon those rarer instances, more pleasant to contemplate, in which we find the persecuted obtaining their deliverance.

A skilful physician, Paul Roëri of Lanfranco, had come and settled in La Tour, in order to live there, without restraint, according to the gospel. Originally belonging to the neighbourhood, he was followed to his new residence by the reputation which he had acquired in Piedmont, and the Papists saw, with a jealous eye, the consideration and scientific enlightenment of the valleys thus augmented.

This physician, occupying himself in preparation of the medicines which he used, and in compounding which he almost exclusively employed vegetable substances (which, in these mountains, possess a remarkable energy), was accused, upon account of his crucibles and alembics, of spending his time in the fabrication of base money. One Sabbath, in the month of October, 1620, Roëri, having gone to the place of worship in St. John, was surrounded as he came out after service, by a troop of constables and officers of justice, under the directions of one of the principal seigneurs of the

valley. The congregation, irritated at this procedure, surrounded the officers of justice in their turn, and might have made an end of them, by closing in upon them in anger, as easily as a sportsman chokes a bird in his hand; but the gentleman *sbire*, perceiving the danger, went into the church, and protested with an oath that religion had nothing to do with the cause of this arrest, and that if the innocence of Roëri were established, he would immediately be set at liberty. "No! no!" cried some of the Vaudois, "he is not guilty, we will answer for him." "If he is not, I swear by my honour," replied the gentleman, "that I will bring him back among you safe and sound."

After some further protestations, he was allowed to go away with his prisoner. The latter wrote from his dungeon, a few days after: "Dear brethren of the Val Lucerna, remember me in your prayers. The Lord grants me the means of writing to you, though I am bound to the strictest secrecy regarding it; I bless him for it, and acknowledge that this affliction is a rod in his hand, for the just correction of my faults. However, dear brethren, as to the crime of which I am accused, I swear before God that I am innocent of it. Were my soul naked before you, as it is before him, you would not see in it one thought which had the least connection with anything of the sort. Be so good, then, as to bestir yourselves without fear, to get me out of this place, with the help of God; whose will, however, and not mine, must be done."

A deputation was sent to the seigneur who kept him prisoner, to obtain his deliverance; but he refused to release him before his case had been tried. Roëri was then transferred to the prisons of the senate of Turin. A great number of letters were exchanged betwixt him and his brethren in the faith. The accusation fell to the ground of itself; but fanaticism stood firm. The prisoner was told that he would be delivered over to the Inquisition if he did not abjure without loss of time. The question was then no longer one relative to the fabrication of base coin.

The gentleman who committed him to prison had given his promise as a guarantee for his enlargement; but of what worth are the promises of oppressors? The curiosity of worldly people was of more advantage to the poor captive. His skill in distilling had been spoken about; the proceedings with regard to him had attracted much attention to his laboratory; the seigneurs of the court represented to Charles Emmanuel that science was interested in the preservation of such a practitioner, and that his highness himself might find a pleasure in seeing his experiments. And, in fact, the duke caused Roëri to be brought to his palace, placed a laboratory

at his disposal, was present at the preparation of some medicines and essences, tried them, approved them, retained the skilful preparer of them in his service, and finally authorized him to return to the valleys. But he made him revisit Turin from time to time, to resume his operations in the laboratory of the palace, and renew the pharmaceutical stores of the royal household. "Roëri," says Gilles, "was carried off by the plague of 1630, after having rendered great assistance to those who were sick of the plague in St. Germain and the Val Pérouse, whither he had retired, as well as to all those of the neighbourhood."

Whilst the French possessed Piedmont (from 1536 to 1559), we have seen that a great number of towns, as Turin, Chivas, and Carignan, had pastors and places of worship belonging to the reformed religion. The town of Pancalier was also of this number. "Its inhabitants," says an old author, "used mostly to belong to the religion, and had the public exercise of it." Amongst the principal families of this city, figured that of Bazana or Bazan, of which we have now to speak, and that of Rives, which was allied to it. When liberty of conscience was extinguished in Piedmont, these noble families retired into the valley of Lucerna, where the evangelical worship was still permitted. But whilst his family still dwelt in Pancalier, Sebastian Bazan had already spent some years at La Tour, there to receive religious instruction; and at that time had formed a very intimate friendship with a young man of that country, Gilles, who was the companion of his studies, and who became afterwards the narrator of his martyrdom. In consequence, no doubt, of the recollection of this former friendship, and of the wants of the religious life, of which his sojourn in the valleys had made him sensible, Sebastian Bazan afterwards formed the desire, and adopted the resolution, of transferring his abode thither. After the death of his father, he and his two brothers and their families, accompanied by their aged mother, came and fixed their residence at La Tour. "He was," says Gilles, "a very zealous defender of the Protestant religion, a man of sincerity, and an enemy of all vice, so that the enemies of virtue and of truth could not easily endure him; but for the rest, he was a man held in great and universal esteem, and of good reputation."

He went to Carmagnole on the 26th of April, 1622, and the Papists sought to seize him. He was known for his courage as well as for his probity, and his adversaries therefore took precautions against the resistance which they thought he might attempt, and in which his valour might have made him successful, and surrounded him on all sides, leaving him no means of defence. He

remained a prisoner for four months in the dungeons of that town, after which he was conveyed, on the 22d of August, 1622, to those of the senate of Turin.

The courageous captive did not want intercessors for his liberation, and Christian friends to console him. But the latter alone were successful. "What favours God has granted me in your letters and your prayers!" he wrote to Gilles on the 14th of July; "for every good thing comes to us from God, even the blessing of friendship, and it is he who endows his own with strength and hopefulness in their trials, such as our adversaries cannot credit, who accordingly seek to make us yield by long imprisonments, and by perpetually urging us to abjure; but I am assured that the Lord will never forsake me, and will sustain me to the end." In fact, as the Bible tells us, it is not a vain thing to trust in him; and Sebastian Bazan proved for himself the truth of the declaration. "My case," he continues, "has been remitted into the hands of his highness, from which I presume that if any great man who was in favour with him could be employed in it, my deliverance could easily be obtained." It was, indeed, already in itself a boon to be removed out of the hands of the inferior magistracy, always goaded on by the clergy; above all, it was a great matter to escape from those of the Inquisition. "Be so good," continues Bazan, "as to visit my family, and exhort my wife to remain constant in the fear of God. She has need to be affectionately admonished, and gently remonstrated with, which you know better how to do than I to write about it." Finally, commending himself to the prayers of his friend, he concludes with this most touching prayer, expressing the sentiments of a Christian in the language of a soldier: "May God work with his own hand to bring us to perfection, that, resting on his holy promises, we may triumph gloriously with our captain, Jesus Christ, in his glorious heavenly kingdom! From the prisons of Turin, this 14th of July, 1622."

His hopes, certainly, were not disappointed as to the life to come; but as to his terrestrial deliverance, they were. Instead of his case being remitted to the humanity of the sovereign, he passed from the prisons of the senate to those of the Inquisition.

Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch'intrate! says Dante, speaking of the gates of hell. Yes! princes have been harsh, cruel, pitiless; but with them there was at least room for hope; in the horrors of Popery heaven and earth disappear, and nothing remains but hell! Yet never was reception more signalized by a slimy affectation of kindness and tenderness, than that which Bazan met at the Holy Office. Mild and flattering words, expressions of interest and even

of affection, fervent and pious solicitations were in the first instance employed to get him to abjure. But the adopted son of the Vaudois valleys knew well enough that the most sanguinary monsters can give to their voices the gentlest tones, as the savage lynx attracts the sheep by imitating the bleating of lambs; and the calmness with which he remained steadfast in his convictions, in place of augmenting the esteem of his adversaries for him, had only the effect of drawing out their wrath. The most terrible threatenings succeeded the tenderest appeals. After threatenings came tortures; the lynx showed his teeth. But the victim did not yield; and the monster that held him captive did not grow weary of sporting with his torments.

Then, indeed, was the time to make intercession for the unfortunate prisoner; but the Inquisition, when it has got the scent of blood, does not let its victims escape. Yet powerful intercessions in favour of poor Bazan continued to be made in great number. Lesdiguières himself wrote to the Duke of Savoy. "I have been accustomed," he said, "to address my supplications to your highness, certain beforehand of not being refused." Alas! Catholic although he had become, he was still unacquainted with Popery. "I request of your highness the life and liberty of one called Sebastian Bazan, detained in the prisons of your city of Turin. He is a man with whom no fault can be found, except as to his religious opinions; and if those who profess the same religion with him ought to be punished with death, then great Christian princes, and even your highness yourself, will have difficulty in re-peopling your dominions. The King of France has granted peace throughout all his kingdom to those of that religion, and I boldly counsel your highness, as your very humble servant, to take the same way. It is the surest means of firmly establishing tranquillity in your dominions."¹

Lesdiguières did not confine himself to this single letter; he wrote also two others, still with the same object. The Duke of Savoy insisted upon the Inquisition's acceding to these requests of humanity. But the inquisitors replied, with much mildness, humility, and apparent regret, that this case was no longer in their hands, but had been submitted to the decision of Rome. After this, some months more passed. For a year and a half, by a resignation which indicated both strength of conviction and energy of character, Sebastian Bazan protested against the violence which was done in his person to the Christian religion. And this constant firmness of a noble spirit, always serene and resolute, notwithstanding the de-

¹ Dated from Paris, 15th February, 1623.

pressing effect of the treatment received in the dungeons, encircles the head of the martyr with a halo of glory not less pure than that of the courage, more briefly tried, which braves the punishment of death.

But for Sebastian Bazan this glory also was reserved. On the 22d of November, 1623, sentence of death was notified to him. He was condemned to be burned alive. "I am contented to die," he mildly and courageously replied, "since it is the will of God, and will be, I trust, for his glory. But as for men, they have pronounced an unjust sentence, and they will soon have to give an account of it." Was it a mere fortuitous coincidence, or was it in truth an actual judgment of God? I know not; but he who had pronounced this unjust sentence, received the stroke of death that very evening in his own house. He died, therefore, even before the condemned man. Next day, however, (the 23d of November, 1623,) was the day fixed for the execution.

Before leading Sebastian Bazan out of his prison, they put a gag in his mouth, to prevent him from uttering gospel truth at the stake. But whilst the executioner was fastening him to it, the gag fell out, and the martyr proclaimed with a loud voice the cause of his death. "People," said he, "it is not for a crime that I am brought hither to die; it is for having chosen to conform myself to the word of God, and for maintaining his truth in opposition to error." The inquisitors made haste to put an end to this sort of language by causing the pile to be kindled. Then Sebastian Bazan began to sing the hymn of Simeon, in the metrical version of Theodore Beza, that touching hymn of the churches of his native country, which the faithful sing after having refreshed their souls in the communion of their Saviour:—

"Laisse-moi désormais
Seigneur, aller en paix,
Car selon ta promesse,
Tu fais voir à mes yeux
Le salut glorieux
Que j'attendais sans cesse!"

But his voice was very soon stifled by the flames, and according to eye-witnesses, many persons, even of high rank, wept on seeing him die.

Several other arrests, followed by cruel treatment, took place at this period; amongst others, that of Captain Garnier, of Dronier, who was apprehended for having conversed on religious subjects

¹ A simple and beautiful versification of the words of the aged Simeon, Luke ii. 29, 30.—Tr.

with one of his relatives. He was tied upon a horse, his hands being bound behind his back, and his feet under the belly of the animal. When those who had him in charge stopped at any hostelry, they left him in this condition before the house, after having attached the chain to the iron bar of some window, or to a ring in the wall. Being conducted in this manner to Turin, he was put in a prison of the castle, which was named the *purgatory*, and afterwards removed to another, called the *hell*. But after long time spent in investigation and prosecution of the case, he was released on a bail of 200 crowns of gold, and his promise not again to converse on religious subjects. He then retired to the valley of Lucerna, where he married; but having occasion to make a journey into Dauphiny, and desiring to revisit the place of his birth, he attempted to return by the valley of Dronier, and was assassinated on the Col de Tende, at the age of fifty-five years.

More particulars have been preserved to us of the last moments of Bartholomew Coupin, who was also settled in the valley of Lucerna, but who was born at Asti, about the year 1545. Having married a young woman of Bubiano, he settled at La Tour, where he carried on the trade of a woollen draper, and exercised the office of an elder in the consistory of that church. The affairs of his business, as well as the associations of his youth, having led him in 1601 to Asti, his birthplace, at the time of a fair, held in the month of April, he found himself in the evening at a hostelry, supping with strangers. Conversation having commenced among them, the person next him inquired where he resided. Coupin named La Tour. "I have been in your quarter," replied the questioner, "and lodged with a townsman, whose wife is from Montcallier." "No doubt it was Monsieur Bastie," said Coupin. "Yes, Sir," said the other; "he is *of the religion*, I have been told." "And so am I, at your service," said the woollen draper. "Do you not believe that Christ is in the host?" inquired the other. "No," replied Coupin. "What a false religion yours is!" exclaimed a person who till then had been silent. "False, Sir," replied the old man—for Coupin was then some sixty years of age—"it is as true that our religion is true, as it is true that God is God, and that I must die." He did not then think how soon these last words were to be realized! Nobody spoke again to answer him; but next day, the 8th of April, 1601, Bartholomew Coupin was apprehended by order of the bishop of that place. The officers of customs in the town had respected his religious opinions; the prelate had less charity, and caused him to be cast into the prisons of his palace.

Does any one imagine that St. John or St. Peter ever had prisons in their houses? But, indeed, their pretended successors are not bound in anything to resemble them!

Bartholomew remained two days in irons, far from his family, afflicted, but calling upon his God, in the unwholesome garrets of that palace, in which one of the dignitaries of the Papal Church complacently enjoyed the light of the sun in his gilded halls, and the sensual delights of the earth at his richly-served table. This was still very unlike the lives of the apostles, nor was it of such a mode of existence that Paul spoke to Timothy, as proper for a Christian bishop. But on the part of Popery, nothing in the way of interpretation or unfaithfulness ought to excite any surprise.

On the day after his apprehension, they brought Coupin a book, intended to overthrow the *Institutions* of Calvin. It had been composed by the previous bishop of Asti, whose name was De Punigarole. "Not knowing how to pass my time," says he in a letter, "I have read the whole of this horrid book, and even from it I have derived some benefit, having learned from it a number of sentences of Calvin, which are quoted in it." Thus the very means which were thought best for shaking his faith, served to confirm him. It was not for want of arguments of every sort, employed to overcome him; for poor Bartholomew was subjected to sixteen examinations of five hours each, before the grand vicar, the advocate fiscal, and a secretary named Annibal. The following are his own words to his family, in a letter which Gilles has preserved: "They asked me, besides what is in the Holy Scripture, about things of heaven, of earth, and of hell, and other things of which I never heard before; and I marvel at the grace which God gave me to enable me to answer, it seems to me, seven times more than I knew. O immortal God! thy word is indeed true, which tells thine own that they need not concern themselves about what they should say when they are brought before men for thy sake; because it shall be given them what they shall answer!" We may form some notion of the extent of these examinations, from the circumstance that frequently a quire of paper was not sufficient to hold all the questions and answers of a single sitting.

"On the 16th of April," says the prisoner, "when I was very much indisposed (for his advanced age, his detention, and his feeble health, had made him quite valetudinarian), they came to seek me in my prison, to conduct me to the tribunal. I passed through three grand apartments, and in the last I saw six prelates and lords gravely seated in arm-chairs.¹ 'Ah! my God!' thought I,

¹ "Sur les chaises," Coupin's letter says.

'this is my death!'" But the bishop saluted him, and, after having named to him the persons present, mildly said to him, "Bartholomew, we have prayed to God for you, that you may acknowledge your errors, and return to the bosom of the church. What say you?" "I say that I am in the true church, and that, by the grace of God, I hope to live and die in it." "If you would renounce that heresy," replied the bishop, "your valley would be all festivity and rejoicing upon your account." "It would rather deplore the news of my apostasy." "Have they no regard, then, for your life?" "Jesus says, 'He who will save his life shall lose it;' and it is eternal life which those who love me desire for me." "Have you nothing, then, which binds you to the earth?" "I have a wife and children; I have also some property; but God has taken away all this from my heart, to put there love for his service, to which, through his holy will, I shall remain faithful until death."

"There were upon the table," adds the martyr, "two Bibles, and a large paper book, on which were written, beforehand, the questions of the examination; and this with so many diabolical inventions, that the most learned man in the world could not have extricated himself from amongst them; and as for me, poor worm that I am, I answered as much as it pleased God; and if in anything I had difficulty as to reasons, I said to them—'I believe what the Holy Scripture teaches, and that is sufficient to prove the truth of my doctrine.'"

On the 29th of April they returned to the charge, to make him abjure. But he said to them—"You lose your time in seeking to overcome me, for I will never esteem myself overcome, knowing that you could not do it if there were a thousand of you against me." They said, "Do you then think yourself so learned?" "No, my lords," he replied, "I am a poor merchant, and very unlettered; but I wish to learn nothing from you in the matter of religion, and, therefore, I pray you to leave me in peace." "O what a peace!" cried the inquisitor who presided at these examinations. "Cursed heretic! obstinate Lutheran! thou wilt go to the abode of all the devils of hell; and thou likest this better than to be reconciled to the holy mother church!" "It is long," replied the prisoner, "since I was reconciled to the holy church, and that is the reason why I am so unwilling to leave it."

In the following month (from the 1st to the 15th of May) he was again frequently examined respecting the worship of images, the invocation of saints, the merit of works, justification, &c.; but in the end he said to them—"My lords, if an unarmed man were attacked by four or five men well armed, how could he protect

himself? You are here opposed to me—so many learned folks, with books and writings prepared; how am I, a poor ignorant man, and without books, able to defend myself?" "You know too well how to do that, you wretch!" replied the inquisitor; "it would be better for you that your skull were not so well furnished." God, who puts the truth into the mouths of his children, puts wisdom and knowledge also into simple and upright hearts. It is not from the head, but from the heart, that the living convictions come by which men are enabled to brave death.

The bishop endeavoured to shake Coupin's determination by the means so well known to the Church of Rome, and which so often succeed with weak minds—the charm which is in prodigies, the power of the marvellous, and all this aided by cruel threatenings, and a long perspective of the torments from which a miraculous conversion seemed the only way of escape. "See you that building that stands there by itself?" said the bishop's secretary one day to the poor prisoner, whom he had brought down to a terrace. "Yes." "It is a prison." "Well!" "It is thirty-two years since I came to this palace." "What has that to do with yonder prison?" "Listen: one day there fell into our hands a singular heretic; nobody knew what he was. He was neither a Jew, nor a Lutheran, nor a Mahometan; nobody could tell his religious creed." "And, therefore, not being able to convict him of error, as they did not know his opinions, they must have released him!" "No: he was walled up over there, and a little nourishment was passed to him through a hole guarded with iron bars." "What became of him?" "He remained there for five years; many priests and monks came to instruct him and exhort him. All at once he was converted; and ever since that time he has done marvellous things." "As for me," replied Coupin, with the simplicity of a Christian, and the affecting good-nature of an old man, "I have but two or three steps to take in order to arrive at the good place of rest, and, by God's help, I will not turn back."

"However," says he himself, "many priests and preachers came also to console me and to disconsole me. The sieur John Paul Laro, a person of great rank, having come to see me, began to assail me about change of religion. 'A nephew of Calvin,' said he to me, 'being on a long journey, passed through Rome, where he fell sick. Being without money, he went to the hospital. Next day they wanted to confess him and to bring him the host, but he refused the sacraments. Having questioned him as to whence he came, they knew what he was, and the pope had him brought into his own presence. There he became a convert, and since that time

he has done marvellous things.' It was always the same conclusion. "Other persons also," says Coupin, "came to tell me similar fables."

Meanwhile, his fellow-countrymen, his friends, and his family, made very urgent efforts to obtain his liberty. All the notables of the valley of Lucerna, including even some Catholic seigneurs, who knew Coupin as an honourable and respected man, addressed a petition in his favour to the Duke of Savoy, from whom there was some hope of obtaining his liberation. The edicts in force authorized the Vaudois to profess their religion; the duke seemed disposed to apply them to the prisoner at Asti, but the Romish Church and the Inquisition always prevented it. "They blew to kindle the pile," says an author of that time.

However, they did not cease to employ, in order to overcome the firmness of the martyr, all the solicitations and all the means which could operate upon the heart of man. He had espoused, as his second wife, the daughter of a worthy notary of Bubiano, John Reinier by name, who had been, in 1560, one of three delegates of the valley of Lucerna, appointed to repair for conference, in name of the Vaudois, to the castle of Cavour.¹ Coupin obtained leave to receive a visit from his wife and his eldest son. They supped together: it was on the 15th of September, 1601. At the close of the repast, the bishop and the inquisitor arrived. "Well, Coupin, have you come to repentance? You see your wife and child: abjure your errors, and we shall immediately set you at liberty." But they made nothing of it, says Gilles; and his pious wife herself durst not ask him to renounce his religion for the love of this world. She could not but weep as she looked with admiration on this invincible firmness of a soul victorious over life. "My dearest," he said to her, "take heed to give good instruction to our children. Be a mother to them all!" (for he had two by his former marriage; their names were Martha and Samuel. The names of the others were Matthew, David, Bartholomew, and Mary). Then, when he had commended them all to the grace of the Lord, they took their last farewell with many tears. Now, after the lapse of three centuries, it is pleasant to think that they are re-united in heaven.

After their departure, Coupin found himself again alone in a lofty prison, for his cell was situated in the uppermost story of the episcopal palace. The friends whom he had at Asti, seeing the hour of his condemnation to approach, excited by the example of his courage, and vexed at the fruitlessness of all the efforts which they made in his favour, resolved, in despair of his case, to de-

¹ See Part II., ch. i.

liver him themselves, and to come and carry him off during the night.

All their precautions were taken with success. They made their way, without any one suspecting it, to the top of the palace, pierced the roof, descended into the garrets, removed a plank of the ceiling, and reached Coupin's prison. The poor man knew not, on hearing this noise, whether he ought to fear or to rejoice. Putting his trust in God, he remained calm. He waited till the ceiling of his cell was pierced, and a dark lantern made its appearance over the opening, when well-known figures presented themselves in the light of that liberty-bringing lamp, amidst the profound darkness of the night. "Silence!" said they to him, "we are friends. Fasten this rope around your body." "And why so much ado? If God think proper to deliver me from this place, he will deliver me without any need of my going out like a robber." "But what if it please God to make use of us for your deliverance? You see to how much danger we have exposed ourselves to come here! God protects us: would you disappoint his goodness and our labour?"

The aged captive suffered himself to be persuaded. Liberty had become more precious to him since he had been deprived of it. They drew him out of his chamber, and then from the roof of the palace they let him down to the street. His liberators followed with all haste, but the jailer and domestics had heard the noise; they rose and gave chase; the gates were opened amidst great din; the friends of Coupin became confused, and took to flight; he alone preserving his composure, but too feeble and too aged to follow them, waited tranquilly in the street till the jailer came to seek for him. He was seized, carried back to the bishop's palace, and shut up in a place of confinement still closer than before. His soul alone was free; his soul was happy, and felt no solitude, for Jesus Christ says to his people—"I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

This occurrence, however, had the effect of quickening the procedure against Coupin, and hastening on the termination of his bodily sufferings. The papers in his case having been sent to Rome, he was condemned to be burned alive. But on the day of execution he was brought forth dead from the prison in which he had been detained. Had he died by a natural or by a violent death? This question has not yet been resolved. Be that as it might, his corpse was cast upon the pile; and whilst Rome raised her chant of victory around the execution fire, the church of the apostles and martyrs, the Vaudois Church, and the living gospel, reckoned one triumph more.

Of these poor victims of persecution, it will be seen that a number had, by their birth, no connection with the Vaudois Church; but they belonged to it by their faith, and, in many instances, had fixed their residence in the valleys. Of this number was also Louis Malherbe, born at Busque, near Saluces, in 1558. After having passed through all the vicissitudes attendant upon the numerous persecutions which the Protestants of his native district were compelled to endure—by turns a prisoner and a fugitive—now enjoying his possessions, and now seeing them subjected to confiscation—wandering hither and thither, but always steadfast in the midst of his eventful life—in misery and in poverty, he only became ever the more attached to the doctrines for which he had so much to suffer. And if we love those things most which have cost us the greatest sacrifices, what must be God's love to those believing souls whose salvation has cost the sacrifice of the Saviour!

Louis Malherbe had taken a wife at Verzol; and, after many changes of residence, he settled at last at La Tour, like Roëri, Bazan, and Coupin.

His family had already paid its tribute of martyrdom. When Castrocaro was governor of the valleys, Captain Malherbe, the brother of Louis, paid with his life for the spirit of independence which animated him. This captain had been noticed by the Duke of Savoy for his valour; and being a person of great consideration in the valleys, he conducted himself as one who should rather be the associate of the counts of Lucerna, than of the governor of La Tour. The governor, upon this account, conceived an envious animosity against him; and on the evening of the 1st of November, 1575, he gratified it by an assassination. Malherbe had gone to sup with a relative; Castrocaro placed one of his officers, named Bastian, with a company of the garrison, in ambush on the way by which he must pass. The darkness of the night favoured their designs: the streets of La Tour were silent and solitary. Scarcely had Malherbe made his appearance when these assassins attacked him at unawares: he drew his sword against them, put himself in a posture of defence, repulsed them at first, and although thereafter more closely pressed, continued to fight, successfully defending himself, and always keeping his face towards his assailants, till he arrived at the door of his own house. It was situated opposite to where the present town's-house stands. The assassins, fearing lest he might escape, augmented their fury. Malherbe struck redoubled blows, with the hilt of his sword, upon the door, against which he had set his back; at the same time, he

repulsed upon all sides the attacks of his adversaries. At the noise of the combat his relatives and friends ran hastily and opened the door, but it was too late. The mortal blow had been given; an instant had sufficed; his wearied arm had left his breast undefended, and he had just fallen, breathing his last. The murderers immediately took flight, and when the door of the house was opened, the corpse of their victim lay alone upon the threshold.

Another brother still, named Hercules Malherbe, was arrested on the 11th of April, 1612, by order of the prefect of Pignerol. But the Vaudois of St. John obtained his release, in virtue of the article of their privileges, according to which no inhabitant of the valleys could be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of his natural judge (in this case the podestat of Lucerna), let the charge be what it might, except for the crime of high treason.

His brother Louis was not so fortunate. Having ventured, notwithstanding advice to the contrary, to go to Busque in the spring of 1626, to receive payment of some money which was due to him, he passed by Verzol, where his wife's family resided. There he had a discussion with a missionary monk, who had been preaching in the church called the church of Les Battus. The monk, who probably had not the advantage in this controversy, assisted by some followers, all ready to use violence in his behalf, caused the old man (for Louis Malherbe had then seen nearly seventy years) to enter into the church, close to where he had his assassin band. They watched the gates; and he sent a messenger in all haste to the inquisitor of Saluces, who, without losing an instant, came to Verzol to bear off the prisoner. No sooner were the Vaudois apprised of this outrage, than they addressed a petition to Charles Emmanuel for the liberation of the prisoner. They grounded their petition on the edicts which authorized them freely to pass through the dominions of his highness, without any one having a right to arrest them, unless in the very act of crime.

Possibly a request enforced by such strong reasons might have engaged the honour of the sovereign to a just compliance with it, for the very maintenance of his own edicts; but the Inquisition, more prompt to slay than the prince to pardon, anticipated the solution of this question by an unexampled catastrophe.

At the very moment when hope began to be entertained of a present happy termination of the old man's captivity, the monks were seen to bear his corpse out of the prisons of the Holy Office, and to cast it contemptuously into a pit dugged in the open field, beyond the walls of the city. The dishonour which marked his burial may be held as an attestation of the firmness which he had

displayed, to his last breath, in not abandoning his religion; but the cause of his death was not discovered. We know not whether his body was entire or mutilated; whether he had been deprived of life by torture or by poison; nor, in short, whether his death had been violent or natural.

When, about the close of the year 1633, the Vaudois of Pravignelm and Paësane were obliged to quit their abodes for the last time, and to retire into the valleys of Lucerna, the monks of the convent of Paësane set fire to the deserted houses, in order to deprive their fugitive inhabitants of all hope of ever returning to them again. Some of them came back to save from the flames their furniture or linen, which they had not been able to carry with them at first; but as they returned to their new refuge, they were arrested by the soldiers of the garrison of Revel. These imprisonments had no object but spoliation; and by abandoning the relics of their property, which they had with peril rescued from the fire, or by paying a heavy ransom, most of them obtained their liberation.

But in this they were not all successful. Daniel Peillon, a man already advanced in years, was apprehended at Barges, and conveyed from Revel to the prisons of the senate of Turin. There he had to contend against the solicitations of the regular clergy, who promised not only to restore him to liberty, but also to reinstate him in full possession of all his property, if he would abjure Protestantism. "God has given me the grace to know his truth," replied he firmly; "I have been happily enabled to persevere in it to my old age, and I am too near death to sacrifice my soul for the sake of living a few days more." In vain did they attempt to make him say anything else. All who knew him, even Catholics themselves, acknowledged his worth; many efforts were made to obtain his liberation, but in vain; he was condemned to the galleys for ten years. One of his judges, a member of the senate, being solicited in his favour by compassionate persons, who represented how cruel it was to condemn an old man to so long a punishment for no other cause than his doctrines, coldly replied, "Ten years of the galleys! what is that for a heretic?" He was, therefore, compelled to undergo this punishment. He was transported to the pontoons of Villefranche, near Nice, and his fellow-countrymen of the valley of Lucerna sent every year one of their number to convey to him some relief and consolation. Every year, also, these charitable messengers returned to announce to the Vaudois that the evangelical galley-slave remained constant in his piety, enduring his punishment, but without regret for its cause.

Peillon became weak in body, but his soul did not bend; he grew old in the galleys, but renewed his youth for heaven.

The wars which ensued a few years after interrupted the fraternal communications betwixt the mountaineers and the prisoner. When they sought to resume them, and new messengers came to Villefranche to convey to him the accustomed tribute of the pious sympathies of his distant friends, upon their inquiring after the aged galley-slave of the valley of the Po, they learned that he was dead.

Thus the Vaudois left martyrs everywhere—amongst the mountains and in the prisons, on the piles, and on the seas. Such are the great examples left us by that age of heroism, faith, and suffering.

But how many other victims breathed their last with the same faith, and amidst equal agonies, of whom no account has come down to us! Unnoticed soldiers, they contributed to the triumph without having part in the glory. Obscurity attended them throughout their painful pilgrimage, and received them in the tomb; victims forgotten upon earth, but not in heaven, they seem greater still enwrapped in their own self-denial. And what matters it though our names may be unknown to men, if only they be inscribed in the book of life! Martyrdom has no need of circumstances which attract human attention, in order to enjoy the blessing of heaven. To devote one's self to Christ, without regard to glory or display, is the sacrifice which is most pleasing to him; and it may be made in the ordinary life of every day, as well as at the last moment of a world-noticed death. Yea, the Christian may contend for his faith in prosperity as well as in suffering, and die for his God in the bosom of his family, as well as on a burning pile.

PART SECOND.

FROM THE TIME WHEN THE VAUDOIS WERE RESTRICTED
WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THEIR VALLEYS, TO THE DATE
OF THEIR TOTAL BANISHMENT.

CHAPTER I.

MATTERS PRELIMINARY TO THE SECOND GENERAL PERSECUTION
OF THE VAUDOIS OF THE VALLEYS OF PIEDMONT.¹

(A.D. 1520 TO A.D. 1560.)

Increasing number of attendants at the public worship of the Vaudois—Building of places of worship—Friendly disposition of the Dukes of Savoy in the earlier part of the 16th century—Pope Paul IV.—Commissioners of the Parliament of Turin sent to the valleys in 1556—Fanaticism—Firmness of the Vaudois—Profession of faith—Threatenings of persecution—Charles and Boniface Trouchet, seigneurs of Le Perrier—Their attempt to seize the minister of Rioclarét—Flight of the people of Rioclarét—An aged pastor and another prisoner burned alive at Pignerol—The people of Rioclarét saved by the other Vaudois, who take up arms for their assistance—Remarkable fate of the seigneurs of Le Perrier—Philip of Savoy, Count of Racconis, at Angrogna—Many instances of violence—Poussevin, commandant of Fossano—His argument in favour of the mass—The syndics of the valleys refuse to send away the pastors—An army collected against the Vaudois in 1560—Vain attempts to bring them even to apparent concessions—Friendly interposition of Count Charles of Lucerna.

AFTER having published the Bible, and confirmed their unity in faith with the Reformed Church, the Vaudois entered upon the public preaching of the glad tidings of salvation.

It will be remembered that the houses of their Barbas had hitherto served them for places of meeting. Thus the primitive church, exposed for centuries to assaults from without, long sheltered its testimony in the retirement of private dwellings. But

¹ AUTHORITIES.—Gilles, Perrin, De Thou.—“*Memorabilis historia persecutionum, bellorumque in populum vulgò Valdensem appellatum, Angrunicam, Lucerneam, Sanmartineam, Perusinam, aliasque regionis Pedemontanæ valles*”
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withal, this unobtrusive ministry was not the less active, and the church all at once manifested an increased strength at the expiry of that first age of concentration. The Vaudois valleys adopted the same method, which must be considered as the method adopted by our Lord. At the date to which our history now refers, all their places of worship were constructed in a single year.¹

The number of hearers who at that time crowded into the residences of the Barbas became too great to be accommodated there, for they came not only from the valleys, but from the plain of Piedmont; and as the parish of Angrogna was most easily accessible to them, they repaired thither in greatest numbers.

One day the throng, assembled in the square of the village, waited till they should be able to enter the pastor's residence, which was already full of people. It was in the month of August, 1555. The pastor taught within; a schoolmaster preached without. "Yes, the times are come," exclaimed he, "when the gospel must be proclaimed to every nation, when the Lord will pour out his Spirit upon every creature! Come and drink at these living fountains of the grace by which Christ refreshes our souls! Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be

incolentem, ab anno 1555 ad 1561, religionis ergo gestorum Anno MDLXII., Gallicè primum in luce edita; nunc vero a Christophero Richardo Biturige, Latine donata. A small 8vo volume of 151 pages, in italics.—The same work, in French, "*Histoire des persécutions et guerres faites depuis l'an 1555, jusques en l'an 1561, contre le peuple appelé Vaudois,*" &c., printed in the same year (1562), a small quarto of 173 pages.—The same work in Crespin, "*Histoire mémorable des persécutions . . .*" &c. Folio edition of 1619, from fol. 532 to fol. 547.—"*Hist. mém. de la guerre faite par le Duc de Savoie Emmanuel Philibert, contre ses sujets d'Angrogne, Pérouse . . .*" &c., traduit de l'Italien." Printed in 1561.—The same work, published in Italian, in the same year.—"*Hist. des perséc. contre les Vaudois, de 1555 à 1561,*" &c. The two preceding works combined into one. Geneva, 1581.—"*Historia ecclesiæ Waldensium,*" &c. 4to. Strasburg, 1668.—"*Histoire des Chrétiens communément nommés Vaudois, pendant les douze premiers siècles,*" printed at Haarlem in 1765. This work had been previously published in Dutch, at Amsterdam, in 1732 ("*Historie der Christenen, die men gemeenlyk Waldensen noemt.*")—"Chronique des Vaudois, depuis 1160 à 1655," published in German, at Zurich, in 1655; republished at Schaffhausen the same year (by Souter; it was the first work of that celebrated printer); translated into Dutch, and published at Amsterdam in 1656, and in French, the same year, at Geneva. See also the general sources of information indicated at the commencement of Part I.—The manuscript authorities are almost none.—"*Relazione dei successi nelle valli di Luserna e Piemonte, l'anno 1559-1634* [without date or place of publication].—"*Histoire mém. de la guerre faite par le Duc de Savoie, Emmanuel Philibert, contre ses subjects des vallées d'Angrogne, Pérouse . . . et autres circonvoisines, pour compte de la religion. Ensemble les articles et capitulations de l'accord proposé audit seigneur par lesdits subjects, au mois de juin, 1561. Nouvellement traduit de l'Italien en Français.* MDLXII. A small 8vo. of thirty pages.

¹ From 1555 to 1556.

filled!" And the people, with increased eagerness, called for the pastor. The pastor was Stephen Noël, whom Gilles, in returning from Calabria, had brought with him from Lausanne. He was obliged to leave his house and preach in the open air. Privacy was no longer possible. A place of worship was constructed upon that spot, and before the end of the year another was built, at the distance of half-a-league. These two places of worship remain to the present day.¹ The pastors read the Bible there, and explained it to the people every day; the people could not be satisfied.

In the other communes the same demand arose for places of worship. Within eighteen months they were all built. What a power there is in evangelical life and activity! "Show me thy faith by thy works," said St. James to the primitive church; and that church pursuing her course of unobtrusive ministration in private dwellings, laboured for centuries to win souls and elevate them heavenwards, as so many temples dedicated to the Lord; and afterwards her places of worship arose everywhere. In the same manner the Vaudois Church, after centuries of hidden life, set open the sanctuary of its teachings, and all the places of worship in its valleys were erected at once. It was not long till they were cemented with the blood of martyrs. Behold the works of our faith! might these worthy inheritors of the primitive Christians have said to the apostle.

But they had been favoured by the kindness of their sovereigns. There is extant a brief of Julius II., of date 8th May, 1506, addressed to the Duke of Savoy, who had interceded for them with the court of Rome;² and for twenty years after the great synod of 1532, the Vaudois still lived undisturbed. "The pastors and other leaders of the churches," says Gilles, "had resolved to conduct their religious services with as little display and noise as possible, in order not unnecessarily to irritate those who only desired an occasion to do them harm."

When prudence does not interfere with devotedness, it increases our estimate of its value; and when, at a later period—after having been brought by Providence to enjoy a publicity of ministrations beyond what they had sought—these intrepid propagators of the gospel had notice given them that they must submit to some restrictions, "Why," said they, "should we diminish the work of God and the field of labour which he has assigned us?" "Armed

¹ The first is that of St. Laurent; the second, that of Serres; they have merely been repaired from time to time.

² *Nobis humiliter supplicari fecisti ut subditis prædictis ne vexentur.* . . . Archives of the Court of Turin, T. 620. Cat. Valdesi; No. (of the series) 620.

bands," it was replied, "will come from Turin and annihilate you."¹ "God will defend what he has set up," said they. And they pursued, with the calmness of courage, the work commenced in the calmness of prudence. It is the character of strong minds; it was that of these evangelical mountaineers.

But when seven places of worship were erected at once in the valleys—when, notwithstanding the execution of Laborie, Vernoux, Varailles, and Hector, who suffered martyrdom at that period, it was perceived that the number of Vaudois students in foreign parts, and that of the foreign pastors in Piedmont increased at the same time with the flocks hungering for the pastures of the Bible—the court of Rome took the alarm, and armed itself with its utmost severity.

The Vaudois valleys and the city of Turin belonged at that time to France. The unfortunate Duke of Savoy, Charles III., so justly surnamed *the Good*, had sought the assistance of Charles V., and from his retreat at Vercil he beheld with sorrow his hereditary dominions alternately made the prey of his allies and of his enemies.

Marcel II., a well-meaning and upright pope, who had manifested some dispositions favourable to reformation, and evinced a desire to introduce it into the Church, having been elected on the 9th of April, 1555, died unexpectedly twenty-one days after his exaltation to the papal chair, being struck, it was said, with apoplexy. His successor, Paul IV.,² more faithful to the spirit of Catholicism, instead of favouring improvement, endeavoured to put a stop to it. Events, at first, seemed to fall in with his designs. The cardinals of Lorraine and of Tournon, the latter of whom had already proved so dreadful an enemy to the Vaudois of Provence, came to Rome on the 15th of December, 1555, to conclude, in name of the King of France, a league against the Spaniards. At the same time the nuncio wrote from Turin to report the progress made by the Vaudois, and Paul IV. took advantage of the return of the diplomatist cardinals to apply to Henry II., with whom he had just been negotiating an alliance, requiring that he should employ rigorous measures against these heretics.

The French monarch accordingly transmitted orders to the parliament of Turin, and that body named two commissioners, St. Julian and Della Chiesa (in Latin called *De Ecclesia*), who were appointed to proceed to the spot, to collect information, to prepare a report, to endeavour to bring over the Vaudois to Catholicism, and to take all steps which they might judge necessary for that

¹ This report was current in the valleys in the month of December, 1555.

² Elected on the 27th of May, 1555.

purpose. These delegates, escorted by a numerous suite, arrived in the valleys in the month of March, 1556. They commenced by issuing a proclamation, in which, reminding the people of the respect due to the authority of the king and of the church, they threatened with the severest penalties those who should resist. The Vaudois replied that they were, and would continue to be, faithful subjects and Christians.

But the irritation of the Catholics against the reformed was great. A man of St. John, who had got his child baptized by the pastor of Angrogna, was denounced to the commissioners, and cited before them at Pignerol. There he received orders to have his child re-baptized by a priest, with certification that if he did not he would be burned alive. The disconcerted villager stood silent. Being urged to reply, he asked time for reflection. "You shall not leave that spot till you decide." "Permit me, at least, to take counsel." "Of your confessor, perchance?" said the vice-president, with a sarcastic air.¹ "Yes, my lord," gravely replied the Christian. His request was granted. "What is he going to do?" said those who were present, one to another. The countryman retired to the most distant part of the room, and fearlessly kneeling in presence of these great ones, humbly addressed himself to God in prayer.

And was not this, indeed, to go to the best counsellor—the friend to whom all distresses may be confided—the only confessor who is able both to absolve and to direct? "What have you resolved upon?" said the magistrates. "Will you take upon your souls," replied the peasant, "the evil which there may be in doing what you require of me?" The commissioners, disconcerted in their turn, sent him away, without insisting upon his compliance.

But all around them fanaticism was breaking out into deeds of violence, and the basest passions were expressed in the most offensive language. "I will cut off the nose of that cursed pastor of Angrogna, if he continues his audacious preachings," cried a man, named Trombaud, in the public square of Briqueras.

The smallest incidents were significant at that time; they appeared, to the lively and simple imagination of the people, to take place under the guiding hand of God. And why should it not always be so? This same Trombaud, travelling by night towards the mountains of Angrogna, was attacked by a wolf, which sprang at his face, and disfigured it; so that he underwent the same mutilation by the teeth of a ferocious beast, with which his hand

¹ The commissioner, St. Julian, was third president of the parliament of Turin, and Della Chiesa third counsellor.

had threatened the pastor. Common-place as this circumstance may seem to us, it was taken at that time for a providential chastisement, and perhaps retarded the bursting of the storm which gathered over the Vaudois.

The commissioners visited the valley of Perouse; they then went to Lucerna, and afterwards to Angrogna, where they entered both the places of worship, and were present during sermon. When the minister had descended from the pulpit, they commanded a monk to get up into it, requesting the congregation to listen to him also. The monk preached on the unity of the Catholic Church, and asserted that separation from it was a crime. "It is that church herself that has separated from the gospel," said the minister, when the monk had finished his discourse; "and, if the honourable commissioners will permit us, we will prove it from the Bible." "We are not come here to hold discussions," they replied, "but to enforce the observance of the king's orders. Recollect what happened ten years ago to your brethren of Merindol and of Cabrières, for having resisted the laws of the church."¹ The Vaudois, without taking any notice of the confusion which these words made of civil and ecclesiastical laws, or of the threat with which they were accompanied, answered with the utmost simplicity, but firmly, that they were resolved to live according to the word of God, and that if the falsehood of their doctrines could be proved to them from the word of God, they were ready to forsake them. The same answer was given to the commissioners in the other communes of the valleys, which they visited in the same manner.

Hereupon they retired to Lucerna, and caused an edict to be published on the 23d of March, 1556, by which they ordained the Vaudois to abjure, and to receive no more preachers coming from other parts, except such as might be sent to them by the Archbishop of Turin. The third part of the goods of offenders was promised to those who should inform against them.

The Vaudois replied by a profession of faith, founded upon the Bible, in the spirit of which they resolved to persevere, like their forefathers, until it should be proved to them that they were in error. "And as for human traditions," they added, "we willingly receive those which serve to promote order, decency, and the dignity of the holy ministry; but as for those which are recommended in order to the acquiring of merit, and to bind and oblige consciences, contrary to the word of God, we absolutely reject them, and would not accept them even from the hand of an angel."

¹ This was an allusion to the frightful massacres which deluged the banks of the Durance with blood in 1545.—See chap. v. of Part I.

The commissioners could not hope to prevail more than an angel, and upon this demanded that the pastors and schoolmasters should be delivered up to them. "If they teach the truth," said the Vaudois, "why take them from us? and if they do not teach the truth, let it be proved to us by the word of truth." All the threatenings and solicitations of the parliamentary envoys failed against that impregnable rampart of the Vaudois church—the Bible—the eternal stumbling-block of the Church of Rome. "Very well," said St. Julian, "keep your schoolmasters and your preachers, but you will have to give an account of your keeping them, when they shall be demanded from you again."

After this the commissioners returned to Turin, and made their report to the parliament, which appointed them to proceed to France, to inform Henry II. of what had taken place, and to receive his instructions for the future. It was not until next year that they returned, and revisiting the valleys, said to the Vaudois that the king commanded them immediately to embrace Catholicism. Three days were allowed them for deliberation. But they did not need long time. "Let them prove to us," said they, "that our doctrines are not agreeable to the word of God, and we are ready to abandon them; otherwise, let them not ask us for any abjuration." "We are not here to enter into any discussion," replied the commissioners, "but to know if you are ready to become Catholics; yes or no." "No!" said the Vaudois.

Thereupon, by an edict of the 22d of March, 1557, forty-six of the principal of them were summoned to appear at Turin on the 29th of the same month, under pain of a fine of 500 crowns of gold for each who should disregard the citation. All disregarded it. A month after, new summonses were sent to some of those who had been cited before, and to all the pastors and schoolmasters without exception. This time, also, they refused to attend. The syndics were ordered to apprehend them, but no one durst lay a hand upon them.

About this time Spain and England declared war against France, and the Swiss cantons interposed their influence with Henry II., in favour of the Vaudois. These events suspended the proceedings against them; and they hastened to profit by the intermission, to prepare a code of ecclesiastical discipline, which was formally adopted on the 13th of July, 1558.

In the following year Emmanuel Philibert was restored to the enjoyment of his dominions.¹ On the 9th of July, 1559, he

¹ With the exception of Turin, Pignerol, and some other towns, which were given up to him from 1562 to 1574. In 1564, the Bernese restored to him the Pays de Gex, which they had seized in 1536, but retained the Pays de Vaud.

espoused the sister of Henry II., who was favourable to Protestantism; and in the commencement of his reign he showed a friendly disposition towards the inhabitants of the Vaudois valleys, whose valour and loyalty were both well known to him.

But the prelates, the nuncio, the King of Spain, and some of the princes of Italy, at the instigation, as Gilles says, of certain gentlemen of the valleys,¹ so plied the good prince on all hands with their solicitations, that he began by forbidding all who did not belong to the Vaudois valleys from going to hear sermon there.² And thereupon commissioners were named, to see that the reformed worship was not celebrated beyond the prescribed limits of these mountains. At their head was no less a personage than Philip of Savoy, the cousin of the reigning duke, who assumed the appellation of Count of Racconis; with him was the Count of La Trinité, whose proper name was George Coste, and the grand inquisitor of Turin, by name Thomas Jacomet. Gilles, who is usually so reserved in his expressions, says of him, that he had the reputation of being an apostate, and a shameless and insatiable plunderer of what belonged to others.

The most really noble of these three personages soon withdrew from the bloody course which they thought fit to open up for the triumph of Catholicism; for it was by their hands that so many stakes were at that time erected, and that the flame of so many piles illustrated the devotedness of our martyr fathers. It was at that time, also, that the valleys of Mathias, Larche, and Méane were so cruelly assailed, of which notice will fall to be taken in the history of Pragela, as well as those of Saluces and Barcelonnette, of which we have already spoken. Amidst such a series of persecutions, it could not fail, ere long, to come to the turn of the Vaudois valleys also. But, forgetful of their own dangers, they were forward in endeavouring to avert those of their brethren. The representations, petitions, and supplications which the Vaudois at that time addressed to the sovereign,³ in favour of their persecuted brethren, had no effect but to attract attention to their own church, which till then had been spared.

The year 1560 commenced in the valleys with violent earthquakes.⁴ At this date, also, the monks of the abbey of Pignerol had

¹ There are letters extant of Count William of Lucerna, showing his participation in this hostility. There are also others of Count Charles, which exhibit him, on the contrary, as the zealous protector of the Vaudois.

² Edict dated at Nice, 15th February, 1560.

³ See on this point the twelfth chapter of Gilles.

⁴ The first of these took place on the 8th of February, at four o'clock in the morning, the second on the 13th of April, in the afternoon.

in their pay a troop of plunderers; and, in the words of Crespin, "they sent them out to pillage, beat, and kill the poor people, and to bring prisoners to the abbey, both men and women, of whom some were most cruelly burned alive, and others sent to the galleys, and some few released for a ransom. Those who escaped from their prisons were so sick that they seemed to have been poisoned."¹

The valley of St. Martin was laid waste by the seigneurs of Le Perrier, named Charles and Boniface Truchet.² In the preceding year they had already attempted to seize the minister of Rioclaret (*the valley of the clear stream*). Whilst he was preaching, they had sent to the place of worship traitors, who, under the guise of simple hearers, were to gather around the minister, and lay hold of him. These hireling villains were at their post. Charles Truchet arrived at the gates of the place of worship with his proud and well-armed troop. He sounded the clarion; his secret emissaries rushed upon the pastor, and endeavoured to drag him away. All the people flew to defend him. The troop attempted to carry the church by assault, but was repulsed; its leader, although of great stature, vigorous, and armed with mail, was in danger of losing his life, for one of these robust mountaineers having got into combat with him, and squeezed him up against a tree, could easily have choked him; but because of his rank, says Gilles, and from motives of humanity, he let him go.

Instead of being thankful, his hostility only grew. Thus it is with base natures. On the 2d of April, 1560, before daylight, he returned to Rioclaret with a troop more numerous than the former, broke open the doors, killed the inhabitants, and ravaged the whole hamlet. But the cries of his first victims wakened their neighbours, who fled without clothes, without provisions, and without arms, to the peaks of the mountains, still covered with snow. "The enemy," says Richard,³ "pursued these poor people far up into the woods, firing many shots at them with their arquebuses: afterwards they came back to the deserted houses, took up their lodgings there, and made themselves comfortable, whilst those to whom the houses and provisions belonged were suffering from hunger and cold: they even asserted loudly that they would not permit them to return, at least until they should promise to go to mass."

Next day an aged pastor, recently come from Calabria, made an

¹ Crespin, fol. 535, second page.

² They are designated, in some documents, as seigneurs of Rioclaret, a commune quite close by Le Perrier.

³ *Hist. persec. ad pop. Vald. ab anno 1555, usque ad 1561.*—Translation of MDLXII., pp. 47-52.

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attempt to visit and encourage these poor fugitives. The troop of Truchet perceived him at daybreak, pursued him, seized him, and delivered him over to the monks of Pignerol, who caused him to be burned alive, with another prisoner from the valley of St. Martin. It is as needless to say that they might have saved their lives by apostasy, as it was needless to propose it to them.

Three days afterwards, however, the Vaudois of Pragela having learned the unhappy condition of their brethren of Rioclaret, assembled, to the number of 400, and resolved upon going to their rescue. Their pastor, named Martin, marched at the head of this troop. From time to time as they advanced, he flung himself upon his knees, with all his men, and prayed to God to give them the victory. Their prayer was heard. The weather was very gloomy, and it was towards evening when they arrived at Rioclaret. The enemy, being apprised of their approach, had made preparations for defence; but a terrible storm, such that the Alps themselves seemed to be shaken when it burst upon their peaks, poured its fury upon the mountain at the moment when the action commenced. After an obstinate combat, the band of Truchet was driven from its positions, and pursued into the ravines, where the soldiers wandered in the midst of the night, and for the second time the unjust aggressor had difficulty in making his escape.

Hereupon Truchet repaired to Nice, where Philibert then held his court, for the city of Turin had not yet been given up to him. "The Vaudois," he said to him, "are rebels; they bring foreign troops into your dominions," (alluding to that band which came from Pragela, in the kingdom of France,) "and they are constructing places of security on the mountains."

A miserable stronghold, indeed, was that to which they had been obliged to retire amidst the snow, half-naked, and without arms or provisions! But the duke could not know these particulars: he was in bad health, and very irritable; and the Truchets counted on his wrath. Yielding, therefore, to their perfidious suggestions, he authorized them to rebuild the fortifications of Le Perrier, which had been destroyed by the French before the restitution of that place,¹ and to burden the Vaudois with compulsory labour. The Vaudois addressed respectful remonstrances to their sovereign; the seigneurs of Le Perrier returned to Nice to counteract the effect of them; and during a pleasure excursion which they made upon the sea, they were carried off by corsairs, and are no more mentioned in history.²

¹ These fortifications were demolished in 1534, or thereabout.

² They were believed for a long time to be dead; but they made their appearance again, after having been obliged to pay 400 crowns of gold for their ransom.

Whilst these things were taking place in the valley of St. Martin, the duke's cousin, the Count of Racconis, had proceeded to that of Lucerna. One day, in the month of April, he ascended to Angrogna, and listened in silence to the sermon of the minister. After the conclusion of the service, he expressed a desire to see the proceedings against the Vaudois terminated. To take advantage of these friendly feelings, the Vaudois sent to him a particular exposition of their doctrines, with three petitions, one addressed to the Duchess of Savoy, another to the duke, and the third to his council.

Six weeks after, towards the end of the month of June, the Count of Racconis returned to Angrogna with the Count of La Trinité. The syndics and pastors being assembled, these commissioners demanded of them whether they would make any opposition to the duke's causing mass to be sung in their parish. They said, "No, if we are not obliged to go to it." "If the duke send you ministers who shall preach to you the word of God in purity, will you hear them?" "Yes; if that word itself be not taken from us." "In that case, will you consent to send away your present pastors, under reservation of a right to recal them, if those who shall be given you shall not appear to you to be evangelical?" The Vaudois having asked time to reflect upon this question until the morrow, replied that they could not resolve to send away their present pastors, whom they already knew to be evangelical, in order to receive others who might not be so. This was too reasonable to admit of being answered; accordingly the commissioners, without attempting to answer it, harshly ordered the Vaudois to send away their ministers without further remarks. In vain the syndics mildly set forth that they had always found them of sound doctrine and holy life, and that they could not expel them without a cause. "They are enemies of the prince," replied the Count of La Trinité, "and you will expose yourselves to great dangers in keeping them among you."

The two noble lords then retired without any act of violence; but all the adversaries of the Vaudois redoubled their insolence towards them. The mercenaries of the abbey of Pignerol, in particular, carried on a lawless course of infuriate violence, and it was at this time that they seized the pastor of St. Germain, whose martyrdom has been already related.

"In the month of June," says Crespin, "at the time when the harvest is reaped in Piedmont, a number of the Vaudois people having gone, according to their custom, to work in the plain as reapers for hire, to earn a little, they were all made prisoners at

different places and times, without their knowing anything one of another; but by the goodness of God they all escaped from their prisons, as if by miracle. Then came the harvest time in the mountains in the month of July, and the people of Angrogna, being one morning in their *muandas* or summer huts [*chalets*], in the neighbourhood of St. Germain, heard some arquebuse shots in the direction of that place; and a little after they perceived a troop of plunderers, to the number of 120, who were advancing towards them. Hereupon they immediately shouted, to give notice to their brethren, and being all assembled, they formed themselves into two troops of fifty men each, the one of which went higher up, and the other lower down upon the mountain. The latter were the first to rush upon the rascally company, who were all loaded and encumbered with booty, and they put them to flight, and pursued them to the banks of the Clusone, where the half of them were drowned." If the men of Angrogna had chosen then to pursue the fugitives, they might have seized upon the abbey buildings, and delivered all their brethren who were prisoners, for the monks had fled to Pignerol; but they could not venture to do it without consulting their pastors, and thus the opportunity was lost.

A few days after, the commandant of Fossano retired into this abbey, after a polemical conference with the Vaudois pastors; and from thence he sent and seized a number of poor people of Campillon and Fenil, with their families and their cattle. Their brethren, alarmed, took to flight. Upon this one of the seigneurs of Campillon offered them his protection, and assured them that they would be left in quiet, if they would pay him thirty crowns. They gave the money, and remained in their abodes. And who was it that then betrayed them? The same gentleman who had caused them to pay him to be their protector, and who now promoted their apprehension. But being warned in time, they took to flight again, and so escaped from that treachery.¹

Meanwhile the Duke of Savoy had transmitted to Rome the statement of their doctrines which the Vaudois had sent him. As they offered to abandon their doctrines if they were proved to be erroneous, and as they had never ceased to invoke discussion for this intent, it appeared only fair to commence thereby. But as this involved a question strictly ecclesiastical, it was necessary to consult the head of the church, and the pontifical decision did not arrive at Nice till near the end of June. "I will never permit," said Pius IV., "that points which have been canonically decided should be opened to discussion. The dignity of the church requires

¹ All these particulars are taken from Crespin, fol. 536, 537.

that every one submit himself to her constitutions, disputing nothing; and the duty of my office is to proceed with all rigour against those who do not choose to be in subjection thereto." The pope would consent only to send to the valleys a legate, who might absolve from all their past crimes those who should become Catholics, and instruct them in their new duties *without controversy*, that is to say, without their examining for themselves.

Accordingly, the governor of Fossano, by name Poussevin, was commissioned by Emmanuel Philibert, on the 7th of July, 1560, to establish in the Vaudois churches certain of the *Brethren of Christian doctrine*, under whose influence intellectual servility would soon have brought about that precious submission so necessary to the Church of Rome.

Poussevin repaired in the first place to the castle of Cavour, situated upon a solitary eminence, like a verdant pyramid in the midst of the plain, opposite to the valley of Lucerna. The castle belonged at that time to the Count of Racconis, who happened also to be there. The Vaudois were invited to send representatives thither. They named three, and one of them was chosen from Bubiano, a town situated close by the gates of Cavour. This one was the notary Reinier, father-in-law of Bartholomew Coupin, one of the martyrs whose story has been already told. On their arrival at Cavour, the governor acquainted them with his commission, and demanded if they would consent to hear the sermons which he proposed to preach in the valleys. "Yes," they replied, "if you preach the word of God; but if you preach the human traditions, which bring it to nought, No." Poussevin did not seem to be offended at this frankness and energy, and replied that he would preach only the pure gospel.

But during this conference, a Vaudois of St. Germain had complained to the Count of Racconis, that the people of Miradol had carried away his cattle, and had promised to return them to him upon payment of 100 crowns, which he had scraped together with great difficulty. "And have you sent them to them?" "Yes; but they have kept both the cattle and the money." "I commend you to Poussevin, said the count; "he will give you full and prompt justice." "You are an ill-bred fellow," said Poussevin, in reply to the poor man's request, "and if you had gone to mass, this would never have happened to you. And I can tell you," he added, "that this is only the commencement of what is in store for heretics." Such were the first proofs of justice and of pure evangelical doctrine, given by the representative of the throne and of the church.

This governor, however, had a great reputation for eloquence, and doubtless supposed that his power of oratory, together with the assistance of the secular arm, would procure him the honour of a ready triumph over the consciences of these poor, good-natured Vaudois, who suffered themselves to be so easily duped. Having therefore announced that he would preach at Cavour next day, to set forth in public the object of his mission, he ascended the pulpit of the largest church in the town, and said, in substance, that he was about to convict all the Vaudois pastors of heresy, to expel them, and to re-establish the mass in the valleys. Two days after he went to Bubiano, where he added terrible threats against the obstinate, and splendid promises for those who should abjure—new auxiliary means, of which he began to feel the need. The Protestants of Bubiano, who formed one-half of the population, were not moved; but the Catholics, their neighbours and friends, with whom they had always lived upon good understanding, actuated both by religious zeal and by natural affection, strongly urged them at once to become Catholics, in order to avoid the calamities with which they were threatened.

This, however, was only the prelude to scenes still more remarkable. Poussevin, having come to St. John, invited the leading members of the Vaudois churches to have a conference with him. The conference took place in the Protestant church of Les Stalliats. "Here," he said, "is the commission which has been given to me;" and he caused the ducal letters patent to be read, from which he derived his authority. "Here now," he said, "is the statement of doctrines presented as on your part; do you acknowledge it?" On their replying that they did, he asked them if they adhered to the sentiments which it contained. "We have seen no reason," said they, "to change them." "Well, then," said he, "you are bound by this paper to repudiate your errors so soon as they shall be proved to you." "And we promise it again," said they. "If that be the case," said he, "I will prove to you that the mass is to be found in the Holy Scripture. Does not the word *massah* signify *sent*?" "Not exactly." "Was not the primitive expression, *Ite, missa est*, employed to send away the audience?" "That is true." "You see, then, gentlemen, that the mass is to be found in the Holy Scripture."

Never did a novice of an advocate, thinking to catch his adversary by arguments from which there was no escape, make a more ridiculous conclusion. But, alas! it had been well if such sophistical quirks had not led to frightful massacres!

The Vaudois, however, respectfully replied that he had made a

mistake as to the term *massah*, which was not to be found in the Hebrew text with the sense which he had assigned to it;¹ and that, moreover, if it were, it would not prove the Divine institution of the mass; also that private masses, transubstantiation, the denial of the cup to the laity, and many other things which were in dispute between them, would by no means be justified by such a line of argument. "You are heretics, atheists, and damned," cried Poussevin in a sort of frenzy; "I have not come to hold discussions with you, but to drive you out of the country as you deserve." This contemptible and coarse reply confounded the hearers, who had accompanied the governor because of the renown of his learning and eloquence, and caused the blood to rush into their cheeks. The governor, however, immediately caused notification to be made to the syndics of the several communes of the valley, that they must expel the pastors, and provide for the maintenance of the priests who should be sent to them. The syndics replied that they would not send away their pastors unless they were convicted of errors in behaviour or doctrine, and that they would make no provision for the maintenance of those of whom he spoke as coming, unless they were equally irreproachable in doctrine and morals.

It was upon this that Poussevin retired into the abbey of Pignerol, as has been stated in the commencement of this chapter. There he passed the month of August, and composed a polemical work, which was refuted by the celebrated and learned Scipio Lentulus, then pastor at St. John, and afterwards one of the pillars of the Evangelical Church of the Grisons.

In the beginning of September, 1560, Poussevin quitted Pignerol to go to Emmanuel Philibert, who was always in bad health and irritable; and before him brought the most odious and calumnious accusations against the Vaudois. They, being informed of this, addressed new protestations to the duke, through the intervention of the good Duchess Margaret, the daughter of Francis I., and that of Renée of France, who had just arrived in Piedmont on her way home to her own country. She was the daughter of Louis XII., and had now for a year been the widow of Hercules II., Duke of Ferrara, in which city she had at a former period attended the preaching of Lentulus, who was of Neapolitan origin. He wrote to her to say that he had found in the Vaudois valleys "a people strongly attached to the true religion, faithful to God and to their superiors, and of exemplary life, but cruelly persecuted in these difficult times; wherefore he prayed her to recal to mind the favour which she used to have for him, and to intercede with their

¹ The Hebrew word *massah* signifies a *burden*, appointed or actual.

highnesses of Savoy on behalf of this poor people." But all these efforts remained fruitless.

The beginning of the month of October, 1560, had now come. The nuncio and the prelates strongly insisted upon the duke's complying with the instructions of the holy father. Why consult him if his decision was not to be respected? It was to aggravate the wrong which the church had already endured by the increase of heretics. The argument was correct. Rome is logical: the deference which had been shown was an acknowledgment of her power, and power requires obedience. The Duke of Savoy, therefore, must needs obey.

He levied troops in Piedmont, promised a full pardon to all condemned persons, fugitives from justice, vagabonds and outlaws, who should enrol themselves as combatants against the Vaudois, in whose sight persecuting fanaticism already permitted its triumphant joy to break out. Their friends at a distance repaired to the valleys, to persuade those who were dear to them to leave the scene of danger. The inhabitants of the plain took away the infants which they had sent thither to be nursed. Catholics of kind and humane disposition, who had relatives in the mountains, entreated those whom they loved to abjure rather than suffer themselves to be destroyed. It seemed that all was on the point of being consumed in a total and inevitable destruction. The consternation was general.

Count Charles of Lucerna, at that time governor of Mondovi, repaired in person to Angrogna, and wrote several times to the Vaudois, to whom he was strongly attached, to persuade them to bend to circumstances, and to submit to the commands of their sovereign, were it only for love of him and of their own families. "Worthy Sir," they replied, "we must, above all, do that which the love of God and of truth directs us." However, a deputation was sent to him by the Vaudois, to thank him for the interest which he took in their fate. "If you will consent," said he, "to send away your pastors, at least whilst this storm shall last, I will go and cast myself at the feet of his highness, to try if I can save you." "We are deeply impressed with your great kindness," they replied, "but we are not empowered to make any such engagement in name of our people." "Ah, well!" he said, "go and consult them, and we will try to reconcile your preservation and your faith."

It was agreed that the reply of the people should be conveyed to him by Peter Boules of Bubiano, the brother of him of whom mention has already been made in the history of the Protestants

of that town. But without waiting for the return of that emissary, Count Charles wrote immediately to his mother, that she should do everything in her power to incline the Vaudois to some apparent concessions. The countess, in her turn, wrote to them, and they replied, that having stated to the Duke of Savoy all that their consciences permitted them to do according to the word of God, they were resolved not to change what they had said. "If the circumstances in which we are placed are serious," said they, "our duties are still more serious. The times may change, but the Bible never changes, and our consciences cannot be altered."

The countess transmitted this reply to her son, who left Mondovi, and came himself to Lucerna, on the 22d of October. He immediately caused the principal inhabitants of Angrogna to be called before him — Rivoire, Odin, Frache, Monastier, Malan, Appia, Buffa, Bertin, and some others. He found fault with them, reprimanded them, exhorted, menaced, showed them that an army was already mustered, and quite prepared to proceed to the greatest severities against them; he conjured them not to be obstinate and to incur certain death; to pay some respect to the attachment which he felt for them, to the compassion with which he was filled, to the urgency which he employed; he even entreated them to send away their pastors. "Is your fate inseparable from that of these men?" he added, in conclusion. "No, certainly, we are not slaves to any man, but to the word of God; our pastors are dear to us, but the word of God alone is necessary to us; let them allow us ministers who preach it, and we will send away those who at present teach it to us." "And if the duke cause mass to be celebrated in your parts, what will you do?" "We will not attend it." After urging them, in vain, to obtain some further concession, the count caused these conditions to be written down.

The deputies retired. Some hours after, the report spread rapidly that they had consented to the expulsion of their pastors and the establishment of the mass. The people of Angrogna were furious. "Rather let us die!" they exclaimed; and pressing like a swelling sea around the astonished deputies, they demanded an explanation. It was given, but was not at all in accordance with the minute of conference already mentioned, which, upon examination, was found to be falsified.

It was the secretary's fault, the count said; but his church had accustomed him to *pious frauds*, another invention of Catholicism, like religious wars: the impious combinations of words are characteristic of Catholicism itself as a whole! And the good seigneur

had thought he might allow himself to employ one of these pious frauds in order to save the Vaudois.

But they had no thought of saving themselves at such a price. The papers were torn in pieces, and the martyr people declared that they could not make any change in their resolutions.

"Let your pastors at least go and hide themselves for a few days," said the count again; "they will come and celebrate mass at Angrogna; you will not attend it; the duke will be satisfied, and the armies will be withdrawn." "But why this hypocrisy?" rejoined these poor people; "must we do good as men do evil, concealing it? No! may God protect us! we will not be ashamed of his ministers, for then he would be ashamed of us."

The count, Gilles says, manifested much grief at the prospect of the miseries which he foresaw. The Vaudois thanked him with great feeling for all that he had done, and assured him of their attachment and respect, but they retired without yielding anything.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE SECOND GENERAL PERSECUTION WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THE VAUDOIS VALLEYS.¹

(A.D. 1560 TO A.D. 1561.)

The army under the command of the Count De La Trinité marches against the Vaudois—Its excesses even against adherents of the Church of Rome—Remarkable proof of the estimation in which the morality of the Vaudois was held—First skirmishes—Successive defeats of the Count De La Trinité—Attempted negotiation—The Count De La Trinité visits the Pra-du-Tour—His perfidy—Combats—Cruelties—A large sum extorted from the Vaudois to secure the withdrawal of the invading army—Further treachery—The Vaudois send their pastors to Pragela—Outrages and horrible atrocities—Unsuccessful deputation to the Duke of Savoy—The Vaudois swear a covenant in the Val Cluson—They adopt measures for more effective resistance—Partial contests, in which the Vaudois are successful—They take Le Villar—Their *Flying Company*—Further defeats of the assailants—Treacherous attempt to engage the Vaudois in negotiations, and to attack them by surprise—Final defeat of the Count De La Trinité, and terms of peace granted to the Vaudois.

WAR was therefore declared. The Vaudois families made haste to gather together the things most indispensable for subsistence, and to retire with their flocks to the fastnesses of the high mountains. The pastors everywhere redoubled their zeal and fervour. The religious assemblies were never more largely attended. The

¹ AUTHORITIES.—The same as in the chapter preceding.

army approached. It was about the end of October. The Vaudois valleys set apart a time for fasting and prayer. After these solemnities, an extraordinary celebration of the Lord's Supper took place, which united all the persecuted in one act of holy fellowship. Thus, without fear or weakness, but encouraging one another, did "these poor people," as Gilles says, "prepare, with incredible resolution and cheerfulness, to receive from the hand of God all the afflictions to which it might seem good to him to subject them. Nothing was to be heard from vale to mountain but the psalms and hymns of those who transported the sick, the infirm, the aged, the women and children, to the securest retreats of their rocks." "So that for eight days," adds Richard, "you could see nothing but people passing and repassing on these rugged paths, diligently bearing luggage and little articles of furniture; as in the summer time the ants incessantly run and travel hither and thither, storing away provisions against the evil days; and amongst these worthy people none regretted his property, so resolute were they to await patiently all the good pleasure of God." The advice of their pastors had even been not to defend themselves by weapons of war, but merely to retire to a place where they might be safe from attack.

The Count of Racconis, Philip of Savoy, who came at this time to the valleys, wrote to his uncle, Philibert, saying, "These unhappy people persist in their opinions, but they are not willing to take up arms against their sovereign; some of them are going away from the place, others courageously await martyrdom in the midst of their families—a marvellous sight, and very piteous to behold."¹

Three days after, a proclamation was published and put up in all the villages of Angrogna, to the effect that all would be destroyed by fire and sword if the Vaudois did not return to the Church of Rome. Next day, being the 1st of November, 1560, the army commenced its march, under the orders of George Coste, Count of La Trinité, and encamped at Bubiano. Hastily recruited, and its ranks filled up with adventurers, it wanted discipline; the soldiers gave themselves up to all sorts of excesses, and began to pillage before they had fought. Believing themselves already in the country of the Vaudois, they made Catholics and Protestants indiscriminately the subjects of their outrages. The former, there-

¹ This letter is dated 23th October, 1560. The following are its words:—*Persistono nella loro opinione, ma non vogliono pigliar l'armi contra di lui. Alcuni se n'andarono; altri aspettando il martirio con moglie, robba, e gran compassione.* Turin, . . . &c. Archives of State. Correspondence of Em. Philibert. (Communicated by M. Cibrario.)

fore, desiring to secure the maidenly chastity of their daughters from the brutal grossness of that lawless soldiery, did a thing worthy of the most admired times. Knowing the rigid purity of the morals of the Vaudois, the strength of their fastnesses, and the devotedness of those who were to defend them, they saw no refuge for their children more safe than these very retreats, and did not hesitate to confide the honour of their families to the virtuous fidelity of the Vaudois cottages. Accordingly, many of them took their trembling wives and children, and left them amongst these heroic mountaineers.

It was surely wonderful to see these young Catholic women committed with confidence to the care of the Protestants, at the moment when Catholicism was marching in arms against them. But this confidence was not misplaced. The Vaudois defended the sacred charge which had been intrusted to them with as much courage and respect as their own families. Without for a moment entertaining the thought of making precious hostages of these young people who were in their hands, and of taking advantage of the circumstance against their adversaries, they generously exposed themselves in their defence, concealing them instead of exposing them to danger; and after having preserved them from outrage, they restored them to their friends, without dreaming of any recompense. Incredible as this fact may appear, all the historians of the times, Gilles, Richard, De Thou, and Crespín make mention of it; and it affords the most beautiful testimony which their adversaries could have rendered to the virtue and generosity of the Vaudois.

On the 2d of November the whole army crossed the Pélis, and encamped in the meadows of St. John. Thereafter it advanced towards Angrogna, extending its wings over all the hills of the Costières. Many skirmishes took place along this great line. The advantage was nearly equal upon both sides; but the little parties left by the Vaudois for defence, found themselves too far separate from each other to act with vigour. They retired, therefore, still defending themselves, to the more and more confined *plateaux* of the mountain. Many of them had only slings and cross-bows.

But the enemy still ascended. This succession of partial engagements had only retarded them, and made them spend the whole day upon the march. On both sides fatigue began to be felt. Evening was come. The Vaudois were now united on the summit of the Costières, towards Rochemanant. There they halted and ceased to retreat. The enemy coming forward, paused when near them, a little way below, and kindled their bivouac fires, to pass the night there. The mountaineers, on the contrary, fell on their

knees, to give thanks to God and to renew their prayers. This act gave occasion to a multitude of railleries and sarcasms in the ranks of their persecutors. Just at this time a Vaudois child, who had got hold of a drum, suddenly began to make a noise with it in a ravine close by. Supposing that a hostile troop had arrived, the Catholic soldiers sprung up in disorder, and seized their arms. The Vaudois, witnessing this movement, imagined that an attack was to be made, and rushed forward to repel it. Hereupon the troops, fatigued and surprised, gave way; they were pursued; they disbanded; and the night preventing them from recognizing one another, or discerning the way, the soldiers took to flight at hazard; the foremost were frightened at the sound of the feet of those who followed them; they flung away their arms, and never halted till they reached the plain, abandoning in one hour all the ground that they had gained by the day's march. But upon their arrival at the base of the mountain, they set fire to a number of houses. In this affair the Vaudois had only three killed and one wounded. Having re-ascended to the field of battle, they rendered thanks to the Lord for this deliverance, and bore to Pra-du-Tour the arms of their enemies.

Next day the Count of La Trinité, having rallied his forces, encamped at La Tour, repaired the fortifications which had been demolished, and placed a garrison there; but his troops conducted themselves so outrageously in that town, that there also the Catholics of the place sent their wives and daughters amongst the Vaudois. The little fortresses of Le Villar, in the valley of Lucerna, and of Perouse and Le Perrier, in the valley of St. Martin, were also garrisoned with soldiers.

On Monday, the 4th of November, a detachment issued from La Tour, and having been joined on the way by the garrison of Le Villar, which had just been driven back from the Combe, proceeded to attack Le Taillaret. The Vaudois seeing these troops of the enemy coming upon them, fell upon their knees, according to the custom of their fathers upon all great occasions; and according to the promise of God, that he will not forsake any who wait upon him, they received a spirit of strength and courage which made them victors. Voluntarily allowing themselves to be first attacked by their adversaries, that they might not, even in a single instance, be the aggressors, they firmly awaited them on the rocks, from which a hail-storm of stones and balls soon repelled the assailants. But the latter returned to the charge; the Vaudois resisted them; the combatants became furious; the more disciplined troop regained the advantage; when suddenly there

arrived from the heights of La Fontanelle fresh combatants, by whom a portion of that troop had already been repulsed. They joined their brethren, who soon again had the best of the combat; the enemy gave way and disbanded; and the Vaudois pursued the fugitives, who uttered many cries and blasphemies on the subject of their rout; but on the noise of the firing, a reinforcement of fresh troops came up from La Tour, who took the Vaudois in the rear. These brave mountaineers faced to both sides, forming themselves into two bodies, of which the one engaged the new-comers, whilst the other completed the rout of the first assailants; this done, the two bodies reunited, and rushing at once upon their adversaries, passed through the midst of them, without leaving one of their number in their hands. In this combat they had only four killed and two wounded; their enemies, according to Richard, bore away whole cart-loads of their killed and wounded.

On the evening before, however,¹ the Count of La Trinité had sent a young lad to Angrogna, with a letter, in which he pretended that he had learned, with great regret, of the collisions of the preceding day. "My troops," he said, "had no object but to go to Angrogna, in order to ascertain if it were a place favourable for the construction of a fortress for the service of his highness and the defence of the country; but having encountered military posts and armed men, they thought themselves defied, and I am greatly grieved at the conflicts which ensued, as well as at the burning of the houses by my soldiers." The treacherous villain concluded by proposing an arrangement.

"It is matter of great regret to us also," replied the people of Angrogna, "to find ourselves assailed without cause by the troops of our lawful prince, to whom we have always been faithful and obedient. As to an arrangement, if it has for its object to convince us of error, by discussion and not by arms, we willingly agree to it; but if it be meant that we should sacrifice in it the honour of God and the salvation of our souls, it is better for us to die all together rather than consent to it." At the same time that they sent this reply, the Vaudois, readily foreseeing what reception it would meet with, despatched a messenger to their brethren of Pragela, to entreat them to come to their aid.

Their letter, however, having been presented to the Count of La Trinité, he did not seem to take the least offence at it, and demanded that the inhabitants of Angrogna should send deputies to confer with him. He received them very graciously, told them that the Duchess of Savoy was favourable to their brethren, and

¹ Sunday, 3d November, 1560.

that the duke himself had uttered in his hearing the following words: "It is in vain that the pope, the Italian princes, and even my council, urge me to exterminate that people; I have taken counsel with God in my heart, and he urges me still more strongly not to destroy them."

Real or fictitious, these words were to be made good. But it does not appear that this was the intention of the Count of La Trinité; for whilst these negotiations were going on, not only did his troops attack Le Villar and Le Taillaret, but scaling the heights of Champ-la-Rama, they endeavoured to cross the mountain which separates the valley of Lucerna from that of Angrogna, in order to gain the bottom of the latter, and to seize upon the Pra-du-Tour, to which a great part of the Vaudois families had retired. These troops, having set fire to some barns, were observed, and were repulsed, as Gilles says, by a valiant combat. A few days after,¹ their general caused word to be carried to Angrogna, that if the Vaudois would lay down their arms he would go with a few attendants to have a mass celebrated at St. Laurence,² and would thereafter employ himself in endeavours to obtain peace for them.

The Vaudois spent a whole night in deliberating whether or not they ought to consent to this. But the desire of showing a pacific disposition—of giving no pretext for the violence of their enemies, and perhaps of not suffering a favourable opportunity to escape for putting an end to this war—induced them to accept the proposal. The Count of La Trinité came, caused mass to be celebrated without compelling anybody to be present, and then expressed a desire to visit that famous place, the Pra-du-Tour. It was difficult to refuse this privilege to the general of an army; but he was requested to leave his soldiers at St. Laurence, to which he consented. Pra-du-Tour is the place where the ancient Vaudois had the school of their Barbas, the secret source of those vivifying missions which they sent to both extremities of Italy. It is not situated on a height, but in a deep recess amongst the mountains. It is the bottom of a valley, savage and austere as the peaks of the Alps, remote from observation, and free from bustle as a nook of the forest. The steep mountain-slopes bring down into this deep dell the head-waters of the torrent of Angrogna, which escapes amongst the rocks. This verdant basin, surrounded with frightful precipices, seems a dark crater yawning at the feet of the traveller

¹ On Saturday, 9th November.

² The name of the principal village of that valley. At the present day it is commonly known by the simple name of Angrogna; but the Catholic church there is still called by the name of St. Laurence.

who views it from the lofty peaks, and looks like an oasis in the desert when he has descended into it. A difficult path, which winds among and around the rocks, is the only outlet by which visitors can enter or depart from it.

By this path the Count of La Trinité did not hesitate to proceed thither. The more and more savage aspect of the mountains filled him with a sort of dread as he advanced. During the whole journey he showed much kindness, consideration, and affability to the Vaudois, who surrounded him with demonstrations of honour. On arriving at the spot he manifested much emotion.

But during his absence his soldiers plundered the Vaudois cottages. The people became irritated; the general hastily returned by the way by which he had gone. At Serres he encountered a soldier who had just stolen a hen, and caused him to be hanged upon the spot. But at St. Laurence, when he was again in the midst of his troops, he inflicted no punishment on those who had pillaged the houses. He immediately led them back to La Tour, and left his secretary at Angrogna to receive the petition, which he himself had undertaken to present to the sovereign. In this petition the Vaudois assured him of their loyalty, and supplicated him to leave them liberty of conscience, that his own might not be charged with their death, before the judgment-seat of God. Vaudois deputies were sent to Verceil to present it to Emmanuel Philibert, who at that time resided there.

After their departure, the Count of La Trinité summoned the Vaudois of Le Taillaret to lay down their arms, no doubt in order that—their mountains being no longer defended—he might accomplish the design which he had formed of getting past the bulwark of the Pra-du-Tour.

The inhabitants of Le Taillaret met at Les Bonnets to deliberate upon this proposition. Meanwhile the enemy, in too great haste to take advantage of it, seized upon their houses, ravaged, plundered, and burned them, and carried off women and children prisoners. The meeting at Les Bonnets, being apprised of what had taken place, rushed to arms, pursued the ravishers, delivered the captives, and then resumed their deliberations. What singular meetings must those have been which were interrupted by such incidents! Scarcely had this meeting been recommenced in that remote hamlet, when the soldiers surrounded it in silence, approached the place in which it was held, suddenly broke into it, and fell upon the members of the little parliament. But they still had their arms, and defended themselves with great energy; the enemy fell back, the Vaudois gained upon them; the conflict ex-

tended into a multitude of partial engagements. An aged man was fleeing away; a soldier ran at him brandishing his sword. The old man, kneeling down, seized the soldier by the legs, flung him down, and then rushing into a ravine, dragged the soldier after him, and flung him over a precipice.

Another patriarch of these mountains, a man of 103 years of age, had retired into a cavern with his grand-daughter. A she-goat, concealed along with them, nourished them with its milk. The young woman was singing a hymn one evening; the soldiers heard her, and, guided by the voice, surprised the cavern, and killed the old man; they would then have seized the girl, but she rushed of her own accord over the rocks, to save her honour at the expense of her life.

All the Vaudois from the lower parts of the valley had retired to the mountains. The troops of the Count of La Trinité plundered and wasted the valley without resistance and without mercy. They soon ascended to Le Villar, where some inhabitants still remained, amongst whom they made a number of prisoners. It was here that a soldier of Mondovi uttered that ferocious saying: "I wish to carry home to my own country some of the flesh of the heretics!" and, rushing like a wild beast upon the first whom he encountered, he bit his face, and tore off a morsel of flesh.

The Vaudois, indignant at such acts of violence, went to complain of them to the Count of La Trinité, to whom, however, they still expressed themselves with much moderation. "Is it not customary," said they, "to suspend hostilities during the time of a capitulation? We have laid down our arms in order to show respect to your word, and to our own deputation, by a calm and reserved attitude; but how is your authority respected by the troops? For we have no doubt that it is entirely contrary to your intentions that such excesses are committed against us." The count excused himself, as usual, by hypocritical protestations. "Ah! if I had been there," said he, "these things would not have happened." And he caused the prisoners to be given up, but he retained the booty.

However, partial vexations still continued everywhere. A band of depredators having commenced to pillage some isolated houses of Rocheplate, seventeen men of that commune successfully repelled them.

A traitor, named Vernon, had promised to seize the pastor of La Tour.¹ He followed him from one place of retreat to another, in order to lay hold of him. One day he got sight of him. "Here!

¹ By name Claud Berge.

here!" he cried to his companions, "*we have caught the chicken!*" But a Vaudois, named Cabriol, who accompanied the pastor, flung so heavy a stone at the breast of Vernon, that the scoundrel was knocked down. He was then killed, and cast over a precipice.

The irritation of the Vaudois still increasing, the Count of La Trinité invited them to meet with him again, that they might examine together the conditions of a solid agreement; and he promised to withdraw his troops, if they would engage to pay a sum of 20,000 crowns. "I will get this sum reduced to 16,000," said the worthy secretary of such a master, "if you will give me now a part of that reduction, in testimony of your gratitude." The amount of this testimony of gratitude was fixed at 100 crowns. The Vaudois, therefore, consented to pay 16,000 crowns (about 50,000 francs).¹ The Duke of Savoy remitted the half of it; there remained 24,000 francs which these poor people must raise. But how was this to be done? Their property wasted, their houses burned, their crops destroyed; unable to borrow, because no one would lend to them; uncertain of what might await them in the future, they were reduced to circumstances of overwhelming trial. They had nothing left but their flocks, which they had succeeded in saving from the plunderers. They resolved to sell them. George Coste insisted that these sales should not take place without his consent; and following the example of his secretary, he sold that consent for a price, to certain rich purchasers, who paid him for the monopoly, and finding themselves masters of the market, bought at a low rate these numerous flocks, the last riches of the unhappy Vaudois. And thus the 8000 crowns were paid.

The army ought to have been withdrawn, but it did not move. A petition was addressed to the general. "You must send me all your arms," replied he. Some arms were sent to him. "Now remove your troops," said the Vaudois. "Give me first," said the count, "a bond for other 8000 crowns; for you agreed to pay 16,000, and you have only paid the half." "But the duke," said they, "has exempted us from the rest." "I do not care for that," he replied; "I know only your agreement." The bond for other 24,000 francs was accordingly signed. "Now send away your troops," they said. "Send away your pastors in the first place," said he, "for that is the essential object of my coming."

The Vaudois, driven to despair, perceiving, but too late, the errors into which they had fallen, fearing lest they might injure the success of their deputation, finding themselves disarmed and enfeebled, and hoping that this privation would be only of brief

¹ About £2000 sterling.

continuance, consented at last to send away their pastors, resolving to convey them to Pragela, which then belonged to France.

But the mountains were covered with snow; the road by the plain was infested by vagabonds, assassins, and robbers, especially by the armed recruits of the abbey of Pignerol. They resolved to cross the Col Julian. The enemy, being apprised of this decision, appointed an ambuscade to be placed in the neighbourhood of Bobi, where the pastors were to assemble, in order to seize them all at once. But the soldiers arrived too late; the travellers had set out two hours before. Hereupon they plundered and ravaged everything; entering all the houses of the village, causing their doors, and even those of apartments and closets to be opened to them, under pretext of seeing that the pastors were not hidden within, and seizing upon whatever could be an object either of cupidity or of lust.

The pastors, however, had succeeded in crossing the Col Julian. They stopped at Pral, and descending from thence to Macel, and again ascending the Col du Pis, they arrived safe and sound in Pragela.

Only one of their number did not accompany the rest—Stephen Noël, the pastor of Angrogna. Having been called, a few days before, to a conference with the Count of La Trinité, he had been strongly pressed by him to repair to the court of the duke, to defend the cause of his church. "It is to my parish that I belong," replied the pastor, "and I cannot dispose of myself without its consent." And it was well for him that he did not quit it; for a few days after, the perfidious Coste sent a party of soldiers to make him prisoner. Noël perceived them, and retired to the mountain; but his house was plundered, his books and papers were carried to the general, who committed them to the flames; forty other houses were rummaged, and everything valuable which was found in them was carried away. On the same evening the soldiers, provided with flaming torches, searched about on the mountain, in order to find the fugitive pastor. Not having found him, the count next day ordered the syndics of Angrogna to deliver him up under pain of death. The syndics replied that they knew not where he was.

The Vaudois deputation, nevertheless, having reached Verceil, the Count of La Trinité withdrew his army to the plain which extends from Briquières to Cavour, but left strong garrisons at La Tour, Le Villar, Le Perrier, and Perouse. The Vaudois were required to provide for the sustenance of the garrisons. "We are," said they, "sheep compelled to nourish the wolves which

devour them." However, they resigned themselves to their fate; and the syndics of Angrogna having gone to carry victuals and money to the garrison of La Tour, were maltreated and beaten in the most atrocious manner.

A party of this same garrison having, on the next day but one, taken the road to Angrogna, demanded to be supplied with meat and drink at a hamlet composed of a few isolated houses. The inhabitants of this hamlet clubbed together, and despoiling themselves, brought all the best that they had, and themselves served the soldiers in a close court-yard. This inclosure was bounded on one side by the dwelling-house, and on the opposite side by a shed, whilst on the two other sides were walls, in which the entrance gates opened one over against the other. Having well eaten and drunken, the soldiers closed the gates, seized upon the men, bound them one to another, and prepared to carry them away as prisoners. But the women set fire to the shed, and threatened the authors of all the violence, that they would burn them alive, with their victims, if they refused to let them go. They hesitated; a combat ensued; the gates were opened, and the invaders escaped with their prey, the children pursuing them, and throwing stones at them. Ten of the captives succeeded in making their escape, but four were carried to the castle of La Tour. They were afterwards given up, upon payment of a large ransom; but they had been so cruelly maltreated, that one of them died the day after he was set at liberty; and another, half-killed, only survived the torments to which he had been subjected, to endure an incredible prolongation of martyrdom. The flesh had been torn away from his feet and hands by the torturers; it fell off in pieces; the bones of his fingers and his toes then came away one after another, and he remained a cripple all his life. Their executioner was the captain of that garrison, a man named Bauster, the same who, having attempted to surprise the hamlet of Les Bonnets, bore off John and Udolph Geymet, whom he brought to so cruel a death.

I say nothing of the young girls who were detained in these infernal dens; the reader may imagine for himself to what frightful treatment they must have been subjected. The other garrisons left by George Coste, conducted themselves in the same manner, *"and did no better,"* says Gilles, without adding a word of reproach to that expression, so pungent by its laconic simplicity.

Thus passed the year 1560; a bloody autumn, a fatal winter, misery everywhere, bereavement even in the smallest families; but everywhere, also, the invincible energy of a supreme confidence in the Lord; in every dwelling the reading of the Bible and its

consolations; the word of life everywhere rising above these cries of death! Such was the picture which the Vaudois valleys then presented.

The deputation which they had sent to Verceil did not return till the commencement of January, 1561. How many hopes had been founded upon it! and how were they deceived! "Scarcely were we arrived at Verceil," said the afflicted deputies, "when the secretary, Gastaud, who accompanied us, and to whom we had already given 100 crowns for the part which he had taken as to the prayer of our petition, snatched that petition out of our hands, and would have us to sign another. Then, instead of giving us a paternal reception, the duke ordered us to prostrate ourselves before him as suppliants—to ask pardon of him for what he called the rebellion of our people. We were compelled, also, to make a like submission to the legate of the Holy See. After we had done all this, we supposed that we might be permitted to return home; but we were still detained for a month and a half, incessantly tormented every day by swarms of monks and priests, who sought to make us go to mass. Finally it was decided that nothing more should be conceded to us than hitherto, and that we should even be deprived of what still remained to us. For all this priestly tribe, this vermin of abbés, and prelates, and monks, left our sovereign no repose, till he would promise to exterminate us all, without sparing so much as one. Accordingly, they are about to send us a multitude of preachers of idolatry, so that we shall no longer have means of subsistence for them; and, in fact, we have seen such troops of monks, and regiments of priests, and crowds of abbés, that there will very soon be no room but for themselves." Such overloading of society with idle priests, indicates the downfall either of the nations which endure it, or of the institutions which produce it.

How overwhelmed, how desolate, in what a posture of discouragement may we now expect to see the whole Vaudois Church! The very opposite was the case. No longer afraid of bringing any evil upon their deputies, who were now returned amongst them—no longer fearing the loss of goods, of which they had already been plundered, nor that they might cause the failure of negotiations for an impossible peace—no longer occupied by any thought of consenting to proposals whose perfidy had been so often demonstrated to them—the Vaudois, feeling more happy in circumstances more unembarrassed, courageously re-installed in each parish the pastor who had been removed from it, rebuilt their places of worship, unanimously agreed upon defensive measures, and everywhere re-

sumed their hymns, their labours, and the accustomed joys and exercises of their Christian life. At the same time, letters came to them from Switzerland and from Dauphiny, by which their brethren in other countries exhorted them not to give way to despondency, but to persevere in courage and prayer, to put all their confidence in God, and not to found their expectations upon men; the brethren in Dauphiny adducing themselves as an example, for the Reformed Church in France was then violently persecuted by the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine. The feeble Francis II., scarcely sixteen years of age, had placed the former at the head of his armies, the latter at the head of his council; and never had religious fanaticism been so powerful; but toleration and the Bible had also illustrious defenders. The Prince of Condé became the leader of the reformed; the Chancellor De L'Hôpital preserved them from the Inquisition by the institution of the Red Chamber [*chambre ardente*], a tribunal erected in connection with the parliaments, and appointed to take cognizance of the crime of heresy. In spite of this, Protestants multiplied in France; why, then, should they be annihilated in Piedmont?

The hearts of men are drawn together by a common danger. The valley of Pragela, which then belonged to Francis II., was threatened with the same calamities as the valley of Lucerna. Then took place one of those solemn and impressive scenes which sometimes elevate modern times to the level of the ages of antiquity, and which seem to be suited rather to poetry than to history, a scene at once heroic and religious, and, above all, grand in its simplicity. A few lines will suffice to describe it.

Deputies from the Val Pélis went to the Val Cluson,¹ in order to renew before God the covenant which had always subsisted among the primitive churches of the Alps. This covenant was sworn by all the people assembled on a platform of snow, over against the mountains of Sestrières and of the chain of Gunivert; where the Cluson takes its rise from the glaciers. Thereafter, the people of Pragela sent delegates and pastors in their turn to the valley of Lucerna. Not being able to follow the ordinary route, by reason of the troops which would have seized them, they traversed mountains rendered almost impassable by the snow which covered them, climbed that of Le Pis, by which they got to Macel, and thence again ascending to Pral, they crossed the Col Julian, in order to proceed to Bobi.

They arrived there on the 21st of January, 1561. The evening

¹ The valley of the Cluson or of Pragela is separated from that of Lucerna or of the Pélis by that of St. Martin or of the Germanasque.

before, proclamation had been made throughout the whole valley that the inhabitants must, within twenty-four hours, make up their minds to go to mass, or to endure all the penalties reserved for heretics—the stake, the galleys, the rack, the gibbet, and all the other corollaries of Catholicism. The expiry of this fatal term coincided precisely with the arrival of the pastors of Pragela. They had just descended to Le Puy, a hamlet of the commune of Bobi, situated on a verdant hill, covered with gigantic chestnuts, at a little distance from the latter village. Without loss of time, the pastor, the elders, the deacons, and the members of the church in Bobi and in the surrounding hamlets, mounted the hill to Le Puy, in order to make known to their newly arrived friends the sad extremities to which they were reduced; and there, says Gilles, after fervent prayers made to God for his counsel and assistance, considering that none of the Vaudois could think of abjuring, and that they had it not in their power to seek refuge elsewhere, and that the purpose of their enemies was absolutely to destroy them, “a thing to which the meanest worm,” adds the chronicler, with inimitable artlessness, “will not submit without resistance,” an enthusiastic resolution was adopted that they should defend themselves unto death. From that moment dates the commencement of the most glorious campaign which the heroic persecuted ever maintained against fanatical persecutors.

The delegates of Pragela and of the valley of Lucerna, standing up amidst the crowd, whilst emotion and seriousness at once prevailed, pronounced these solemn words:—

“In the name of the Vaudois churches of the Alps, of Dauphiny, and of Piedmont, which are all here united, and whose representatives we are, we here promise, with our hands upon the Bible and in the presence of God, that all our valleys will courageously stand by one another in what relates to religion, without prejudice to the obedience due to their lawful superiors. We promise to maintain the Bible, entire and without admixture, according to the usage of the true Apostolic Church, steadfastly continuing in this holy religion, although it should be at peril of our lives, in order that we may be able to leave it to our children intact and pure, as we have received it from our fathers. We promise aid and succour to our persecuted brethren, and not to regard individual interests, but the common cause, and not to wait upon men, but upon God.”

And 130 years later, these same Vaudois, on their return to their valleys, from which they had been expelled by the united arms of Louis XIV. and Victor Amadeus II., renewed, almost in the same

place, on the hill of Sibaoud, the oath of the covenant which we have now recorded.

Scarcely had these words been pronounced, when many of those present exclaimed, "We are required to make an ignominious abjuration of our faith to-morrow: come, then, and let us make a striking protestation to-morrow against the persecuting idolatry which comes upon us with such a demand!" The Vaudois had exhausted all methods of patience and forbearance. It was now the time for them to show some energy. Before dawn of the following day, instead of flocking to the mass, they proceeded in a crowd, but with arms in their hands, to the Protestant church, which the Catholics had already crammed with the trumpery pertaining to their worship. Images, candles, and rosaries were presently flung into the street and trodden under foot. The minister, Humbert Artus, gave out a text from Isaiah xlv. 20: "Assemble yourselves and come; draw near together, ye that are escaped of the nations: they have no knowledge that set up the wood of their graven image, and pray unto a god that cannot save." The resolution of the hearers was wrought up to a higher pitch by his powerful and encouraging discourse. They then set out for Le Villar, in order to purge the place of worship there of the gross fetishes of the Romish idolatry. The Christians of the Alps marched that day, singing that hymn of Theodore Beza—

Loin de nous desormais
Tous ces dieux contrefaits, . . . &c.¹

And this iconoclastic zeal was not at that time a puerile act, but an act of true courage, because it was their response, at peril of their lives, to the capital summons, by which it had been attempted to exact the base abandonment of their religion.

The term allowed by this summons was already past; and the garrison of Le Villar had already marched out to make prisoners. The Vaudois of Bobi met it on the way; it attacked them; they defended themselves, repulsed the garrison, and pursued it even under the walls of Le Villar. The monks, the judges, the seigneurs, and the podestat, who had come thither in order to receive the abjuration of the heretics, had scarcely time to shut themselves up with the fugitive soldiers in the menaced fortress! The Vaudois laid siege to it, placed sentinels and posts of observation and defence, fortified themselves also in their turn, and awaited the progress of events.

The garrison of La Tour, arrived next day to deliver the be-

¹ Far from us henceforth be
These gods which are no gods, &c.

sieged; the Vaudois routed it in the plain of Teynau. It returned in greater force on the following day, but they repulsed it again. Three bodies of troops advanced upon the fourth day and underwent the same fate. The siege lasted for ten days. The Vaudois made powder for themselves, also mines, casemates, engines for throwing stones, and loopholes in the neighbouring houses, in order to shoot over the bastions of the citadel.

The army of the Count of La Trinité was put in motion for the deliverance of this place; but the besieged were ignorant of the attempts made to rescue them; and the besiegers pressed on the attack with increased vigour. The garrison was speedily reduced to the last extremities. It was in want of provisions and of ammunition, and was obliged to knead bread with wine, for want of water. At last it surrendered, upon condition that the lives of the soldiers should be saved, and that they should be accompanied by two pastors, thus showing, says Gilles, that they put more confidence in these so much-hated ministers, than in any other parties; and the ministers who were granted to them justified this confidence, for the officers of the garrison thanked them, he adds, for their conducting of them safely, with assurance of all possible courtesy, according to opportunity. The fortifications of Le Villar were immediately demolished by the conquerors.

This advantage of the Vaudois caused the Count of La Trinité to pause, and to resolve upon disuniting them, in order to destroy them. For this purpose he made his army to halt betwixt Lucerna and St. John, and began by giving the people of Angrogna to understand that they had nothing to apprehend from him, if they would not mix themselves up with the affairs of the other valleys. But that people, already so often deceived, allowed this message to remain this time unanswered; or rather, gave their answer to it only by increased activity in their preparations for the common defence.

They got ready entrenchments, posts, and signals; they were everywhere busy in the fabrication of pikes or the casting of balls; the best marksmen were united under the name of the *Flying Company*, in order that they might the more promptly repair to any spot to which the approach of danger should call them. Two pastors were appointed to accompany them, in order to prevent excesses, needless bloodshed, and relaxation in attention to religious duties; and before battle, as well as at the dawn and close of each day, they conducted prayers in the midst of the camp. By their strict equity the Vaudois desired to exhibit the righteousness of their cause.

Their most advanced post was that of *Les Sonnaillottes*. It was attacked on the 4th of February, 1561, and the combat continued until night.

Three days after, the army marched upon Angrogna, in many separate columns, which united on a steep and rocky mountain-slope called *Les Costes*. But they were driven back in confusion by the Vaudois, who occupied the height above, and rolled down rocks among the ranks of the enemy.

Seven days after, on the 24th of February, took place the terrible attack which had already been threatened. The count brought up all his forces, and availed himself of all the resources of strategy. His endeavour was to surprise the *Pra-du-Tour*, where all the population of Angrogna were assembled, and where they had constructed mills, ovens, houses, and all that was requisite for subsistence, as in a fort. This citadel of the Alps was defended not only by its rocks, but also by heroic combatants. An attempt was made to enter it by *Le Taillaret*, but the company of *Le Villar* maintained that passage. Two bodies of troops then advanced, the one by the valley of *St. Martin*, the other by that of *Pragela*. Charles Tronchet put himself at the head of the former, along with *Louis de Monteil*; *George Coste* commanded the latter. These two troops were intended to fall upon the *Pra-du-Tour*—the one by the *Col du Laouzoun*, the other by the *Col de la Vachère*. On the day appointed for this purpose, a third corps appeared in the lower part of the valley of Angrogna, burning and ravaging everything, in order to draw away the defenders from the principal post, but the stratagem did not succeed. The troop which came by *La Vachère* making its appearance first, the Vaudois assailed it and put it to flight. They then perceived that of *Le Laouzoun*, which was descending the mountain with difficulty. They allowed it to get involved amongst the ravines. The guides who went before it, arriving at an opening from which they had a view of the lower part of the valley, exclaimed, "Come down! come down! all Angrogna is in our power!"

"Say, rather, that you are in our power!" replied the Vaudois immediately, and rushed forward from the covering of the rocks. "And they did their duty marvellously well," says *Gilles*, in relating this occurrence. Nevertheless the enemy, observing their small numbers, made head against them, and endeavoured to surround them. But just then the Vaudois troop, already victorious at *La Vachère*, arrived with drums beating, and caused a diversion in this conflict by assailing the enemy on the left flank. The soldiers of Tronchet still resisted. "Courage! courage!" exclaimed

the *Flying Company*, coming to the help of their Vaudois brethren, and now making their appearance on the right. Thus assailed upon three sides, the enemy thought proper to fall back. But the ascent of the mountain was more difficult than the descent. Three times they wheeled about and attempted to make a resistance; three times they were repulsed and put to flight. At last they were completely thrown into confusion and defeated. Charles Tronchet was knocked down by a stone, and his head was cut off with his own sword. *Louis de Monteil*, who had made his way back to the northern shoulder of the mountain, in order to descend again into the valley of *St. Martin*, was also overtaken and killed among the snow.

All the soldiers would have been put to death but for the pastor of the *Flying Company*, who rushed to the field of battle in order to defend those who no longer defended themselves. "Kill them! kill them!" cried the Vaudois, still excited with the ardour of victory. "To your knees! to your knees!" exclaimed the pastor.¹ "Let us give thanks to the God of armies for the success which he has just granted us."

And like *Moses* at *Meriba*, who, during the whole battle of *Israel* against *Amalek*, ceased not to keep his arms raised towards heaven to obtain the triumph of his people, the Vaudois families left behind in the *Pra-du-Tour* had not ceased, all day long, to lift up their prayers to the Lord for his blessing on the arms of their defenders. Their prayer was answered; and that evening the whole place resounded with the praises of God, and with songs of joy and of triumph; whilst from all sides were brought in the arms and the booty taken from their enemies—arquebuses, morions, cuirasses, pikes, swords, poignards, and halberts. Never had these wild rocks been covered with such magnificent trophies.

To avenge this defeat the Count of *La Trinité* caused the houses of *Rora* to be burned, the families of which place did not retire till after a long and vigorous resistance. To attain a place of refuge in the valley of *Lucerna*, these poor fugitives had to go by the mountain of *Brouard*, which was at that time covered with snow. Night overtook them. They were opposite to *Le Villar*, but still at a distance from it, though they saw its lights shining on the other side of the valley. Their cries, however, were heard there, and lights were seen in motion; torches were kindled, and their brethren came to meet them; friendly voices responded to theirs. The cries of distress were soon changed into accents of joy and deliverance; sufferers had met with one another, and the outlawed

¹ The pastor was *Gilles* of *Les Gilles*.

had found brethren. Before the day dawned the people of Rora were all lodged in the houses of Le Villar.

And now the Flying Company proceeded to drive from their mountain valley the ravagers who still occupied it. But, presuming that the enemy would not lose much time in attacking Le Villar and Bobi, the Vaudois proceeded immediately to erect barricades in the narrowest parts of the valley. These ramparts, raised especially in order to present an obstacle to cavalry, were hastily formed of trees cut down and laid one upon another, between a double row of stakes, which represented the faces of a wall. Amongst the branches of these trees great stones were heaped together, cemented to one another by snow beaten hard and moistened with lukewarm water, so that, being softened for a moment, it again congealed into a solid mass around the stones and branches, the whole forming a wall of one single solid block.

The Count of La Trinité divided his army into three columns; two bodies of infantry were to ascend by the two sides, and the cavalry by the bottom of the valley. A company of pioneers preceded, to level the barricades.

As soon as this movement commenced, the Vaudois advanced by the left bank of the Pélis till they were opposite Les Chiabriols, and fired upon the cavalry as soon as they made their appearance; then, retreating from tree to tree and from rock to rock, they continued to annoy them until they reached the barricades situated beneath Le Villar. There they halted, and united themselves to the ranks of the Flying Company, which defended that post. The day was spent in perpetual combat, now on one point, now on another, of this barricade, without the enemy being able to make a breach in it anywhere. All this while the bodies of infantry had pursued their way along the heights, and towards nightfall they passed the line so heroically defended.

The Vaudois were then obliged to separate into parties in order to repulse these new assailants. The first who appeared had already crossed the torrent of Respart, and commenced to ascend the vine-covered hills which look down upon Le Villar. The Vaudois, by running along the other slope, gained the summit and partly repulsed the enemy in a hand-to-hand conflict. They were still thus engaged when the infantry on the right side, descending above the barricade, attacked in rear the Flying Company, which still defended it. Some inhabitants of the Val Cluson, who belonged to this company, seeing themselves caught betwixt two fires, judged their destruction inevitable, and retired by the only way of escape which was still open to them—the heights of

Les Cassarots, by which they gained the Col Julian and made their way home. But the greater number of the Vaudois kept their ground until evening, and then only fell back upon Le Villar.

The cavalry followed them upon the one side and the infantry upon the other. When they reached the village they were joined by those who had just succeeded in driving the enemy from the upper vineyards, and their combined forces made both horse and foot give way before them. But the enemy, as they retired, burned the houses of Le Villar, and fell back upon La Tour after having suffered considerable loss.

Next week (upon the 18th of February), the count returned to the charge and repeated the same manœuvre, but with an increased number of assailants. He commenced a vigorous demonstration in the direction of Le Taillaret, in order to draw off the Vaudois, and to enfeeble them by that diversion. Having now carried away all that they reckoned most valuable to the most elevated of their mountain villages (if that name may be given to some scattered groups of poor dwellings suspended on the flanks of the precipices like the eyries of the eagle), the Vaudois renounced the defence of the lower part of the valley and confined themselves to the heights. The army of the count was, therefore, by and by concentrated in the verdant basin which extends uninterrupted from Bobi to Le Villar. They first attacked the hamlet of Boudrina, or Les Huchoires, situated upon the ledges of projecting rocks, at the summit of a very steep slope covered with vineyards. The Vaudois repulsed two successive assaults without the loss of a man, whilst their assailants left many dead upon the ground. This success of the Vaudois was not only owing to the valour of the men, and to the protection of God, but to the circumstance, that they were able to fire from above upon the enemy, and to shelter themselves from their bullets behind the numerous parapet-formed walls.

A detachment of 1500 men came to support the assailants, and to bring them back to the charge. But the sound of the firing had brought the Flying Company to the scene of combat, who, from the vineyards of Le Villar, really flew to the succour of their brethren. After all, however, it was only a reinforcement of 100 men, and it may easily be conceived that they could not hold their ground against the efforts of 2000. Abandoning, therefore, that perilous post, they retired higher. The remainder of the army, which was stationed in the plain, seeing these 2000 men take possession of the paltry buildings which had been so long disputed, raised shouts of joy, and made flourishes of trumpets to celebrate their victory.

Here let us allow Gilles to speak for a moment. "The Vaudois," says he, "having retired about a stone's cast, cried with one voice to the Lord, and resolutely united for further combat. Those who had not arquebuses made use of their slings, from which they cast a shower of stones upon the enemy. Three times the enemy rested, and three times returned to the assault. When the enemy took breath the people above prayed to God with loud voice, and when the assault was renewed, all of them, crying to God, did their duty marvellously. The women and children supplied stones to the slingers; those who, by reason of infirmity or old age, could do nothing, kept farther up the hill, crying to the Lord with tears and groans that he would succour them."

The succour was not long in coming, for at the third assault a messenger arrived crying, "Courage! courage! God has sent us the men of Angrogna." And the old men on the hill, and the combatants on the field of battle, eagerly took up the cry, "Courage! help is at hand!"

However, the men of Angrogna were not yet there. They were fighting at Le Taillaret, from which they drove the assailants; but the assailants of Les Huchoires, hearing it announced that assistance was coming to the Vaudois troop, which had already harassed them by six consecutive attacks, now beat a retreat to rejoin the cavalry which remained posted in the basin of Bobi. The Flying Company went in pursuit of them, overthrew the walls of dry stones behind which they had taken shelter, fairly routed them, and annoyed them all the way to the confines of La Tour. There it endured some loss by the unexpected attack of a body of fresh troops which came to the protection of the fugitives.

Notwithstanding this, the alarm was so great in the camp of the persecutors that the Count of La Trinité took flight and retired to Lucerna. Thereafter his army re-appeared no more at Le Villar or Bobi, for in these places, it is said, his loss had been very great.

But Angrogna still remained the central position of the valleys, approachable on all sides but the west, and of this he conceived hopes. Having gathered new troops under his dishonoured banners, he soon found himself at the head of 7000 combatants. On the 17th of March, 1561, being Sabbath, the Vaudois families that were assembled at Pra-du-Tour, with their defenders, had just been addressing their prayers to the Lord, when they saw, as they came out from sermon, three long files of soldiers, who advanced parallel to each other, one by the heights of La Vachère, another by the way of Les Fourests, and the third by that of Serres. The captain of the first battalion was named Sebastian De Virgile. "We shall

sweep these heretics off the earth to-day!" he had exclaimed in the morning as he left Lucerna. "Sir," replied his hostess, "if our religion is better than theirs you will have the victory, but if not, you yourselves will be swept away."

The approaches of the Pra-du-Tour, against which the two first attacking columns were directed, were defended by a bastion of earth and stones which the Vaudois had thrown up; but the lower path had not been guarded and barred, although it would have been more easily shut up than any other passage, by reason of the narrow space within which it was inclosed. The natural difficulties of traversing it had been thought sufficient to guard it, and the enemy's column which advanced by it was, in fact, the last to appear in view of the Pra-du-Tour. The Vaudois were already occupied in defending their bastion against the columns which came by the higher paths, when this last battalion unexpectedly penetrated into the lower basin. Immediately they descended to repel it, leaving very few men at the bastion which was attacked; but these men had long pikes, and every enemy who showed himself upon the scarp was quickly hurled down.

After a great succession of exploits, which cost the lives of two of their number, they were on the point of giving way, when the Flying Company, which had just routed their assailants on the lower ground, arrived in a mass upon the higher bastion; whereupon, no longer contented with defending themselves, the Vaudois assumed the offensive. The enemy drew back; it was the signal for pursuit. The Vaudois rushed upon them, broke their ranks, dispersed them, and, by the ardour of their courage, really swept them away. Sebastian De Virgile was carried in a dying state to Lucerna, and the Count of La Trinité wept as he sat upon a rock, and looked upon so many dead. "*God fights for them, and we do them wrong!*" exclaimed the soldiers themselves.

On this decisive day the Vaudois were completely victorious. At the summit of the mountain, where they had another bastion, they had awaited the approach of the Catholics, without moving until they were close at hand, when, by a discharge within a short range, they brought them to a sudden pause. The battalion being taken by surprise, hesitated; the Vaudois, encouraged by this, redoubled their efforts; the enemy yielded; they rushed out upon them, overthrew them, pursued them, decimated, and almost destroyed them. "Never," said their captain afterwards, "did I see soldiers so affrighted, so timid as ours were before these mountaineers." They were half vanquished by the very idea of having to contend with them. Discouragement, therefore, was visible in the

hostile army. They began to murmur, and their losses were considerable; whilst in the plains of St. John, of Briqueras, and of La Tour—where, from morning to evening, nothing was to be seen but dead or wounded men carried down from the summits of those dreadful mountains, upon which battalions melted away like snow—a sort of panic seized upon the minds of persons already moved by a war so unjust; and, in speaking of the Vaudois, it began to be said, “Surely God is on their side!”

Many persons at that time were surprised that the inhabitants of these mountains, familiar with every locality, and triumphant on all hands, did not pursue their adversaries to destroy them completely; “but the principal leaders,” observes Gilles, “and especially the ministers, would not consent to that pursuit, for they had resolved from the beginning, that *when in the last extremity they were forced to defend themselves by arms, they would keep always within the limits of legitimate defence, both out of respect for their superiors, and in order to spare human blood, and that in every victory granted to them by the God of armies, they would use their victory as moderately as possible.*”¹ It is one of the most remarkable characteristics of greatness, always to combine moderation with courage, and piety also owns the duty of continuing humble and humane in the triumph of strength.

One of the Catholic leaders, by name Gratian De Castrocaro, a Tuscan by birth, and at that time a colonel of the ducal army, was made prisoner upon this occasion. He called himself a gentleman of the Duchess of Savoy, and the Vaudois generously released him; but if an act of kindness excites gratitude in noble minds, it is burdensome to bad hearts, and this Castrocaro showed.

The Catholic leaders ascribed the reiterated defeats of their troops to their being unaccustomed to mountain warfare; whereas, they said they would have beaten the enemy a thousand times on level ground. But a few days after, a combat took place on level ground, and the Vaudois were still victorious. “Thus,” says Gilles, “it appears that victory does not depend upon great or small numbers, nor upon fighting in open field, or in narrow glens, nor on the plain, nor amongst the mountains, but only on the compassionate assistance of the Lord, who gives to the supporters of a just cause, the power to will and to do according to his own good pleasure.” In this last conflict, however, the Vaudois were so closely engaged with the enemy, that they were actually hand to hand, fighting in this way in the open expanse of the valley, like those Homeric warriors, whose combats have given renown to the plains of Mysia.

¹ Gilles, p. 154.

After these numerous combats, in which the Vaudois lost only fourteen men,¹ the Count of La Trinité sent commissioners to enter into an accommodation with them. But amidst their negotiations, he made a new attack upon the Vaudois without notice, marching all his army on the night between the 16th and 17th of April, against the two strongest points in the whole country—the Pra-du-Tour and Le Taillaret.

The last-named place was first assailed at daybreak, by a great number of little attacking parties, who advanced at the same time against all the scattered hamlets that there occupy the different heights.² The inhabitants, surprised in their sleep, became in part the victims of that sudden assault—many fled in their shirts, and owed their safety only to their agility amongst the rocks with which they were so familiar. The invaders made a number of prisoners, and laid everything waste; then they descended by Coste Roussine to the mountain-slopes which overlook the Pra-du-Tour, in order to unite with the rest of the army in the projected destruction of the Vaudois there.

But the first act of the latter, at the commencement of every day, was to unite in public prayer. They had terminated this religious exercise before sunrise. The first rays of the morning light were reflected by the gleaming arms and helmets of the ravagers of Le Taillaret, as they descended the mountain upon them. Six determined men immediately went forth to meet them, and posted themselves in a defile, where only two persons could pass abreast. There they held in check that long file of the enemy, who soon accumulated, and were crowded together before this obstacle. Of these six Vaudois, the two foremost had their pieces always charged, and being within easy range, killed each couple of soldiers who presented themselves at the turning of the rock. The two Vaudois placed in the second rank fired over the shoulders of the first—their comrades behind them reloading their pieces.

Thus, for a whole quarter of an hour, the passage was interrupted. The other Vaudois had time to gather. They mounted upon the higher ledges of the defile, in the depths of which the ranks of the enemy's line were involved. Suddenly from the higher parts of these steep peaks, rough rocks were loosened, which broke through the line from both sides, destroying the men, making gaps in the ranks, bursting like the thunderbolt, spreading in multiplied frag-

¹ To wit, nine of Angrogna, two of St. John, one of Le Taillaret, one of Le Villar, and one of Fénéstrelles.

² The name of Taillaret was given at that time to the whole space included within the Chiabriols on the west, Champ-la-Rama on the east, Les Copiers on the south, and Castolus and Coste Roussine on the north.

ments like grape-shot, and rebounding like splinters of bomb-shells, between the contracted walls of that path of death. The rout was soon complete. Unable either to advance or to spread itself out, unable even to fight, this unfortunate troop retreated in disorder, and was torn to pieces ere it retired. The other party, which advanced on the same expedition by La Vachère, to the attack also of the Pra-du-Tour, seeing that those with whom they were to have co-operated were already defeated, retired likewise, of their own accord, renouncing an assault which could now have no object.

A greater number of the Vaudois then proceeded to drive off the first aggressors. It was a horrible situation to have to re-ascend a ravine, into which huge stones were rolling down with fearful noise and power of rapid destruction. But such was the situation of the enemy. And without having been able to touch one of their courageous antagonists, the assailing party withdrew from that narrow and bloody ravine, as a traitor should always withdraw from his own snares—shattered, mangled, defeated, and powerless.

By reason of their number, however, some companies succeeded in still showing front against the Vaudois, who ceased not to pursue them. They re-ascended with difficulty these mountain-slopes, so fatal to treachery, and succeeded in passing again over the Col of Coste Roussine, by which they counted upon regaining La Tour.

The Vaudois, so basely attacked in midst of the armistice which had been offered to them by the commissioners, and which they had accepted, eagerly pursued these fugitive troops; and, in spite of some partial attempts at resistance, by which the enemy sought at intervals to cover their retreat, they annoyed them with balls and stones all the way to the little plain of Champ-la-Rama, situated at a short distance from La Tour. There the Catholics made a stand, hoping to surround the insignificant number of their pursuers; more especially, as the Count of La Trinité had contrived to acquaint them that he would presently send fresh troops. But the Vaudois gave their enemies no time to await this reinforcement, impetuously rushing upon the centre of the troop, whose commander fell.

His name was Cornelio; he was a young man of noble birth, married a short time before. He had a certain military reputation; and the Count of La Trinité had employed the greatest urgency to get him to take a command in his army. His young wife burst into tears when he parted from her. "I swear by the holy Virgin, and I give you my knightly word," said the count to her, "that I will bring him back to you sound and safe." She consented to his going, but she only received back his corpse.

The troops retreated in confusion, and the Vaudois pursued them to the very gates of La Tour; for, after the death of their commander, the soldiers ceased to make any serious resistance; and the Count of La Trinité, seeing them arrive in so great disorder, broke up his camp that very evening and retired to Cavour. It was, he said, to return with cannon. "Let him bring them," replied the mountaineers, "and he shall not take them back." And immediately setting to work they covered the Pra-du-Tour, on the side towards La Vachère, with a bastion so considerable that it could be seen from Lucerna, three leagues off.

At the same time there arrived in the valleys a new legion of defenders. The Vaudois of Provence—who had escaped from the massacres of 1545, prepared for war both by their misfortunes and by the rude life which they had led during their dispersion on the wild slopes of the Leberon—issued from their fastnesses, upon the news that their brethren of the valleys were persecuted; and whether the climate of Provence had inspired them with more violent passions, or the unexampled cruelties of Menier D'Oppède had excited in them a more profound indignation against the Catholics, certain it is that these new combatants were far from imitating the moderation of the Vaudois in respect of the Papists. Their phalanx—animated by a spirit of revenge, which may be accounted for, but not justified, by the frightful wrongs which they had endured—scoured the outskirts of the valleys, ravaging the possessions of the Catholics, returning carnage for carnage, and rapidly spreading on every side that unsurmountable terror which is inspired by those who combat in despair. The inhabitants of the surrounding districts—victims at once of the spoliations of the hostile army, and the devastating incursions of these implacable avengers, who had come from afar to protect the birthplace of their fathers—loudly demanded the termination of this war, so disastrous for all parties.

On the other hand, desertion had commenced in the Popish army; the soldiers would no longer fight against such adversaries; they refused to march in the direction of these dreadful mountains, "where, it was maintained," says Gilles,¹ "that the death of a single Vaudois cost the lives of more than a hundred of their enemies." At last the Count of La Trinité fell sick, whilst the valleys, far from being enfeebled, had defenders more resolute, more powerful, and more numerous than ever.

Serious thoughts then began to be entertained of treating with them. The first overtures consisted merely of offers of peace, upon

¹ P. 172.

condition that the Vaudois should send away their pastors again, and pay the ransom of their prisoners. But these conditions were rejected.

The Count of Racconis wrote to the Vaudois from Cavour, on the 5th of May, asking them to name deputies who should come and treat with him concerning the terms of a definitive arrangement. These deputies went, and after a number of difficulties, the following articles were signed at Cavour, on the 5th of June, 1561:—

1. An amnesty for the past.
2. Liberty of conscience granted to the Vaudois.
3. Permission to the banished and fugitives to return to their native country.
4. Restitution of confiscated property.
5. The Protestants of Bubiano, Fenil, and other towns of Piedmont, to be authorized to attend public worship in the valleys.
6. Those who had abjured to be authorized to return to their own church.
7. A promise that all the ancient privileges of the Vaudois should be confirmed.
8. The prisoners to be given up.

These articles were signed in name of the Duke of Savoy, by his cousin Philip of Savoy, Count of Racconis; and in name of the Vaudois, by Francis Vals, pastor of Le Villar, and Claud Berge, pastor of La Tour, and also by two laymen, George Monastier of Angrogna, and Michel Raymonet of Le Taillaret.

But the Catholic clergy raised a howl of vexation; the nuncio wrote to the Pope; the Pope complained to the consistory; and the Duchess of Savoy said some days after to Stephen Noël, pastor of Angrogna, who had been summoned to her presence, "You could not believe all the evil reports which are brought to us every day against you! But do not concern yourselves—do that which is right—be obedient to God and your prince, and peaceable towards your neighbours, and all that has been promised you shall be faithfully performed." "But in spite of this," says Noël,¹ "the Pope's legate did all that was in his power to have me put in prison." He would have wished all the Vaudois of the valleys to be destroyed, as all their brethren of Calabria had been. He could not conceive how a princess could receive a minister; he was very near raising a disturbance upon that account. Noël was obliged to take his departure next day; but he effected his return to the valleys, resumed his ministry, and long enjoyed the fruits of his labours.

Thus courage and faith prevailed. The articles of the 5th of

¹ Letter of Stephen Noël, Gilles, p. 174.

June supplied the Vaudois with a solid basis for the future defence of their liberty of conscience. It was yet to suffer very violent assaults, but it has always triumphed over them; for their protector was always the same. "Call upon me in the day of trouble, I will deliver thee," saith the Lord.

These words may aptly serve as a concluding motto for the present chapter; which is nothing else than an illustration of them, in the whole of its contents.

CHAPTER III.

CASTROCARO, GOVERNOR OF THE VALLEYS.¹

(A.D. 1561 TO A.D. 1581.)

Distress prevailing in the Valleys—Refugees from Calabria—Castrocaro appointed Governor of the Valleys—His scheme for the gradual destruction of the Vaudois Church—He proceeds to impose new restrictions—His arbitrary proceedings—His duplicity—He misrepresents the Vaudois at court—Kind intentions of the Duchess of Savoy—Gilles Des Gilles, pastor of La Tour, seized and committed to prison—Castrocaro frustrated in some of his attempts—New dangers—A solemn fast—Deliverance from fear—Further arbitrary measures of the Governor—A new covenant sworn by the Vaudois—Charles IX. of France writes to the Duke of Savoy in favour of the persecuted Protestants of the plains of Piedmont—Massacre of St. Bartholomew—Threats of Castrocaro—Consternation of the Vaudois—They are re-assured by the Duke of Savoy—Francis Guérin, pastor of St. Germain, boldly challenges a popish priest to public controversy—Death of the Duchess of Savoy—Controversial discussions—A son of the pastor of La Tour carried off by night—Castrocaro's tyranny and misgovernment become known to the Duke of Savoy—He refuses to appear at Turin, and is carried thither a prisoner—The reward of a traitor and persecutor.

THERE had been so long an interruption of the labours of husbandry, and the Vaudois had been subjected to so much of pillage and conflagration, and so many losses of every kind, that great distress began to be felt in their valleys. The confiscated properties had been spoiled to the utmost before being restored, and some of them were very incompletely restored. The monks of Pignerol continued to

¹ AUTHORITIES.—Gilles, who is very full in this part, sufficing to make up for deficiencies of documents. His work is the principal source of the information contained in this chapter.—Rorengo, "*Memorie istoriche*," ought, lest he mislead, to be compared with Gilles, who was his contemporary. His first work was entitled, "*Breve narratione dell' introduzione degl' heretici nelle valli de Piemonte*," &c., published at Turin in 1632, a small 4to of 114 pages; it has become rare. The "*Memorie istoriche dell' introduzione dell' heresie nelle valli di Lucerna*," &c., were published in 1649, in a 4to of xx and 350 pages.—Cappel, "*Vallium Alpinarum*

have a troop of malefactors in their pay, to inflict incessant injury on the inoffensive Protestants of their vicinity. Besides all this, there frequently arrived in the valleys a few unfortunate persons escaped from the massacres of Calabria, naked as those who have suffered shipwreck, issuing from the Apennines, where they had crept along from cavern to cavern, destitute alike of clothing, shelter, food, and the means of procuring it. The impoverished inhabitants of our hospitable Alps, nevertheless, welcomed these brethren and sisters with the warmest sympathy for the misfortunes which they had endured.

Compassion is easily excited in those who are themselves worthy of it. The Vaudois shared with these new-comers the little which remained to them. They were descended from the same ancestors. But the feeble resources of our desolated lands would have been insufficient for necessities so great. Collections were made for them in Switzerland, in Germany, and even in France.

Scarcely had they begun to recover when Castrocaro—the same who had been their prisoner, and whom they had so generously released—expressing, in the presence of the Duchess of Savoy, the best intentions with regard to them, succeeded in getting himself named Governor of the Valleys. His kind disposition towards them was believed, upon account of the gratitude which he owed them. But perfidious both upon the one hand and upon the other, he deceived his benefactress and his benefactors. The Archbishop of Turin had received from him the only promise which he did not fail to keep. He promised to him that he would gradually withdraw from the Vaudois all the liberties which had been conceded to them, and that he would thus labour for the complete destruction of their church.

Instead of seeking to accomplish this object by a sudden stroke, he proceeded by means of successive restrictions, and commenced by demanding, in 1565, a revision of the Treaty of Cavour, concluded in 1561. The Vaudois refused to consent. He then pretended that they had transgressed it. Recourse was had to the duke for the maintenance of its provisions. Castrocaro repaired to Turin, and returned from thence with new articles, which he pre-

trajecta portenta," &c. Sedan, 1621. (He published also "*Doctrine des Vaudois représentée par Claude Seyssel*," a small 8vo of 111 pages.) See also the general histories concerning the province of Pignerol, and the historical memorials concerning Piedmont and the house of Savoy, by Costa de Beauregard, Chiesa, Cibrario, Mulletti, &c.; and with these, the "*Art de vérifier les dates*," for the arrangement of political facts. The manuscript sources of information are not numerous—a few mouldering documents in the Archives of the Court at Turin and in the Royal Library.

sented on behalf of the prince for the signature of the Vaudois. But these papers did not bear the signature of the duke, and the leaders of the Vaudois again met him with a refusal.

He thereupon threatened that he would declare against them a war more cruel than the former. Long negotiations were entered upon; commissioners were named upon both sides; some concessions were wrung from those of the valleys, and the Vaudois people disavowed their deputies. Things then began to get embroiled; which was what Castrocaro wished. He got the command of a body of troops assigned to him to maintain order, and established himself with this garrison in the Castle of La Tour. He then ordered the inhabitants of Bobi to send away their pastor,¹ and those of St. John no longer to admit the Protestants of the plain to their worship.

The Vaudois, by the intervention of the Duchess of Savoy, obtained at first a cessation of these hostilities. But as a suspension of twenty days had been proposed to them by Castrocaro, that they might appeal to the duke against his decisions, he took advantage of the concluding term of that suspension to give his decisions the legal force requisite for their being carried into execution, although the duke might have disallowed them; and on the 10th of September, 1565, he caused proclamation to be made in the valley of Lucerna, that he would put to the sword any who did not conform to them. What anarchy amongst rulers, what arbitrary magistracies, what ignorance of social rights prevailed in these unhappy times!

Castrocaro, writing to the court, represented the resistance of the Vaudois to his orders as a rebellion on their part against the duke's authority, and he obtained from that prince an intimation to the people that they must obey their governor. They, in their turn, sent deputies to court; namely, Domenic Vignaux, pastor of Le Villar,² Gilles, the pastor of La Tour, and three laymen. The good Duchess of Savoy procured for them a safe-conduct, and received them at Turin with much kindness; but she could not make up her mind to the recall of the governor whom she had given them, so completely had he succeeded in persuading her of the uprightness of his intentions. On the contrary, she urged the Vaudois to submit to him all their difficulties. "Dear and well-beloved," said she to them in a letter dated 6th of December, 1565, "we shall always commend the good desire which you show towards the service of

¹ Humbert Artus, who had made offer to the polemical monks to hold discussions with them in Greek, Latin, or Hebrew, as they might choose.

² He had succeeded the old pastor, whose name was Peter Val, two years before.

God, as also of your prince, and we are far from thinking that you speak feignedly; but we have two things to ask of you—the first of which is, that whilst you reserve to yourselves the things which can only belong to the judgment of your own conscience, you would proceed in respect of them with sound discretion as well as with true zeal, for the one without the other is worth very little; the other is, that you would submit your deliberations to those who, being upon the spot, can judge accurately of what is expedient both for the one party and for the other; and if you allow yourselves to be guided by those who understand public affairs, and desire your repose, you will never find yourselves deceived nor have cause of dissatisfaction.”

Worthy lady! it was she who was deceived. Noble minds have difficulty in believing evil, whilst the worthless suspect it even where it does not exist. Margaret of France believed in the good intentions of Castrocaro; and, accordingly, she adds in the letter above quoted, that she hopes that time and experience will permit the Vaudois to do him justice. Time only justified their apprehensions. His animosity was redoubled by the complaints made against him; he put to ransom, imprisoned, or persecuted these poor people upon all sorts of pretexts: accusing some of opposing his schemes, and others of finding fault with them; some of not looking upon him with a good eye, others of not showing him enough of deference. He succeeded in this way in expelling from the valleys the learned Scipio Lentulus, on the pretext that he was of foreign birth.¹ He caused the pastor of La Tour, Gilles Des Gilles, to be arrested, on the pretext that he had been at Grenoble and at Geneva with the view of bringing troops from other countries against his sovereign.

This pastor, however, had saved the lives of Castrocaro and of a multitude of Catholics, by many times arresting that terrible legion of sharp-shooters, whom he accompanied in 1561, like an angel of peace, whose mission was only to put an end to carnage. Castrocaro had been one of the prisoners; the laws of war authorized his death. His life was spared; his liberty was given to him; but these natural causes of gratitude tormented him as a thirst for vengeance. He set a troop of soldiers to watch his liberator; and in the beginning of February, 1566, they seized the pastor and cast him into prison, where “he was not less rigidly and rudely treated,” his grandson tells us, “than if he had been some noted robber.” All the other pastors of the valleys offered to be security

¹ He was born at Naples; he was at this time pastor of St. John, and he retired to Chiavenna.

for their colleague, asking that he might be released until the charges brought against him should be submitted to the Duke of Savoy; but the merciless governor refused to allow any mitigation of the hardships of the captive.

When he was transferred to Turin, the family of the duke felt the greatest regard for him; but the clergy eagerly laboured for his destruction by aggravating, as much as possible, the charges under which he lay. One day the advocate-fiscal, Barbèri, said to him, “Your case looks ill; a sentence of death is sure to be pronounced; you cannot escape it but by changing your religion.” “Will that change my guilt or my innocence, in respect of the things imputed to me?” said the pastor. “No; but they will cease to be regarded, and you will receive as much favour as you have otherwise to apprehend punishment.” “It is not justice, then, that is cared for.” “It is your salvation, which is of far more importance. Hold! subscribe you only the things which are contained in this book and your life will be saved.” “I would rather save my soul. But, however, let us see this book.” “Ah! his highness has required that your case should be proceeded in without delay; you must therefore decide presently.” “I cannot sign what I do not know.” “Well! I will leave the book with you, and I will come back to hear your answer in three days.”

Barbèri having returned at the time fixed, the pastor exclaimed, “It is a tissue of errors and blasphemies; I would rather die than sign such a thing.” “What! errors! blasphemies! It is you who blaspheme; and you will be burned alive were it only for these words.” “If such be God’s will, I am in his hands.”

But at that time violent persecutions were carried on against the reformed at once of Saluces, Barcelonnette, and Suza; the Elector Palatine had deputed one of his councillors of state to the Duke of Savoy, in order to get them stopped, and this ambassador did not quit Turin till he had succeeded in having Gilles declared innocent and set at liberty.

Castrocaro then caused proclamation to be made in his government, that all Protestants who were not born within it, must remove from it under pain of death and confiscation of all their goods.¹ But by the intervention of the Duchess of Savoy, the rescinding of this barbarous order was obtained.

On the instigation of the Archbishop of Turin, the perfidious governor made an attempt to have the Vaudois interdicted from assembling in synod. In this he did not succeed. Thereupon he demanded to be present at it, on pretext of securing against plots

which might there be hatched against the safety of the state. "The people protested," says Gilles, "against this innovation, not for fear of his knowing all that was transacted in these assemblies, but out of regard to the future."

In the year following, the religious wars broke out again in France; and the Duke of Clèves, leading a Spanish army into Flanders, had occasion to pass through Piedmont. His first exploits, it was said, would be the extermination of the Vaudois. Fanatics rejoiced, and Christ's followers were depressed; trouble and disquietude again prevailed in the valleys. A solemn fast was observed there in the end of May, to avert the judgments of God in the dreaded future. Was it, then, because of the unanimous supplications of this whole people, humbled in penitence and prayer, that this storm passed by without doing them any harm? Their faith was assured of it; the fact belongs to history. That vast extermination, the danger of which was thought to be so imminent—these prospects of bloodshed, these menaces and fears of death passed away like a cloud, whose presence is only marked upon the earth by the shadow which it casts. And whilst Europe was in combustion, the Vaudois people enjoyed at this time some years of peace.

Castrocaro employed this interval of respite in building, or rather completing, the fort of Mirabouc. The people of Bobi, in particular, saw with displeasure the erection of this fortress, because of the obstacle which it formed on the road to Le Queyras, the free passage of which was of some consequence to their *colayers*,¹ for the exchange or sale of their produce in Upper Dauphiny. Castrocaro, upon his part, vowed a particular enmity against the *Bubiarels*,² and in name of the priest of La Tour, he demanded that the place of worship at Bobi, and the grounds attached to the residence of the pastor, should be given up to him. The Vaudois refused; and by a sentence passed upon the 26th of October, 1571, he condemned them to a fine of 100 crowns of gold, payable within twenty-four hours, under penalty of twenty-five crowns of gold of additional fine for every day's delay in the payment of the original sum. All the Vaudois made common cause upon this occasion. They sent deputies to Emmanuel Philibert, and again succeeded in getting a stop put to these proceedings.

But seeing, nevertheless, that those persecuting courses were

¹ The name of *colayers* is given to labourers, or small merchants, whose employment is to traverse the *cols* of the mountains, bearing on their shoulders the merchandise of one valley to another. One of them said one day, to describe the hardships of such a life, "The bread which we eat has seven crusts, and the best of them is burned!"

² A Vaudois designation for the inhabitants of the commune of Bobi.

renewed against them, by which their destruction had formerly been attempted, they renewed upon their part by oath, their covenant and bond of mutual responsibility as Christians, the source of their previous triumphs, and subscribed in addition the following articles:—

"When one of our churches shall be assailed in any of its peculiar interests, all shall jointly reply as with one mouth to maintain their common rights. None of us shall act, in any such matter, without consulting his brethren.

"And we all bind ourselves to one another, under an oath, unswervingly to abide in this ancient union, transmitted to us by our fathers, never to forsake our holy religion, and always to remain faithful to our rightful sovereigns."

In these terms was their covenant made and ratified at Bobi on the 11th of November, 1571.

Nevertheless, the system of annoyance was still kept up, especially against the Protestants of Lower Piedmont, and a very curious particular connected with this fact is, that Charles IX. wrote to the Duke of Savoy a very pressing letter in favour of the persecuted. "I have one request to make to you," says he, "which I would make, not in an ordinary way, but with all the earnestness which is possible for me. . . . for during the troubles of war, passion no more permits us to judge aright of what is expedient, than disease permits a patient to judge in his own case and as you have treated your subjects in an unusual manner upon this account for my sake also, let it please you now, in kindness to me, upon my prayer and special recommendation, to receive them to your benign favour, to restore them and reinstate them in their possessions, which have been confiscated This matter is so just in itself, and is so earnestly regarded by me, that I assure myself you will readily comply with my wishes."

This letter is dated from Blois on the 28th of September, 1571. Charles IX. was then twenty-one years of age. "He had received from nature," say the Benedictines,¹ "an excellent disposition and rare abilities; he was brave, intrepid, possessed of extraordinary penetration, of lively imagination, and of sound judgment; he expressed himself with dignity and readiness. But the seductions with which he was surrounded perverted this happy natural character; the queen-mother herself trained him in the art of deceit and dissimulation; the Marshal De Rez taught him to make light of oaths; and the Guises, by their sanguinary counsels, turned the natural impetuosity of his character into cruelty." Placed in other

¹ *Art de vérifier les dates.*

circumstances, he would, perhaps, have been one of the most accomplished princes, of whom the records of royalty have preserved the memory. It is impossible to tell what crimes bad example and bad instructions have produced. If Charles IX. had been brought up under the teaching of the Bible, France would have escaped many calamities. But a year after this letter, came the news of the massacres of St. Bartholomew.¹ The most dreadful consternation succeeded in all the Reformed churches, to the hopes which they had conceived with regard to the future.

Castrocaro took advantage of the occasion to terrify the Vaudois valleys with his threats of extermination. "If 60,000 Huguenots have fallen in France," exclaimed he in a transport, "it is not to be supposed that this handful of heretics can expect to survive." And the Papists, the enthusiastic Papists, Gilles says, in his style of grave impartiality, already exulted in the approaching destruction of the Vaudois. And they, alarmed by that distant echo of so great a massacre, and by the infuriate rage which was displayed in their own immediate vicinity, began to convey their children and households to the most inaccessible places among the mountains; the men got ready their weapons, and waiting till they should be compelled to make use of them, they continued to watch and to pray.

But the cry of horror which resounded throughout the whole of civilized Europe, on that vast assassination, startled the Duke of Savoy himself. At the spectacle of such a conflagration, his heart was moved to indignation, and his wisdom dictated caution. He energetically protested against the cruelties of Charles IX., swore that he would never sully his reputation by such crimes, re-assured the Vaudois as to their prospects, and persuaded them to return peaceably to their homes, where they would have nothing to fear.

Some troubles, however, took place at this time in the valley of Perouse, which belonged to France, and the history of which is too intimately connected with that of Pragela to be detached from it. I shall therefore take notice of the events which then agitated the Val Perouse, in relating the history of Pragela, of which the political destinies have been very distinct from those of the other Vaudois valleys.

One fact, however, deserves to be inserted here, because it belongs to the general movement of the countries with which we are now engaged. In the midst of this almost universal fury against the Protestants, the pastor of St. Germain, Francis Guérin, had the courage to undertake, alone and unaided, to combat Catholicism by

¹ From 23d to 28th August, 1572.

arms more terrible and less bloody—those of argument. One day, in 1573, he ascended to Pramol, where Popery reigned in full strength. It was a Sabbath, the people were assembled in the church, the priest celebrated mass. Francis Guérin took his place amongst the hearers, and waited in silence till the services were terminated. No one suspected that in that crowd of obscure persons was a soldier of Christ, who, armed according to the scriptural expressions, with the helmet of salvation and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God,¹ was speedily, with all the power of love and courage, to make that word triumphant over the servile forces of superstition.

The priest of Pramol having concluded his service, the pastor rose and inquired if he had finished.² "Yes," replied the priest. "What then is it which you have been doing?" "I have been saying mass." "And what is the mass?" The question was put in Latin. The priest knew not what reply to make. Francis Guérin repeated it in Italian, and said to him, "Be so good as to explain to me what the mass is?" The priest was as silent as before. Then the pastor, inflamed with zeal for his God, and with ardent and devout compassion for so many enslaved souls, ascended the pulpit in the midst of an audience dumb with astonishment, and exclaimed, "Poor people! you see by whom you allow yourselves to be guided! By a man who does not know what he does; he says mass every day, and he does not know what the mass is. He feeds you with a thing which neither you nor he know anything about. Oh come! leave behind you your ignorance, and these vain superstitions! Souls are too precious to be thus trifled with. Behold the Bible," he proceeded, laying one down before him, "listen to the word of God and you shall be saved!"

The people, excited and motionless, ventured not to take any

¹ Epistle to the Ephesians, vi. 16, 17.

² These details are taken from a manuscript of that period, *Circa la religione, e dominio spirituale. . . dal Fra Agostino di Castellamonte, Cappucino: e misfatti dei protestanti in queste valli.* Fol., 32 pages.—Archives of the Bishopric of Pignerol.

The following are a few extracts:—"Finita la messa il ministro dice al curato: Monsignor haveto detto messa?—Rispose il curato: Messer, si.—Replico il Ministro: Quid est missa?—Il curato non seppe rispondere parola.—Il ministro torno ha dire in vulgare, perche forse il povero curato non intendeva il latino!—O monsignor, che cosa e messa?—Ne meno seppe rispondere. All'ora il ministro monto in pulpito, e comincio da predicare contra la messa e contra il papa, e fra le altre cose, dice:—O povera gente! vedete che havete qua, un uomo che non sa quelle che si faccia? Ogni giorno dice messa, e non sa che cosa sia messa, Fa una cosa che ne voi, ne lui intende! Vedete qua la Bibla, sentite la parola di Dio. . . . E seppe dire tante chiacchiere, che perverti tutta quella terra, e al presente non vi è più ne curato ne messa."—Gilles also mentions this occurrence, with fewer particulars, in his 37th chapter.

decided course. "Well," added the pastor, "I do not wish to take anybody by surprise; and to give your priest time to prepare his answers, I will return next Sabbath, to prove to him, both by the Bible and by his own missal, that the mass is full of falsehoods; meanwhile, pray to God that he may enlighten you, and incline you to receive the truth without weakness and without prejudice." Hereupon Guérin left the church and re-descended to St. Germain. In course of the week many of the people of Pramol came to him, opened their hearts to him, and asked his advice; and to each he gave a Bible, saying, "There is your best counsellor, consult it often, and you will have no need of other directions."

Next Sabbath he went up again to Pramol. The concourse of people was considerable; curiosity, surprise, and a multitude of different emotions agitated their hearts. The new apostle made his way into the church; the crowd pressed around him; he seemed to be already their pastor. But the priest did not make his appearance; no one presented himself to celebrate or to defend the mass. "Reverend pastor," said a voice, "speak to us again of the word of God." "Yes, I will speak to you," was the reply, "and I will be your pastor, or rather you shall have only one shepherd, who is Christ! you shall be his sheep; but his sheep must know him." And without delay he proceeded to expound to them the great doctrines of salvation. It may easily be imagined that they triumphed amongst these simple and awakened souls, for whom Popery at first did not think it worth while to contend with the gospel.

This event passed unobserved amidst the great troubles of the times. The Church of Rome was too much intoxicated with the bloody triumphs of St. Bartholomew, to alarm herself about so petty a triumph of faith. But nothing is insignificant which concerns the infinite and immortality; and the salvation of a soul is of more importance in the sight of God than the conquest of a kingdom.

Francis Guérin was decidedly of this judgment; for five years after, he set to work again to win souls in another district of the country. At the head of the Vaudois regiments he made his way into the marquisate of Saluces, for which Savoy and France then contended; and when the armies had retired, the pastor still remained to consolidate the evangelical churches there. The adventurous life of the knights-errant is regarded as full of heroism; but with what heroic emotions, perhaps still more elevated and still more generous, must not apostles, missionaries, and the ancient Vaudois Barbas have been animated, amidst the dangers which they often encountered!

During the various agitations of this period, and especially after the troubles to which the valley of Perouse was subjected, many of the people of that valley had taken refuge in the valley of Lucerna. Castrocaro, on the 28th of July, 1573, ordained all those who were not born within his government, to leave it within five days, under pain of three applications of the strapado and confiscation of goods. A new appeal to the Duchess of Savoy put an end to these proceedings. But this kind protectress was removed on the 19th of October, 1574, and her husband was not long behind her, for he died on the 30th of August, 1580.

During this interval, Lesdigières wrote to the Vaudois, to request them to allow to the church of Gap, where he then resided, the ministry of Stephen Noël, pastor of Angrogna, who had already, in 1574, been called by the church of Grenoble. His ministry was therefore granted to one or other of these churches.

In February, 1581, polemical conferences were held in the valleys. The occasion was the following:—A Jesuit missionary, named Vanin, frequently made the Vaudois, and especially their pastors, the theme of his preaching. "Let them show their faces," he would say, "these heretics, these false prophets, these instruments of Satan, these workers of iniquity! But they will not come, for I would confound them." "There is nothing rational in abuse," wrote Francis Truchi, the pastor of St. John, in a letter addressed to him, "but if by word or writing you are willing to hold serious discussion with me, according to the usual manner of theologians, you will not find me to shrink from your attacks."

The day fixed for the first conference was a Sabbath. Vanin, presuming that all the Vaudois ministers would assemble to take part in it, and that he would find their churches abandoned at that time, repaired to Le Villar to address the people, instead of going to St. John to hold a discussion with the pastors. But Domenic Vignaux, minister of Le Villar, did not leave the field free to the Jesuit as he expected. "I am astonished," he said, "to meet with you here, at the very hour which you yourself had named for the conference at St. John; but since you are here you can have no objection that I take the place of my colleague Truchi in this duty, and that we proceed forthwith to public discussion. This was precisely what the Jesuit dreaded. He turned a supplicating look towards the governor's lieutenant who accompanied him, and who comprehended his embarrassment. "I forbid all discussion," said that magistrate.

But poor Vanin was not yet at the end of his vexations, for the pastor of St. John, with whom the discussion had been authorized,

having learned that his antagonist had gone to Le Villar, had followed pretty closely after him, and soon arrived to call upon him to enter the lists which he had himself demanded. After many difficulties the conference was opened. It may be conceived which side had the advantage.

But Vanin, to avenge himself for his defeat, caused the son of the pastor of La Tour, Gilles Des Gilles, to be carried off by night. This young man was transported to Turin to the Jesuit convent, and thence he was despatched to the Indies, whence no word of him ever came. The grief of his family may be imagined. It endured as long as they lived, says his grand-nephew.

Soon after this, Castrocaro caused it to be reported that a new army was coming to destroy the Vaudois. The Vaudois withdrew their families to the mountains, and the governor wrote to the duke that they were fortifying themselves in order to resist his authority. A commissioner, sent to the spot, acknowledged at once the innocence of the Vaudois, and the hateful annoyances to which they were subjected by their calumniators. "For the cruel Castrocaro cared for nothing," says Gilles, "but to live in luxury in his castle of La Tour, where he became fat and rich, leaving his garrison to commit all sorts of excesses, and sometimes himself causing them to do so. He kept in his palace a troop of dogs, of which some were of prodigious size. His son Andrew was so debauched a fellow that the women of the neighbourhood, who regarded their own honour, durst not go out without being well attended. His three daughters went indiscriminately to mass or to the preaching of the reformed ministers, caring nothing either for the one religion or for the other, but only to be extravagantly and gaudily dressed, whilst his great object was to plunder all that he could."

The Duke of Savoy, being informed of such conduct, resolved to put an end to these excesses. He summoned Castrocaro to present himself at Turin; but, upon various pretexts, the unworthy governor always refused to obey, giving proof of his unfaithfulness by his resistance. The duke then seeing well enough that if there were rebels at La Tour, it was not among the Vaudois, but rather among those who denounced them, ordered the Count of Lucerna, Emmanuel Philibert, to seize Castrocaro and make him prisoner. This was no easy matter upon account of the fortifications, soldiers, and ferocious dogs by which he was surrounded.

Treachery came to the aid of tactics. Traitors are always deceived. A captain, named Simon, upon a private agreement with the Count of Lucerna, sent away, on the 13th of June, 1582, a part of the soldiers of the garrison. The count had posted his

troop within a short distance of the castle. He came on impetuously, and surprised it almost without defence; the porter was killed at the moment when he was going to raise the draw-bridge before the assailants; they seized upon all the entrances. Castrocaro and his son were still in bed, and only the huge dogs which watched them attempted to defend them. The governor's three daughters mounted to the belfry of the castle, and sounded the alarm. The people came with all haste from Angrogna and St. John to the assistance of the castle. But the Count of Lucerna exhibited the ducal order upon which he had acted, and it may be supposed that the Vaudois were not very eager to oppose the arrest of their persecutor. He was conducted to Turin, and died in prison. His son expiated his misconduct in the dungeons of the senate. All their goods were confiscated, with reservation of a small allowance which was secured to the daughters and their mother.

Thus ended the disgraceful and mischievous rule of Castrocaro, illustrating the declarations of Scripture, concerning the wicked, whose strength and hope are suddenly destroyed, and who are not permitted to prosper in their iniquities.

CHAPTER IV.

STATE OF THE VAUDOIS DURING THE REIGN OF CHARLES EMMANUEL.

(A.D. 1580 TO A.D. 1630.)

GLI BANDITTI.¹

Troubles in the valley of Pérouse—The Jesuits in the valley of Lucerna—A solemn fast of four days—Deaths of two aged Vaudois pastors—War between France and Savoy—Sufferings of the Vaudois—Proceedings of the Romish clergy—Apostasy of a Vaudois minister, Andrew Laurent—His consequent miseries—The Jesuits in the valleys—Discussions between them and Vaudois pastors—Ubertin Braida, priest of La Tour—The *Banditti*—The *Digiunati*—Irritation and excesses—A fast—Governor Ponte—Count Charles of Lucerna—Captain Galline attacks Bobi, but is defeated and spared by the Vaudois—Count Charles of Lucerna obtains favourable terms for the Vaudois, and tranquillity is in some measure restored—Deaths of Vaudois pastors—New alarms—A fast—Earthquake—The regiment of the Baron De La Roche in the valley of Lucerna—The Vaudois compelled to pay a large sum of money—Disunion among them—Further injustice and exactions—Destruction of a number of places of worship—Continued vexations—Rorengo, Prior of Lucerna—Resistance to the establishment of monks in the valleys.

EMMANUEL PHILIBERT having died in 1580, his son, Charles Emmanuel, then eighteen years of age, succeeded him. He espoused,

¹ AUTHORITIES.—The same as in the preceding chapter.

in 1585, Catharine of Spain, daughter of Philip II., after having been upon the point, two years before, of marrying Catharine of France, sister of Henry IV. But this latter princess being a Protestant, the projected marriage met with so much opposition in Italy, that he could not accomplish it.

In 1583 serious troubles arose in the valley of Pérouse, and led to the interposition of the people of the valley of Lucerna; for the Vaudois had bound themselves by oath never to abandon one another; and the prudence and energy are above all praise which they displayed under the diversity of their circumstances, which was attended with the greater difficulty, that they were the subjects of two different powers. But extricating always from all others the religious question, on which nothing ever could make them yield, they sustained the cause of their church without interfering in the affairs of the state. As the valley of Pérouse is merely a prolongation of that of Pragela, which then formed a part of Dauphiny, it is in the history of the latter valley that these events will naturally find their place.

In 1584 a new Jesuit invasion took place in the valley of Lucerna. The Duke of Savoy having, in the following year, espoused the daughter of Philip II., who was a member of the league against the reformed, it was supposed that Charles Emmanuel would ere long follow his example; "and the monks," says Gilles, "immediately sounded the horn with extravagant vauntings against our people, reckoning them all to be already exterminated. However, they caused them to be exhorted in all quarters, to prevent this misfortune by prompt conversion. The alarm was great, not so much upon account of these monkish lies and boastings, as of the certain accounts received of the league which was formed in France and elsewhere. Accordingly the Vaudois considered, in good earnest, that they had need, by true repentance, and extraordinary waiting upon God, with fasting and prayer, to endeavour to avert the calamities which they dreaded."

Four days were therefore set apart for solemn fasting in the Vaudois valleys, namely, the 15th and 16th, and the 22d and 23d of May, 1585, according to the usage of the primitive church in similar difficulties; and as if the blessing or the might of God always attended the fervent prayers of men, they very soon heard that, throughout the whole of Dauphiny, the reformed were victorious over the soldiers of the league. A third part of the Vaudois valleys then belonged to that province; and the advantage which they derived from these successes, contributed much to confirm and encourage the rest.

A touching but melancholy circumstance occurred in 1588. The two oldest pastors of the valleys, Gilles Des Gilles and Francis Laurens, the last disciples of the ancient Barbas, anterior to the Reformation, and whose whole lives had been spent in the same labours, and in unbroken friendship, expired within a short time of each other, in their ripe but vigorous old age. Gilles died first; and Francis Laurens, being informed of the decease of him who had been the companion of his studies and of his journeys—his colleague for half a century, and his friend throughout the whole of his life—was so strongly affected that he took to bed that same hour, and died a few days after. Such sensibility is rare amongst old men; but the faith which gives immortality does not permit the souls which have obtained it to grow old.

In course of the same year, Charles Emmanuel seized the marquisate of Saluces. There was war betwixt him and France. This war still continued in 1592, for the Duke of Savoy was supported by Spain and Austria. The theatre of hostilities being on the frontiers of Provence and Piedmont, two diversions were attempted by the French forces in the Vaudois valleys. The commandant of Queyras Castle attempted to surprise the fort of Mirabouc, but was repulsed; and Lesdiguières, an abler commander, seized that of Pérouse, and afterwards those of Lucerna and La Tour, from which he re-ascended the valley, and assailing the fort of Mirabouc from the lower side, compelled it to capitulate. He fixed his headquarters at Briqueras, where he caused a fortress to be erected; and from thence he levied contributions upon all the surrounding district. The town of Vigon, having refused to pay, was given up to pillage. The castle of Cavour, defended by Count Emmanuel of Lucerna, made some resistance, but after a siege of twenty days, and 500 volleys of cannon—munitions and provisions being exhausted—it also fell into the hands of the French, on the 8th of December, 1592.

During the time of this siege, a skirmish took place at Garsiliano betwixt the troops of the Duke of Savoy and those of Lesdiguières, in which the latter had the advantage. At this time Lesdiguières had not yet abjured Protestantism, and the Vaudois were not subjected to great hardships under his domination. Finding himself master of the country, he caused the castle of La Tour to be demolished in 1593, as well as that of La Pérouse, which were untenable against cannon. It was proposed to have demolished also those of Lucerna and Mirandol, but the project was not executed. The French general soon found reason to regret this, for the Duke of Savoy seized these two places towards the end of the

month of June. The French garrison of the castle of Mirandol allowed themselves to be cut in pieces rather than surrender. The fort of Exiles did not surrender till it had received 3000 cannon shot; and that of Briqueras endured more than 7000 before it yielded.

The Duke of Savoy had with him Neapolitan, Milanese, and Spanish troops. A detachment of these last surprised La Tour one Sabbath morning. The soldiers entered it by the street of Les Bruns, opposite to the town's house, for the principal entry was barricaded. They massacred, without distinction, both Protestants and Catholics whom they met in the streets. Afterwards forcing their way into the houses, they committed cruel acts of violence, "and went the length," says Gilles, "of cutting off the fingers of noble damsels, who were not able themselves quickly enough to pull off the gold rings which these plunderers wanted." But they did not long continue these barbarous spoliations, for the Vaudois having run to arms on all sides, the Spaniards took flight without waiting for them.

However, Lesdiguières having lost all the places which he had taken in Piedmont, except Cavour and Mirabouc, retired before the victorious army of the confederates, and regained Dauphiny.

The Duke of Savoy then re-entered into possession of his dominions; but as, under the French rule, an oath of fidelity to the King of France had been exacted from the Vaudois, the Church of Rome endeavoured to persuade Charles Emmanuel to seize upon this pretext for exterminating them. That prince was too skilful a politician not to wish to avail himself of the repose granted him from foreign wars, in order to other purposes than the ravaging of his own territories; but he consented to make some show of persecution, in order to satisfy the fanatics, who, perhaps, themselves hoped to win from the Vaudois by terror some concessions fatal to their churches.

The army which had taken Briqueras continued to occupy it. The commander-in-chief wrote to the Vaudois to send deputies to him. "My orders are," said he to them, "to enter your valleys, and to exterminate all their inhabitants, in order to chastise them for having taken an oath to the King of France, contrary to the duty which they owed to their sovereign." "Will you massacre also the Catholics," said they, "who took it as well as we?" "That is not your affair," he replied, "but as I am very unwilling to shed so much blood, I would recommend you to go and cast yourselves at the feet of his highness, to ask pardon of him, and submit yourselves absolutely to his will."

A petition was presented to the duke,¹ who allowed himself to be persuaded, and granted its prayer, on condition that Catholicism should be established in all the valleys, and that the Protestant places of worship, which had formerly belonged to the Church of Rome, should be restored to it. This last condition alone was accepted, and with its acceptance the sovereign was satisfied.

In 1595 Charles Emmanuel retook the castle of Cavour, which had still remained in possession of the French, and afterwards, about the end of June, he seized upon their last stronghold, the fort of Mirabouc. On his return from this expedition, he stopped in the public square of Le Villar, and said to the Vaudois who came to congratulate him upon his victory, "Be faithful to me, and I will be a good prince, nay, a father to you. As to your liberty of conscience, and the exercise of your religion, I have no wish to make any innovation contrary to the liberties which you have enjoyed until now, and if any one attempt to trouble you, come to me and I will see to it."

The Catholic clergy were irritated at these kind words, and not being able to obtain the employment of any violence against the Vaudois Church, they attacked them by insidious methods. Their first care was to obtain authority to establish Catholic missions in all the valleys, with right to enter the Protestant places of worship, to which the Protestants should not be entitled to offer any opposition. The Archbishop of Turin came in person to instal the Jesuits in the valley of Lucerna, and the Capuchins in that of St. Martin. Scenes very distressing to the Vaudois occurred at this time.

Their former pastor, Andrew Laurent, who had succeeded Gilles Des Gilles in the parish of La Tour, had been made prisoner during the preceding war, and cast into the dungeons, one after another, of Saluces, of Coni, and of Turin. At first he resisted with great firmness the solicitations to apostasy, which usually followed the torments inflicted by Catholicism upon its victims; but at last, whether it was that his mind was weakened by his sufferings, or whether he had lost the strength of his former convictions, the unhappy Laurent consented to put an end to his tortures by an abjuration. Immediately he was transferred from noisome prisons to a sumptuous palace, whilst his soul was declared to have also passed from darkness to light. A richly-furnished house was prepared for him at Lucerna; the Jesuits, under pretext of boarding with him, never quitted him, watched him continually, and led him

¹ The answer to this petition is dated 21st November, 1574.

about as a trophy in the midst of them, in the excursions which they made among the Protestants.

Escorted by these children of darkness, a jealous and suspicious guard, who marked his slightest movements, whilst they professed to do him honour by their attendance, he was dragged about to make polemical addresses in the religious assemblies of the Vaudois, in the very churches where he had preached to them the word of God, in presence of his former colleagues, amidst his former parishioners; and after the sermon he was caused to declare before them that their religion was a heresy, that he himself had taught them nothing but error, and that, being himself converted, he would recommend them to follow his example. What a grief to the Vaudois, and what a humiliation to himself!

His repentant and submissive voice, his air of subjection and distress, made it obvious enough to what tyrannical injunctions he was compelled to render obedience. His appearance and his words excited in his afflicted hearers only a silent pity, more grievous to him than reproaches. Eyes were cast down as he passed, or accusing looks penetrated his soul like heart-rending weapons. O! there is no trifling with remorse! But Laurent died of it, after having been subjected to affronts perhaps more cruel, and humiliations more painful still. The Jesuits took charge of his family; and scarcely had it been confided to them, when his daughter lost her honour. The monk who debauched her fled, as if it were possible for a man to flee from his sin; but the unhappy father remained heart-stricken, afflicted in his soul, and through his dearest affections, till it ended in his losing his life. Distrusted by the one party, and despised by the other, he died, says Gilles, without esteem and without consolation; he died in his apostasy, by a slower and more cruel death than that of which, if he had persevered, his faithfulness would have been in danger. If a man's faults could be expiated by his sufferings, Andrew Laurent would have dearly won his pardon. But it is more pleasant to think that his pardon may have been freely given to him in Christ.

Public conferences betwixt the Jesuits and the pastors succeeded to these fruitless demonstrations. The first conference took place at Les Appias, on the marches of the three communes of Angrogna, La Tour, and St. John; the Count of Lucerna presided. The pastor, after having replied to the Jesuit, begged the president to declare which side had the advantage. "Gentlemen," replied he, "if you were disputing about the qualities of a good horse or a good sword, I could give you my opinion, because I understand something about it, but in your controversies I am not able to meddle." And

upon this he dismissed the meeting. Other discussions, however, took place, but without any advantage to the Papists.

Then came sudden injuries and iniquitous acts of violence, unexpected arrests, and executions by sleight of hand (if that term may be used to characterize the secrecy and expedition with which they were conducted), the victims of which were Protestants living by themselves in remote places, whom the monks or their satellites contrived to seize by surprise; in a word, all the ill that wickedness, possessed of power, could inflict upon inoffensive weakness.

In 1597 an attempt was made to rob the inhabitants of Prarusting of the heritages of their fathers, but they resisted by force of arms, and God gave the victory in these conflicts to them and their righteous cause.

In 1598, on the 2d of August, a conference, long announced, took place betwixt the pastor of St. Germain and the Capuchin Berno, who had been specially authorized by the Duke of Savoy to enter into that polemical discussion. Their theses were printed, but the Inquisition prohibited the sale of these books, which would seem to prove that the victory did not remain with Catholicism. After this conference, as after those which had taken place at Les Appias, the monks sought to compensate themselves by deeds of violence for the arguments of their adversaries.

In this way they obtained some venal conversions, not more honourable for the Catholics than for the Protestants; "but the greater part of those who had allowed themselves to be turned aside, afterwards returned to the right way." Such is the testimony of Gilles. "In 1599," he continues, "a priest was sent to La Tour, who strutted about, looking as bold as a lion, and seemed more fit to occasion trouble than to guide the church." His name was Ubertain Braida. His first act was to exact tithes, which the Protestants had never payed. His demand was refused. But "still desiring to work mischief," says our author, "he treated the Vaudois with contempt in a multitude of ways; and, like another Goliath, he even went so far as to challenge them to personal combat with himself, each man in his shirt, in an inclosure marked by four stakes." What a method of promoting the truth! "He always bore about, under his cassock, a coat of mail, and showed himself cowardly whilst he boasted that he was afraid of no man!"

"One evening, after supper, some young men, making themselves merry in the clear moonlight, went to make a racket near the abode of this priest, to try if he were as brave as he appeared. Braida, dreading some act of vengeance, took to flight, without being pursued." The podestat of La Tour, at the instigation of the most

respectable parishioners of the fugitive prior, caused the young men to be summoned before him, and condemned them to remain under arrest in the house of a gentleman whom he named. The Vaudois proceeded thither; but ere long they were apprised that a band of constables was to be sent to seize them, in order to convey them to Turin, and cast them into the dungeons of the Inquisition. They fled during the night, were again summoned to appear before the podestat, did not comply with the summons, and found themselves under sentence of banishment from the territories of Savoy, under penalty of the galleys in case of their being apprehended.

These young men retired to places of most difficult access, keeping themselves upon their guard, armed and in one body, but not remaining long in the same place. Their life was very soon that of vagabonds, under the necessity of living upon the voluntary or extorted contributions of others. As they were under sentence of banishment, or, as the Italian term is, *Banditti*, they were called *the troop of Banditti*; and for some years their numbers continually increased. A rigorous prohibition was published, by sound of trumpet, of giving them any relief, shelter, or assistance; but, pressed by hunger, they became only the more formidable.

The podestat of La Tour, who might, by more moderation, have prevented these troubles at the beginning, thought good to march against the outlaws with armed men; but he was defeated, and in danger of losing his life. Hereupon he retired to Lucerna, and did not venture any more to make his appearance at La Tour, even to discharge the duties of his office.

Independent of these acts of resistance and of vigour, there were individual acts of vengeance performed by unknown hands, which were placed, by gratuitous inference, to the account of the outlaws. The outlaws, not being able to settle anywhere, nor to gain their living in a constant and regular manner, were compelled to levy contributions from the surrounding districts, and sometimes made whole townships compound with them. As they had nothing to lose and nothing to hope for, there was no rein to restrain them.

The Vaudois deplored these disorders; they looked for some judgment from heaven, and all the phenomena of nature appeared to them to be its forerunners. "In 1601," says Gilles, "from the month of April to the month of June, although the weather was fine, the sun and moon did not display their ordinary brightness; every morning the sun appeared red and blackish, and in the day-time he looked pale and dull," all which they regarded as the signs of some approaching affliction.

In the beginning of February, 1602, there arrived in the valleys

the Archbishop of Turin,¹ the governor of Pignerol,² and Count Charles of Lucerna, with a great train of Jesuits and Capuchins. They caused much inquietude to the Protestants of Lucerna and of the plain of Piedmont, as we have already seen in the twelfth chapter.

At this period, also, the Protestant churches of the marquisate of Saluces were cruelly persecuted, and the company of the *Digiunati* was there formed, analogous to that of the *Banditti* in the valleys. The Vaudois of Pérouse, and those of the neighbourhood of Pignerol, were alike subjected to prolonged annoyance. From day to day it was expected that the central part of the Vaudois valleys would be the scene of some catastrophe. The troop of the outlaws became greater than ever. The Catholics charged the whole Protestant population with the excesses which they committed, whilst their irritation continually increased; and trusting nobody, and fearing nobody, they made themselves dreaded by all.

The Duke of Savoy was earnestly implored to destroy, once for all, this focus of heresy and nest of robbers. The Vaudois were apprised, from time to time, of the progress of these instigations. They named pastors for the special duty of seeking out, exhorting, reproving, and restraining the outlaws; thereafter a solemn fast was held in the valleys, in the middle of the month of August,³ to implore the pardon and compassion of Heaven. Affrighted families began already to retire to the mountains, whilst their defenders watched and prayed, knowing that the only good protection is that of the Lord.

Meanwhile, Governor Ponte proceeded to La Tour, where he convoked the syndics of all the Vaudois communes, and required them to deliver up the outlaws. They replied by protesting, in the first place, their loyalty to their sovereign, and then deploring the disorders which had been occasioned by unjust proscriptions:—"It is our persecutors," said they, "who have thrown all this people into this confusion; for your lordship is not ignorant how fatal are the effects of distrust and despair; and if some of these unhappy men have acted a desperate part, they are not the only guilty parties, and as it would be difficult to punish them all, and calamities enough have been endured already, it seems to us that it would be more expedient to cast water upon the fire, by procuring peace for all." Governor Ponte rejected this method, and commanded them to deliver up to him the outlaws, either dead or alive. There was not time for the execution of this order; for, a few days after, the governor himself was arrested, and deprived of all his dignities, on the presumption of his having been guilty of

¹ Broglia.

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² Ponte.

³ On the 11th and 12th.

betraying the interests of his sovereign in secret transactions with the French generals.

Count Charles of Lucerna, who enjoyed a great influence at court, then came to the valleys to see about an arrangement. He had previously been at Prague, and afterwards at the court of the Emperor Rudolph, in the capacity of ambassador of Savoy. The Elector of Saxony gave him a splendid reception at Dresden; and the count having asked him how he could show his grateful recollection of it, the elector replied that nothing could be more agreeable to him than to learn that on his return he protected the Vaudois. The count promised it, and kept his word. The Vaudois deputies were now invited to assemble at his palace of Lucerna, on the 19th of November, 1602. Vignaux and Gilles were at that meeting—the one for the valley of Lucerna, the other for that of St. Martin. Everybody desired an agreement; for the troop of outlaws still increased by the addition of a great number of Protestants, expelled from the marquisate of Saluces and from the plain of Piedmont. With this the count at first reproached the Vaudois, treating them as guilty of a crime in having given these banished persons the means of subsistence. They replied that the Catholic townships had done so, much more than they, by paying them tribute. On both sides the excesses which had resulted from the proscription were deplored, and a deputation was sent to Turin, where the count promised to promote their endeavours to obtain a general pardon.

But the Duke of Savoy refused the amnesty requested by the Vaudois; and they in their turn refused the other favours which he was disposed to have granted them. The outlaws still pursued their wandering and warlike course of life, making several expeditions to places in the neighbourhood. After new endeavours to put an end to these disorders, the duke, on the 9th of April, 1603, passed an edict at Coni, by which those of the fugitives who belonged to the valleys were permitted to return to their abodes without being proceeded against. But there remained those banished from Saluces, Fenil, Bubiano, Villefranche, and some other parts of Piedmont. The duke wished to destroy them, and for this purpose he formed a special body of troops, to be maintained at the expense of the valleys, the command of whom was intrusted to Captain Galline; but, under pretext of proceeding against the outlaws, this petty general committed numerous crimes, both against persons and property.

One day in the month of July, having arrived at Bobi with his troop, whilst the people were occupied with their field labours, he

fell upon the village sword in hand, killed a young man who came in his way, forcibly entered the dwelling of the pastor, who saved himself in the vineyards of Pausettes—and would have gone further with his ravages, if the villagers, hearing the cries of alarm, which were suddenly echoed from rock to rock, had not run from the higher parts of the mountains, and surrounded him in the heart of the valley. Galline, seeing his case to be desperate, and the superior forces of the Vaudois closing around him in a threatening manner, flung himself all at once into the arms of the most influential of his adversaries, Captain Pellenc, and entreated him to save his life. "It is very evident that it is not the outlaws whom you come to seek," said the irritated Vaudois, "since you kill peaceable people, and fall upon our pastors!" Galline humbly excused himself! He was allowed to escape, being first shown that they had it in their power to exterminate his band or to retain him a prisoner. "But those whom you treat so ill," added the leaders of the Vaudois troop, "know how to render good for evil, and, far from destroying you, we shall escort you to see that no harm happen to you."

The precaution was not unnecessary, for from all sides bold combatants descended before them. The soldiers of Galline thought fit still to brave them; a sergeant, named La Morre, meeting at La Pianta a group of mountaineers, commenced to treat them with contempt, and paid for his insolence with his life. The lesson might have served for his comrades; but as they passed through Le Villar, an indignant and armed crowd could not restrain the expression of their anger; some one replied by stabbing with a pike one of those who spoke; and upon this act of violence, the peasants, losing command of themselves, rushed upon the soldiers, and cut them in pieces. A small number escaped in great disarray. Galline arrived at Lucerna, bareheaded, without arms, and without men. Those who had cried to the Vaudois to spare them had readily obtained their request, and were conducted back to Bobi, to the number of forty, to remain there as hostages, until this affair should be settled.

The duke being apprised of it, sent to Lucerna the provost-general of justice, who disciplined Galline's troop; for, since his misadventure, the captain had formed it anew by many enrolments. It was arranged that it should remain on the right bank of the Pélis, and the Vaudois on the left. The provost then caused the inhabitants of the other communes to be informed that they would have nothing to fear, provided that they would not meddle with the affair of Bobi and Le Villar; but all, without hesitation, made themselves mutually responsible for one another, and refused

thenceforth to contribute anything at all for the maintenance of Galline's troop. The provost, therefore, returned, without having concluded anything; but a few days after, Count Charles of Lucerna announced himself to the valleys as a mediator plenipotentiary for the proposed arrangement; and after some negotiations, it was decided that the valleys should pay 1500 ducatoons, and that the banished should be pardoned, a general amnesty covering all past excesses.

The Vaudois were even authorized to retain the properties which they possessed beyond the limits of their valleys,¹ and to make profession of their religion in presence of Catholics when it should be asked of them; for hitherto they were not allowed even to avow it; and they were no longer forbidden to do anything except to defend it by polemical discussions. This was to recognize it as possessing a great power.

These concessions were especially favourable to a large number of the inhabitants of Saluces, who had taken refuge in the valleys, and who were permitted thenceforth to remain there. The liberal collections which came to them from France and Switzerland, now also enabled them to recover a little from the confiscations with which they had been visited.

Vignaux died in 1605, after half-a-century spent in the gospel ministry in the Vaudois valleys. He translated into French certain Italian memoirs concerning the Vaudois, drawn up by one of his predecessors, Jerome Miol, pastor of Angrogna. New documents were added by himself. It was on this work of Vignaux that the first history of the Vaudois was based, which was published by Perrin, in 1618, by order of a synod of Dauphiny.² Vignaux was nearly 100 years of age; his son assisted him as suffragan during the latter years of his life. For half-a-century he never revisited the place of his birth,³ and was a pastor in the Vaudois Church. His first parish was that of Praviglelm, from which he went to Le Villar, and he died pastor of Bobi.

¹ The edict is dated 29th September, 1603.

² The Synod of Grenoble, in 1603, had first required M. Chaumier, pastor at Montelimart, to write this history. He devolved it upon M. Crisson, who, in his turn, committed it to Perrin, with consent of the Synod of Dauphiny, in 1605. The work of Perrin was not deemed satisfactory; and the synod held at Pramol on the 15th of September, 1620, charged Peter Gilles, the colleague of Vignaux, to compose a new history of the Vaudois. Gilles was seventy years of age when he commenced it. Notwithstanding his old age, he preached six times a-week. His work was first written in Italian, and he did not shrink from recommencing it in French, at the age of eighty years, when, the plague of 1630 having deprived the valleys of almost all their pastors, the use of the French language was introduced by the foreign pastors.

³ Panassac, in Gascony.

"Three days before his death, all the ministers of the valley assembled in a company around him," says Gilles, "for he was as noble in heart as in birth and talent: and there," he adds, "this zealous patriarch addressed us in a discourse worthy of himself and suitable to our duties; these were his last advices, for he felt that the hour of his departure was come. I remained with him to the last, more and more comforted by his words replete with piety and wisdom, which he ceased not to speak to us as much as his extreme weakness would permit, and thus he expired without apparent pain." What a grave and calm picture! how pleasant does death seem in that aged Christian! His soul removes in peace and serenity from its dwelling; it parts from it without violence, as a ripe fruit parts from the branch on which it hung.

Two years after died the learned pastor of Angrogna, Augustin Gros, a former Augustine monk, as Luther was; converted to the gospel as the great Reformer was converted; zealous in defending and teaching it as erewhile the famous doctor of Wittemberg defended and taught it. He left three sons and a son-in-law, all four pastors in the valleys. A year before his death, in 1607, he was relieved from the active duties of the ministry—the first instance of emeritation which is connected with any particular name in the annals of our valleys.

The Vaudois having enjoyed at this period some years of tranquillity, their numbers increased daily, and the place of worship at Les Copiers received additions in 1608, which brought it to the size which it still retains.

Intelligence was received, however, that the reformed churches of France were exposed to new persecutions. A regiment was sent into the valley of Barcelonnette, to promote the conversion of the Vaudois of that locality. The Church of Rome is the only church which has set the example of employing such agents in the work of conversion. In Piedmont, also, she exerted herself to obtain the employment of similar means against the Vaudois valleys. A public fast was appointed for Thursday, the 20th of January, 1611. On all great occasions the Vaudois ceased not to have recourse, above all things, to fasting and prayer, penitence and supplications.

On the morning of that day a violent earthquake shook all our mountains. "It was," says Gilles, "one of the most terrible that ever was witnessed." Eight days after the regiment of the Baron of La Roche passed from Barcelonnette into the valley of Lucerna. "They were," says the same annalist, "men well armed, making a fine appearance, and carrying themselves proudly, ravaging and

putting to ransom wherever they were able, notwithstanding all that could be done to satisfy their insolence."

Quarters were found for them in the communes of the plain, in order that it might be possible to retire into those of the mountain in case of need. They thought fit to assail these, but were repulsed with loss; and if the wish of the more fiery spirits had been acted upon, they would have been driven out of the valleys; but the pastors, desiring that everything might be marked by the utmost moderation, appeased the people, and exhorted them to confine themselves patiently within the strict limits of legitimate defence.

A gentleman of the valley offered his mediation, to obtain from Charles Emmanuel the peaceable removal of these troops; but the treacherous fellow, on the contrary, urged the Duke of Savoy to keep that regiment of plunderers in the valleys, and to take advantage of its presence to obtain from the Vaudois concessions of servility and apostasy. "Yield nothing," said Captain Farel to the Vaudois, "for at the end of a month these troops must receive another destination, and be sent elsewhere, without any steps taken by you." His expectations were realized; and these troops having thought fit to continue, in their new cantonments, the same excesses which they had committed in the valley of Lucerna, were massacred by the peasants.

In 1613 a great part of the Vaudois were summoned out in arms, and required to leave home for the war of Montferrat. They were commanded by the Counts of Lucerna,¹ and reserved to themselves the privilege of assembling, morning and evening, for their own worship, in every place to which they should be led. They conducted themselves bravely in that campaign, and received the commendations of their sovereign.

The year following, Charles Emmanuel having got into a war with Spain, in consequence of his pretensions to Montferrat, new levies were demanded of the gallant mountaineers of our Alps, who then marched towards Vercell, still accompanied by their pastors. They thus had opportunity of removing many prejudices current concerning them, and of meeting now and then secret friends of

¹ Count Charles, the son of him who had so often proved himself the protector of the Vaudois, had the general command of the Vaudois troops. Count Achates was named captain of the companies of Rora, Lucerna, Campillon, Fenil, and Briqueras. The Chevalier Philip of Lucerna led those of La Tour and Angrogna. Captain Joseph Pellenc of Bobi had under his orders those of Bobi and Le Villar. "The other valleys and their neighbourhoods," says Gilles, "had also their captains and officers, taken from amongst the men of their places." The major-general of all these troops was Ulysses Paravicin, of the Valteline, for some time resident in the valley of Lucerna.

their doctrines—minds familiarized with the Bible, whose warm reception of them afforded them the more pleasure, as the darkness of superstition reigned so fearfully over these countries.

Troubles, of which we have already given an account, befell the churches of Saluces, and of the neighbourhood of the Vaudois valleys, in 1620. The people of the valleys having interposed, with the view of bringing them to a termination, their deputies were imprisoned either at Turin or Pignerol. They were compelled to pay the sum of 6000 ducatoons, in order to obtain their deliverance and a termination of the annoyances which the Protestants endured.

It was in 1620, also, that the massacre took place of the Protestants of the Valteline, of which the narrative was published as an appendix to the *Brief Account of the Persecutions of the People of Saluces*.

The valley of Lucerna, which had come forward most prominently and resolutely in the common cause of the Vaudois churches, had paid the 6000 ducatoons which were exacted as the price of their tranquillity; and this sum had been well-nigh trebled by the numerous expenses of law and registration which it had involved. The valley of Lucerna then demanded from two other valleys (Pérouse and St. Martin) to be reimbursed for its advances, by the repayment of a part of the sum furnished for the common interest. This repayment appeared hard; peace had been granted. "It is a business concluded," whispered perfidious counsellors in the ears of the Vaudois of Pérouse; "besides you were no parties to the collisions of Le Villar and Bobi; not having shared in their fault, why should you share in their fine?" Advices favourable to personal interest always appear the best; the Vaudois did not recollect that they ought to distrust those of an enemy.

It was an endeavour to produce disunion amongst them. When peril is over, selfishness resumes its power; selfishness is blind, and peril returns. This was what happened to the two refractory valleys. They refused to pay. "But we became bound for you!" said the people of Lucerna. "What matters it?" resumed the malicious advisers secretly; "disavow the negotiations." They were disavowed accordingly. "Then," said the magistrates, "you cannot take advantage of the edict of pacification, which was founded upon them, nor of the amnesty, which extends to all things past." The Vaudois had nothing to reply. "Let justice take its course," exclaimed their enemies. It would have been well, indeed, that justice should have had its course, if it had been justice. But hatred is unreasoning. The Catholics were in exultation. Their object was attained; they had divided the valleys, and opened up a

way for the recommencement of persecution against two of them. And they took advantage of it accordingly.

The wealthiest inhabitants of Pinache, Les Clots, and Pral, were forthwith arrested, on pretext of their having taken part in the preceding troubles; and were obliged to pay more for their deliverance than both the valleys together should have furnished, in order to put themselves under the covert of the protecting edict, which they had so imprudently disavowed. Prosecutions were multiplied; and in order to get a stop put to them, the people of the two valleys, after having already left rich spoil in the hands of their enemies, by the numerous confiscations which had taken place amongst them, agreed to pay to the duke 3000 ducatoons.

It was demanded that they should, moreover, demolish six of their places of worship. They resisted this last condition. Hereupon seven regiments of infantry were sent against them, to treat them as a conquered country. The passes which led to the Val Lucerna were guarded; their brethren could come but slowly to their aid; their churches were demolished, and the villages ravaged, as the reader may see more at length in the history of Pragela and Pérouse, under the year 1623. "This," says Gilles, "has been set down, not so much to recal the faults of the past, as to afford instruction for the future."

Imprisonments and individual instances of annoyance were, however, continued in the valley of Lucerna from 1620 to 1624. But this valley had much better claims to urge for their discontinuance; and accordingly these proceedings had consequences less fatal. Moreover, Lesdiguières interceded for the persecuted, and frequently obtained concessions in their favour. In 1625 this general was called to Piedmont, to support the Duke of Savoy in the war which he had commenced against the republic of Genoa; and his presence in the valleys was of advantage to their inhabitants. But after his departure, the severities of magistrates and the attacks of monks were renewed, and more afflictively than ever.

Theological discussions were instituted with the pastors. The pastors did not fear discussion, but they feared treacherous arrests, and the *bravi* lying in wait in the pay of these *good* monks, who supplemented by daggers the weakness of their arguments. Some circumstances characteristic of this period are related in the last chapter of martyrs.

"About this time," says Gilles, (that is, from 1626 to 1627,) "a certain monk began to be seen making circuits in Piedmont, and particularly in the valley of Lucerna—a man of great reputation among those of his own religion, by name Father Bonaventure.

When he prayed, he was sometimes seen, they said, to be lifted up from the earth by a mysterious power. Some took him for a saint, others for a sorcerer." A number of children, between the ages of ten and twelve years, disappeared as he passed through. It was discovered that they had been borne off and placed in the convent of Pignerol. On the urgent petitions of the Vaudois, an end was put to this carrying off of children.

But on the 9th of June, 1627, a number of Protestant heads of families were arrested at the same hour in the towns of Lucerna, Bubiano, Campillon, and Fenil; they were afterwards carried as prisoners to Cavour, and kept there. We have already seen the sequel of these events in the twelfth chapter of this work.

Shortly afterwards took place the confiscation of the goods of Anna Sobrèra, whose husband had become a Catholic, and had consented that his wife should withdraw to the valley of Lucerna, where she married her three daughters to leading *men of religion*, according to the expression then habitually used. But a son of one of them, in his turn, promised to abjure, seduced by the hope that he would be put into possession of the whole property of his grandmother. She had previously dwelt at Villefalet in Piedmont. The Bishop of Fossano, after many fruitless endeavours to obtain her abjuration, had caused her to be imprisoned. This violence succeeded no better than the fair words previously employed, and her husband, Sobrèra, obtained her liberation on bail. But after the death of the bishop, it so happened that the monks of Pignerol pretended to have found amongst his papers, proofs that his former captive had promised to abjure; hence the pretext brought forward for the confiscation of her goods. She was accused of having relapsed.

It was at this time (in 1628) that the Dutch ambassador to Constantinople, Cornelius Haga, asked from Geneva, and then from the Vaudois valleys, a Protestant minister for the service of his legation. There was sent to him the uncle of the historian John Léger, who was afterwards to shed such a lustre over our afflicted valleys. The uncle's name was Anthony Léger; he was then pastor of the parish of St. John, in which he resumed his functions in 1637, on his return from Constantinople. But the incessant malice of the monks compelled him to flee from it in 1643, and he was then nominated a professor in the academy at Geneva, where he remained till his death. During his sojourn in the East, he had had some communications with the patriarch Cyril Lucar, whose life of trouble is so curious, and so little known.¹

¹ See Aymar, *Monuments Authentiques de la Religion des Grecs*.—La Haye, 1708. VOL. I.

In 1628, a French army, commanded by the Marquis of Uxel, appeared at the gates of the Alps, in order to go to the assistance of Montferrat against the troops of Charles Emmanuel. The Vaudois were charged to defend the mountains, and acquitted themselves valiantly. The duke himself came twice to visit them upon this occasion,¹ and acknowledged in a becoming manner their patriotism, for they received no pay, but bread only. This, however, was a supply of no small importance, for all the crops had failed in Piedmont in the autumn of 1627; and from the very beginning of 1628 the poor people were under the necessity of selling their cattle, their furniture, and even their clothes, in order to obtain at Queyras the food which they needed.

The presence of Uxel's army on the French frontiers made their condition worse, by interfering with this exchange of commodities; besides that the people of Queyras, alarmed at the great quantity of articles of food which were taken out of their district, prohibited the exportation of them, and went the length of imprisoning the unhappy victims of famine who came to procure them. The monks of Pignerol and their followers took advantage of this state of things to attempt to purchase abjurations amongst the Vaudois, at the price of a morsel of bread—the abjurations of wretches wasted by hunger and at the point of death.

It was at this time that Mark Aurélio Rorengo began to signalize himself. He was the son of a seigneur of La Tour, and was originally intended for the magistracy, but afterwards admitted into orders, and named Prior of Lucerna, upon his promise to do his utmost for the destruction of heresy. He caused his father's house to be purchased by a religious corporation, and it was immediately transformed into a convent of Grey friars,² or, according to the expression of Gilles, into a *nest of monkery*; for, adds the historian, "a brood of monks multiplied there, to the great detriment of the valleys."

These monastics were settled there on the 23d of June, 1628. Their first care was to distribute provisions amongst the poor of their own communion, holding out brilliant promises to Protestants who should become Catholics. But doubly faithful to the example of the primitive church, the Vaudois from that time forth made all that they had, as it were, common property, and distributed amongst themselves, day by day, daily bread to those who stood in need. The monks, seeing this, directed their attempts at conversion by famine to other communes of the valleys, but with the same want of success.

¹ On the 18th of July and 14th of August, 1628.

² *Minimes*—Reformed Franciscans, an order founded by St. Francis de Paule.

At Bobi in particular, notwithstanding the presence of the Count of Lucerna, who made two visits to the spot, the people would not even consent that the Grey friars should celebrate a single mass. The friars at that time took up their abode at Le Villar, in an ancient palace, completely in ruins, which was gradually repaired, and which is now in our days both the Catholic Church and the residence of the parish priest. At Rora they seized upon a deserted house, where two monks made their residence; and at Bobi the governor of Mirabouc lodged two of them likewise in a little chamber which he had hired.

The language of these ecclesiastics was at first full of gentleness and benignity; but "on the 29th of September," says Gilles, "they discovered the scorpion's tail;" the Count Bighim then causing an edict to be published, by which "it was forbidden to any one to trouble or *incommode*, in any manner, the very reverend Observantine fathers, in anything whatsoever which they might think it proper to do, under pain of death to the delinquent, and of a fine of 10,000 crowns of gold, to be imposed upon the commune in which the crime might be committed. Every informer, the edict added, shall receive two hundred crowns of gold, and his name shall be kept secret." What fit attendants Popery finds!

The Vaudois, far from murmuring, regarded this measure with a feeling of satisfaction, as it at once disclosed to them the evil designs of their adversaries, and enabled the Christians to take steps from the first to oppose the danger with which they were threatened. The people of Bobi assembled around the house in which the governor of Mirabouc had given the two monks a lodging, and begged them to depart before their presence should occasion troubles of which they might themselves be the first victims. The monks comprehended that this request might become an injunction, and returned to Lucerna. But Count Charles, the protector of the Vaudois in former times, had recently departed from this world, and his successor, Philip, was far from being equally favourable to them. He uttered terrible menaces against the people of Bobi, and against the commune of Angrogna, which would not consent to the establishment of the Observantines, upon any pretext, within its limits.

Count Capris, the governor of Pignerol, then came to the valleys, assembled all the syndics, as well as the pastors, and told them that the pope did not cease to insist with the Duke of Savoy that these monastics should be introduced amongst the mountains—that his highness had the right to command, and that if they would not conform with a good grace to his desires, he would employ

force. "To-morrow," added he, "I will come and cause mass to be celebrated in Bobi." He came accordingly, but all the doors and all the windows were closed—not a human face was to be seen. He required the syndic to cause at least a stable to be opened to him, that he might have the cover of its roof. "My authority terminates at the threshold of private houses," replied the syndic. "Well, then," said the governor, "I will open your own house by force." "Let your highness consider well," said the syndic, "before you take such a step." The governor felt that it would be imprudent to insist, and that the defenders of the village were not the less near because they did not show themselves; he contented himself with causing a mass to be sung on the highway, and went away home. Two days after he appeared at Angrogna, on the same errand, and met with a similar reception.

Towards the end of January, 1629, he returned to La Tour, with a French seigneur, named De Serres, convoked anew the Vaudois delegates, and endeavoured to persuade them, by representing to them that in France the Catholic religious orders had it in their power to establish themselves everywhere in the midst of the Protestants. "Yes," replied the Vaudois, "but in France, the Protestants also have it in their power to establish themselves everywhere in midst of the Catholics, whilst here we are restrained within narrow limits, beyond which we cannot pass; let us have permission to extend ourselves over the whole of Piedmont, and if not, let the integrity of our own territory at least be respected."

These endeavours proving unsuccessful, the governor retired, and the Observantines, then settled at Le Villar and Rora, suddenly changed their tactics. With the view of inciting the Vaudois to some acts of violence, which might serve as a pretext for cruel reprisals, they laid aside the mildness and humility which had marked their demeanour hitherto, and became all at once intolerably insolent and provoking. "You will bring some mischief upon yourselves!" said friendly advisers. "So much the better," said they; "let them pursue us, let them strike us, let them kill us, it is just what we desire!"

Then the Vaudois did what they had done at Bobi; they assembled in arms around the abodes of the monks, but the monks refused to go away; and as all men were prohibited from laying hands upon them, the women assailed them; and some of these robust female mountaineers, accustomed to carry heavy burdens, took the poor churchmen upon their shoulders, like loads of wood, and bore them away without resistance. Their furniture, their

copes, their relics, and all their baggage, were then carted off, and conveyed beyond the limits of the commune.

The clergy made their complaint at Turin. The Vaudois sent thither deputies to defend their cause; and an edict of the 22d of February, 1629, restored all things to the condition guaranteed in the preceding concessions. Thus were these long vexations [*fâcheries*] terminated, as the most ancient annalist of our valleys expressively but temperately calls them. The troubles which took place at the same time at Pravigelm and at Campillon, have been already related.

Here terminates the long period of Charles Emmanuel's reign. He occupied the throne of Savoy for half-a-century. Crowned on the 2d of September, 1580, he died on the 16th of July, 1630, at the age of sixty-eight years and a half.

The surname of the Great, which he received from his contemporaries, has not been ratified by history. He was a man of benevolence and of ability, but irresolute and changeable. His political course was characterized by restlessness, ambition, and uncertainty, and did not admit of his having faithful allies, for he was not a faithful ally himself. He added to his dominions the marquisate of Saluces, in exchange for Le Bugey and the Pays de Gex; but on his death, France seized upon Savoy and part of Piedmont.

The events briefly sketched in this chapter form two-thirds of the work of Gilles, from which our narrative of them is almost exclusively derived. They are certainly of considerable number; but they did not exercise a sufficient influence over the destinies of the Vaudois to merit so much space in a general work like the present. Nothing of importance has, however, been intentionally omitted.

The period which next follows opens with the calamities of the pestilence, and is closed by unparalleled massacres. To this several chapters will be devoted; but the two principal things which will there be seen continually to increase in importance, as the most active means employed at that time against the Vaudois Church, to wit, the introduction of monks and the cantonment of troops in the valleys, have already been witnessed in their commencement amongst the events just narrated.

But everywhere the protection of God will be seen unceasingly extended to his children; as also the courage of their faith rising to the level of their afflictions.

CHAPTER V.

THE PLAGUE AND THE MONKS.¹

(A.D. 1629 TO A.D. 1643.)

Famine—The Vaudois prevented from obtaining employment—Extraordinary storms—Convent erected at La Tour—War between France and Savoy—Sufferings of the Vaudois—The plague—Meeting of the pastors at Pramol—Deaths of pastors—Terrible ravages of the disease—Three pastors alone left in the valleys—New pastors obtained from Geneva—Victor Amadeus I.—Rorengo and the pastor Gilles—Government commissioners in the valleys—Polemical works—Public discussions—Anthony Léger.

UGHT science to reject all notion of a connection subsisting betwixt the extraordinary phenomena of nature and the great events which take place in the world? Such is the opinion prevalent in our day; but the people of other times thought otherwise, and their imagination, attentive to external signs, delighted to bring the testimony of these remarkable facts to the confirmation of their fears or their hopes.

In 1628 there was a famine in Piedmont. Next year the poor inhabitants of the Vaudois valleys—who, having no harvests of their own, were accustomed to go to the rich domains of Piedmont, to offer their services at the rate of so many *emines* of corn for so much work—were deprived of this resource by an express prohibition under which the priests laid their flocks, not to receive a single Protestant labourer. The Vaudois complained, and the duke set aside the prohibition; but in some places, says Gilles, “there were found ecclesiastics who, being as it were infuriated, loudly declared that they would kill with their own hands those *of the religion* who should venture to come to the harvests.” *Odium theologicum!* It is a term of the middle ages, when nothing was yet known but Popery.

In 1629, on the 23d of August, about eight o'clock in the morning, a dreadful storm, or rather one of those extraordinary water-spouts, which are like a cataclysm, a local deluge suspended in the atmosphere, broke suddenly upon the peaks of the Col Julian, and produced, in a few hours, a fearful inundation on both sides of the mountain. The village of Pral, in the valley of St. Martin, and that of Bobi, in the valley of Lucerna, were invaded by the waters at the same moment, and with such force, that the inhabitants had

¹ AUTHORITIES.—The same as in Chapter III.

scarcely time to abandon the houses which were most exposed to the danger. The flood filled these two villages with masses of rock which it carried along with it; many houses were swept away; some persons lost their lives; but the scourge disappeared as rapidly as it had come.

This was not to be the case with the pestilence which, in 1630, broke out in all the valleys. It was preceded, in September, 1629, by an extraordinarily cold wind, which, as Gilles says, “marched in company with a very dry haze,” and destroyed the last hope of a crop from the magnificent chestnut trees with which our hills are covered; and afterwards unusual rains caused the crop of grapes to perish. There was no expectation but of a famine more severe than the preceding. The Vaudois ministers assembled in synod on the 12th of September, and in that assembly, says the same historian, they had extraordinary religious services in testimony of their fraternal union, not knowing that they were never to meet together again in this world, and that of these fifteen pastors, only two would survive their brethren at the end of a few months.

Towards the close of the year, the convent and church of the Grey friars at La Tour were built, on the site on which the paternal abode of Rorengo had stood. Almost on the same spot, at the present day, stands a house for the education of Protestant girls, and farther off is Trinity College, erected in 1830, precisely two centuries after the erection of this convent, which has long since disappeared.

In 1630 a French army which the Cardinal De Richelieu had placed under the command of three marshals of France, the Marshals De Schomberg, De La Force, and De Créquy, was sent to oppose the Duke of Savoy's projects on the Montferrat. It descended into Piedmont by the valley of Suza, and then drew back towards the Vaudois valleys.

The valley of Pérouse surrendered on being summoned, on the 21st of March, Pignerol on the 23d, and its citadel on the 29th. But the valleys of Lucerna and St. Martin had not yet surrendered. They pressed the duke to send them assistance, and demanded from the generals of the enemy that they should have time to capitulate.

The monk Bonaventure, already mentioned, went to the two parties alternately, saying to the Duke of Savoy, “The Vaudois occupy strong positions in the mountains, and cannot surrender without disloyalty, but the Catholics, dwelling in an open country, cannot resist an armed enemy, and must be excused in the event of their capitulating.” To the French, again, he said, “The Catho-

lies will make haste to surrender, but the Vaudois are a rebellious race, who will resist you, and merit all severity."

Meanwhile, the army was allowed to plunder; and conflicts arose between the soldiers and the inhabitants, the former endeavouring to carry off property, and the latter to defend it. The Vaudois hereupon sent deputies to the Marshal De La Force, who commanded a detachment encamped at Briqueras. "Submit to the king," replied he, "and we will protect you; otherwise, we will have you ravaged, killed, burned, and exterminated." The Sardinian troops had already retired beyond the Po; no succour could be expected from them, and the valleys submitted on the 5th of April, upon assurance given them that their privileges would be respected, and that they would never be required to carry arms against their sovereign. "But they were subjected to continual hardships," says Gilles, "by the passage of great bands of armed men going and coming between France and Piedmont; and the roads were covered with a swarm of people, who transported great stores of wheat, which the king (Louis XIII.) had caused to be collected in France for the army of Piedmont."

In the latter part of April, the King of France being at Lyons with all his court, set out for Savoy. The Cardinal De Richelieu went to meet him; and the Vaudois sent to him a deputation, consisting of Joseph Chanforan, John Berton, Joseph Gros, and James Ardoin, who presented to him, at the little village of Montiers, a petition asking the confirmation of their privileges, which was granted to them.

On the 10th of June the troops of the Marshal De La Force took the town of Cavour by assault, and burned it. On the 22d of July the whole army proceeded against Saluces, of which it took possession in the beginning of August. After having remained there for some time, these troops were again put in motion, and on the 26th of October appeared before Casal. This town was at that time defended by the Austrians, and besieged by the Spaniards—allies of the Duke of Savoy. At last, on the 13th of November, the treaty of Ratisbon was signed, which put an end to that war; the valleys of Lucerna and St. Martin were restored to Piedmont, but those of Prouse and Pragela, as well as Pignerol, remained to France. It was not until September, 1631, that the fortifications of Briqueras were demolished.

But a scourge more terrible than war took away from the Vaudois almost two-thirds of their population in that deplorable year, 1630. The weather was excessively hot; a contagious malady, the plague, which prevailed in France, had augmented the

army of Richelieu by a great number of volunteer recruits, who fled from the danger. They brought it with them. With the first days of the month of May, this terrible malady began to appear in the village of Les Portes, situated near Prouse. It next broke out in St. Germain, whither it was carried, as was said, by a grave-digger; and then also at Pral, to which it was brought with goods that came from Pignerol. And it had very soon spread over all the valleys.

As soon as the pastors were aware of its appearance, they met, according to the usage of their church, to inquire concerning the mind of the Lord, and to seek, by prayer, meditation, and conference, a correct view of the duties which these difficult circumstances required at their hands. They were unanimous in proposing the celebration of an extraordinary fast. "But not seeing," says Gilles, "how it was possible to observe that solemnity in a suitable manner, in the midst of such a bustle of armed men and of people conveying provisions, they agreed that each minister should do all that he could in his own congregation, to produce in the members of the congregation a serious repentance and an effectual conversion. They took counsel, also, to provide themselves with the antidotes proper for the calamity, and to aid the poor by public alms."

This meeting of pastors was held at Pramol. A few days after, the plague made its appearance there, commencing in the quarter of Les Pellencs. Public worship began then to be held in the open fields at Pramol and at St. Germain. This was towards the end of May. A month after, the commune of Angrogna was invaded by the scourge; and on the 10th of July there died, at one time, the pastor of St. John, in the valley of Lucerna, and the pastor of Meane, near Prouse.

However, the plague had not yet appeared at La Tour. A celebrated physician dwelt there;¹ and there were also there two surgeons² and three apothecaries.³ The presence of these men of skill attracted many persons thither; but they were the first victims of the scourge which then ravaged Pignerol. The persons who were spared made haste to flee from that city. A great number of them retired to La Tour, as well as some of the French generals.⁴ Provisions, the rents of apartments, and mercenary

¹ Vincent Goss.

² Daniel Gilles, son of the historian, and John Bressour, great-grandson of Pantaléon Bressour, one of the former persecutors of the Vaudois, whose family had embraced Protestantism.

³ Thomas Dassez, Daniel Cupin, and John Cot.

⁴ Amongst others, the son of the Marshal De La Force, the Count of Servient, and the Baron of Bonne.

services rose to an excessive price. A mule's load of wine was sold for fourteen or fifteen crowns.

The surgeon Gilles being dead, and his colleague ill, a French surgeon demanded fifty pistoles of gold ere he would let blood for him. Next day he exacted a golden crown, for telling him from the street and in at the window, without entering the house, how he was to place the cupping-glasses. Some persons promised beforehand one of their properties in absolute right, to obtain the assurance that they would be buried; for the dead encumbered the houses, and some were burned with the corpses which they contained.

On the 12th of July the pastor of Pral died,¹ and on the 24th the pastor of Angrogna.² Seven other Vaudois pastors died during the following month.³ Those who survived them, assembled on a mountain which rises by itself in the centre of the three valleys, on the Saumette, near the Vachère, within an easy distance at once of Angrogna, Pramol, and Prarusting. This meeting took place on the 2d of August.⁴ After tears and prayers, the six ministers who were still spared divided amongst themselves the necessary care of the churches which had become vacant. Daniel Rozel, the pastor of Bobi, was appointed to conduct the second son of Gilles to Geneva, that he might complete his studies; but they died within a short time of each other, both being cut down before they could accomplish this design.⁵

There now remained in the Vaudois valleys only three pastors engaged in actual duty, and an aged *emeritus* pastor. The latter died soon after. The last three witnesses of the priesthood of the Vaudois Church held a new synodal meeting on the heights of Angrogna, with the deputies of all the parishes of the valleys, to consider the means of providing for the exercise of their religion. They wrote to Constantinople to recal Anthony Léger, also to Geneva requesting the aid of some new ministers, and to Grenoble, entreating those of Dauphiny likewise to come over to console and confirm again this Vaudois Church, thus so severely tried. There remained only one pastor in each of the three valleys; to

¹ James Bernardin, aged forty years.

² Bartholemew Appia, forty-five years.

³ James Gay, at Rocheplate, sixty years; Barnabas, his son, twenty-eight; Brunerol, at Rora, forty-three; Laurence Joli, at Maneille, forty-five; Joseph Chanforan, at St. Germain, fifty-six; John Vignaux (son of Domenic), at Le Villar, fifty-eight; David Javel, at Pinache, fifty. The last-named left by his will all his property to the valleys, for the maintenance of students for the holy ministry.

⁴ September?—Tr.

⁵ Rozel died on the 28th of September, and Samuel Gilles on the 23d—the latter being nineteen years of age.

wit, Peter Gilles in that of Lucerna, Valerius Gros in that of St. Martin, and John Barthelemy in that of Pérouse. But the latter having been called to the parish of St. John in 1631, and having gone from thence to La Tour on the 22d of April, to confer with the pastor of that place on the affairs of the church, prolonged that conversation till pretty late in the evening, and then retired to his own home, for he was a native of La Tour, and his father's house was still his home. But he could not say to his soul, "Abide for many years!" for that very night it was required of him. The pestilence seized him at the close of that conference, and he died three days after.

This mysterious and terrible scourge, whose severity had been abated during the winter, became again more violent in the spring of 1631. It then passed through the more elevated districts of Angrogna and Bobi, which it had spared hitherto. More than 12,000 persons died in the valleys;¹ at La Tour alone fifty families were swept entirely away. The harvests rotted on the fields unreaped, the fruits fell ungathered from the trees.

During the great heats of summer, horsemen might be seen to drop from their horses on the middle of the road, and remain dead on the spot. "The great roads," says Gilles, "were strewn with so many bodies of men and beasts, that it was impossible to pass along them without danger. A number of properties were abandoned from want of owners or cultivators. The towns and villages, which recently had abounded with persons of the learned professions, merchants, artisans of every description, and workers of every kind of work, were now without life—the solitude of the desert had come upon them; the grapes hung from the vines, and the corn covered the fields, because labourers were everywhere wanting. The wages of servants increased to four times their ordinary amount. Nurses in particular had become so scarce, that no one could tell where to look in order to find one for the poor babes that were born during these calamities. Their ordinary wages, which had not exceeded twelve or fourteen Piedmontese florins before the plague, soon rose to sixty or eighty, without its being even certain that one could be procured at that rate. Every family lost some of its members, and many families entirely disappeared."

The minister Gilles, whose words we have just quoted, lost the four eldest of his sons; and the aged father himself, alone left of all

¹ The victims, amongst the Vaudois alone, were distributed as follows:—In the valley of Lucerna, 6000; in that of St. Martin, 1500; in that of Pérouse, 2200; in the districts of Prarusting and Rocheplate, 550.—Total, 10,250.

the pastors of the valley, found his duties increase along with his sorrows; but God gave him strength to sustain the heavy weight of so many accumulated distresses, and of the service of so many churches. He went into all the parishes, preaching twice every Sabbath, and once at least on every day of the week; visiting the sick and consoling the afflicted, without fear of that death which all his colleagues¹ had met in the fulfilment of the same distressing and dangerous duty. He resolutely prosecuted his ministerial labours; calm and serene in the midst of the dying, he imparted to them his unshaken confidence in him who casts down and who raises up, who wounds and who heals. "I passed," says he, "amidst persons infected with the plague, and through terror-stricken villages, which everywhere presented only spectacles of death and of family affliction;" and, according to the only Latin quotation in which he indulges in his whole work, at a period when it was common to use them very abundantly—"Ubique luctus, ubique pavor, et plurima mortis imago." His indefatigable devotedness seems really more extraordinary than even the danger: and he was preserved to the Vaudois Church throughout all the ravages of that epidemic; and with him the completest monument of the ancient history of the Vaudois, which he has transmitted to us in his chronicles, rich in the details of a period of history but little known.

The pastor Brunet was the first who hastened from Geneva to the help of the valleys: he came in December, 1630, six months before the pestilence ceased. Other ministers of the gospel followed him at later dates; and although the Italian language had until then been used amongst the Vaudois in sermons and teaching, it became necessary at that time to substitute for it the use of the French language, into which Gilles subsequently translated his work, which he had commenced in Italian. From this time, also, date the systematic relations since continued between the Vaudois Church and the Church of Geneva.

The most pressing duties which these new pastors had at first to perform in the valleys, related to the reorganization of their terribly decimated congregations. "It was a marvellous thing," says Gilles, "and such as had never before been seen or heard of in these parts, what a great multitude of marriages took place at that time. . . . In most places the plague had bereaved families of their children, deprived children of their parents, husbands of their wives, and wives of their husbands; so that desolation extending every-

¹ With the exception only of Valerius Gros, the pastor of St. Martin, who was afterwards removed to Le Villar.

where, each one sought to be united with a sister or a brother to build up again their failing or ruined houses." But these marriages were merely the conclusions of funeral solemnities; and were characterized by the invocation of the Divine blessing, instead of the noise of sport and worldly pleasures.

Thus had three disastrous scourges been endured almost simultaneously—famine, pestilence, and war; but the two former having passed away, the latter also was removed at last, during the reign of Victor Amadeus I., who had retired to Queyras in order to avoid the contagion. He signed at that town, on the 6th of April, 1631, a treaty of peace, by which he was restored to possession of all his dominions, and acquired some towns in the Montferrat, in compensation for Pignerol and the valley of Pérouse, which remained to France. Scarcely was he in peaceable possession of his throne, when he set to work to render his reign illustrious by things of lasting benefit to the country, more than by victories. He restored the university of Turin, for which he erected the splendid building which it now occupies, and attracted thither learned strangers, to promote literature and science.

But before going to Turin he made his abode for some time at Montcallier, where the Catholic clergy sought to inspire him with sentiments hostile to the Vaudois. The latter, being apprised of this, sent a deputation¹ to convey to him the dutiful expression of their loyalty, and their prayers for his welfare. The Count of Verrue undertook to communicate their message to the sovereign; but the Vaudois deputies having afterwards obtained an opportunity of an interview with the Duke of Savoy, in the town of Carignan, and having laid before him the object of their mission, he received them graciously, and said to them, as he dismissed them, "Be faithful subjects to me, and I will be to you a good prince."

But the prior of Lucerna (Rorengo), and the superior of the convent of La Tour (Fra Paolo), having been informed of this favourable reception, sought to nip in the bud the hopes which might thence be derived of repose for the valleys, and accused their inhabitants of a multitude of crimes and acts of disobedience. The prefect of the province, named Rezan, proceeded to La Tour to make investigation. A meeting was held for this purpose on the 4th of August, 1630, and the falsehood of the accusations was acknowledged.

What did the worthy prior then do? He sought an interview

¹ It was composed of MM. John Geymet for the valley of Lucerna, Francis Laurens for that of St. Martin, and John Maynier for those of Pérouse, Méane, and Pragela.

with the pastor of La Tour, Gilles, whose interesting chronicles have preserved us an account of their conference:—"An excellent thought has occurred to me," he said. The pastor must have thought that it was a thing as fortunate as it was rare. "Why should the Protestants and Catholics persist so obstinately in their respective pretensions?" added the Jesuit. "If we were to yield something on each side all would go on better, and I could reckon confidently on the approbation of the Church of Rome." "I am far from disputing the authority with which you may have been intrusted to that effect," replied the pastor, "but I have much less authority on the part of our churches; and I declare to you beforehand, that I cannot make in their name any engagement which concerns them, without their having been previously consulted. However, let me know what you have to propose." "It is this," replied Rorengo; "If the Vaudois will consent that the monks shall freely dwell among them, I guarantee that we will leave you in peace." "That is to say," answered Gilles, "that in order to your consenting not to do us any harm, you demand that we put you in a condition to do it." It need hardly be said that the prior met with a refusal.

The Vaudois, however, had applied to Victor Amadeus I. for a ratification of their privileges, and at this period they sent deputies to Turin to hasten forward that matter. These deputies were received by the prince on the 8th of September, 1632, and learned from his own mouth that a minister of state would be sent to the valleys, to satisfy himself by exact information as to the acts of disobedience which were laid to their charge, as well as to take cognizance of the grievances which they themselves complained of. Accordingly, a short time after, the collateral Sillan arrived, who, accompanied by Rorengo, went over all the valleys, collecting the remarks of the Vaudois, and the informations which were lodged against them. It is not known what report he made to the sovereign; but next year a new commissioner was sent by him to the same places—a master of requests, named Christopher Fauzon. He arrived at La Tour on the 5th of May, 1633, and convoked a meeting of the Vaudois delegates for the 9th of the same month. When they were assembled, he told them that they were accused of having recently established themselves at Lucerna and Bubiano. The Vaudois proved that they had existed there from time immemorial. Then he pretended that a number of them had promised to abjure, and had not kept their word. "Because the promise had been wrung from them by violence," replied they. "What proof have you of that?" he

demanded. "If it had been voluntary," said they, "what hindered them to fulfil it?"

"But you have schoolmasters who teach heresy," said he. "Prove to us," said the Vaudois, "that our religion is a heresy, and we renounce it; but if they only teach our religion, then do you respect the liberty of conscience, which was guaranteed to us by the edict of 1561." "Do not insist upon that," said the commissioner, "for his highness is going to send you better teachers." "And who are they?" "Learned and respectable fathers." "What!" exclaimed the deputy of Bobi,¹ "would they make us send our children to school to the monks? I would rather that mine perished on one pile, than give up their souls to perdition."

The referendary Fauzon afterwards disputed the right of the Vaudois of St. John to make use of a bell for assembling the congregation to worship. "The practice is of immemorial antiquity," replied the delegate of St. John, "and the successive confirmations of our liberties have, by implication, sanctioned it."

After this Fauzon set aside the other accusations, of which nothing was found to remain but an echo, which could be traced to no origin and no authority. Then it was that, with one consent, the people broke out in complaints too long suppressed. "What! you leave undisturbed the impostors who work upon the credulity of the public! You leave undisturbed the Jews, who blaspheme the name of the Redeemer, and the vagabonds who infest the highways; but you cease not to prosecute and vex us, peaceful and laborious evangelical Christians, whose only endeavour is to live in the fear of God and in brotherly kindness with all men; you cease not to set at our heels packs of monks bent upon mischief; for these fanatics think nothing more delightful and praiseworthy than to make us the victims of treachery, deceit, imprisonment, and robbery." In support of these complaints, unfortunately too well founded, a multitude of particulars were cited, of which no one could deny the correctness. Hereupon the commissioner assumed a milder tone, and promised to put an end to such abuses; after which he hastily closed the meeting, and left the valleys without coming to any conclusion. But the hidden influences under which he had, in the first instance, acted, were set in operation again to impose upon him.

Accordingly Fauzon returned to La Tour a few days after, in order to oblige the Vaudois to furnish written proofs establishing their legal right to celebrate Protestant worship in each of the parishes in particular. They dreaded some trap set for them

¹ Peter Paravin.

amongst these perpetual delays. However, on the 29th of June, 1633, they furnished the document required. This paper remained unanswered, and the state of things continued unchanged. But the monks only became the more active in their attacks upon Protestantism, and it was at this time that the polemical writings of Rorengo and of Belvédère appeared, in order to refute which Gilles suspended for a time his historic labours. He replied to these writings in a work entitled, *Considerations on the Apostolic Letters of the Sieurs, Marcus Aurelius Rorengo, Prior of Lucerna, and Theodore Belvédère, Prefect of the Monks*,¹ published in 1635. This work, of which a refutation was attempted at Turin, was followed by another, still larger, which the indefatigable pastor of La Tour published in the year following, under the title of *Torre Evangelica*.

These two volumes owed their origin to polemical publications, and called forth others which this is not the place to enumerate. These were succeeded by conferences between the monks and the pastors, in which Anthony Léger, the pastor of St. John, who had returned in 1637 from Constantinople, displayed so much talent, that one of his adversaries, finding himself unable to vanquish him by discussion, resolved to seize him by main force. For this purpose he put himself at the head of a troop of armed men, to whom he said, "I must have the minister dead or alive!" The Vaudois came promptly to the defence of their pastor. They prevented the monk Simond from executing his design; but, in consequence of the continual conflicts and vexations which arose on his account, Anthony Léger quitted the valleys in 1643, and went to Geneva, where he spent the remainder of his days.

At this period, also, close the interesting chronicles of Gilles, which we have so often quoted in this and preceding chapters. As a historian he has the merit of abounding and being exact in facts, and of being calm and grave in his judgments, fluent and simple in his style. His only fault is that of being sometimes diffuse and careless. The fulness and circumstantiality with which he relates events, derive an additional value from the caution and exactness which characterize his narratives. As a controversial writer he has the defects of his time, but he exhibits also its good qualities, and unites with a solid erudition the advantages of a very sound judgment, and of a raillery that is sometimes sufficiently sharp. His mode of conducting an argument appears at first sight lax, in consequence of the length to which he carries out the statement of his views, but his reasoning is close enough in respect of the connection of his views and deductions themselves. Gilles was,

¹ *Considerations sur les lettres, &c.*

moreover, during more than ten years, secretary of the Table, or moderator of the Vaudois churches, and he completed, in 1601, the scheme of ecclesiastical discipline which had been prepared in 1564. These numerous labours, carried on amidst the multiplied duties of his ministry, attest at once his zeal and activity. It is not without regret that we here quit this valued guide, whose memory becomes dear to all students of the history of the Vaudois.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PROPAGANDA.¹

(A.D. 1637 TO A.D. 1655.)

Charles Emmanuel II. of Savoy—The Duchess Christina of France—Disputes as to the regency—The Propaganda instituted—Rorengo—Placido Corso—Public discussions—Crimes and cruelties—Terrible conflagrations—Civil war—The Vaudois support the Duchess Christina—Protestant worship prohibited at St. John—Other severe edicts—Women in the Propaganda—The Marchioness of Pianesse—Her dying charge to her husband—The residences of the monks burned at various places in the valleys—False charge brought against a Vaudois pastor, of having instigated the assassination of a priest.

VICTOR AMADEUS I., who ascended the throne in 1630, died on the 7th of October, 1637. His eldest son, Francis Hyacinth, aged scarcely five years, survived him only one year; and his second son, then aged only four years and some months, became, on the 4th of October, 1638, the successor to the ducal crown. The title of Charles Emmanuel II. was given to him; and it was under his

¹ **AUTHORITIES.**—The last two chapters of *Gilles*, and chapters v., vi., vii., and x., of the second part of *Léger*.—"Relatione all' eminentissima Congregatione de Propaganda fide de i luoghi de alcune valli di Piemonte, all' A. R. di Savoya soggette . . . dal V. F. Teodoro Belvédère."—Torino. (No date.) A small volume of 323 pages. (The real name of this monk was Anthony Lazzari. Gilles refutes his works in his sixty-first chapter. A reply was made to him in a little work, entitled "*Risposta al libro del Sig. Gillio, titolato Torre Evangelica*." This publication was also dedicated to the Propaganda.)—"Journal of the Conversions which have been made, and of the instances of grace with which God has favoured the Company for the Propagation . . .," &c. Without date. In 4to, 20 pages.—"*Summary of the Reasons and Grounds upon which his Royal Highness has gone in forbidding the Heretics of the Valley of Lucerna from residing beyond the tolerated bounds*." Without date, but printed at Turin about the close of 1655, and published both in Italian and Latin.—Van Breen, "*Apologetic Memoir concerning the Vaudois, with an Appendix from 1642 to 1655*," printed in Dutch, at Amsterdam, 1663.—See also the introductory part of most of the works noted at the commencement of the following chapter.

reign that one of the most terrible persecutions took place which ever drenched the Vaudois valleys with blood. But it would be wrong to hold him alone accountable, as until his majority it was his mother who held the reins of government in the capacity of regent. She was Christina of France, daughter of Henry IV. and Mary De Medicis. She inherited the haughty and stern disposition of her grandmother, so that the spirit of the Medicis, rather than that of the princes of Savoy, presided over the carnage of 1655.

From 1637 to 1642, Thomas and Maurice of Savoy, brothers of Charles Emmanuel, disputed with his widow the regency of his dominions. This contest of five years was the cause of most fatal troubles and divisions in Piedmont; then, from 1642 to 1659 (the date when the peace of the Pyrenees was concluded), the war was continued against the Spaniards, who had, in the first place, been brought into the country by the Cardinal Maurice and Prince Thomas, when they were claimants of the regency. These foreigners having seized upon the best places of Piedmont, refused to give them up; so that Christina, in order to reconquer them, was obliged, in her turn, to call into her dominions the troops of France.

In the valleys, where we have seen that the reformed Franciscan monks, or Grey friars, had been introduced by Rorengo, and maintained most pertinaciously by the governors of the country, the regular clergy continued their underground work, destined to burst forth at an after period in prodigious disasters. A powerful coadjutor was at this time also given them by the court of Rome, to wit, the Propaganda. This name was given to a society composed of clergy and laymen, founded at Rome, in 1622, by Gregory XV., under the title of *Congregatio de Propagandâ fide*.

Its institution had, from the first, no other object than to promote the spread of the Catholic doctrines. It was not long of acquiring a predominant influence over the secular clergy, who had imprudently admitted it as an ally; and afterwards it went the length of savagely pursuing—with an incendiary torch in one hand, a sword in the other, and the feet in blood—the extermination of all doctrines which were not its own. Nothing was forgotten in its work except the gospel. And what did it gain? What persecution always gains—the burden of the crimes committed, the responsibility of the blood shed, and the execration of humanity.

It was the prior of Lucerna, Mark Aurelio Rorengo, who introduced into the Vaudois valleys the first seed of this powerful tree, whose branches were very soon to extend over all Piedmont, and to cover it with the bloody fruits of the most odious fanaticism.

A member of the Roman Propaganda, already celebrated by his talent for discussion, was sent from Rome to the valleys, expressly to labour for the conversion of the Vaudois. He was a preaching monk, named Placido Corso. Rorengo, who had already had many fruitless conferences with the pastors, hastened to go and meet this protector champion, whom fame announced to him as a polemical Boanerges.

It was on the 10th of November, 1637, that Placido Corso arrived at La Tour. His first care was to provoke the pastor of the place, Gilles the historian, to a conference. "I have come a very long way," he wrote to him, "to defend the holy Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church; and having inquired at several persons of your parish as to the reasons for which the Vaudois had separated from it, they directed me to their pastor, as to one who was better able to instruct me on that point." "What an admirable zeal it is," replied the pastor, "which comes from so great a distance to attack that of which it knows nothing! But, nevertheless, we are very far from recognizing the Church of Rome as being what you designate it; it is for you, therefore, to prove, in the first place, that it is apostolic and holy; and the result of this inquiry will render it much more easy for us to tell you why it is that we have separated from it."

The monk did not shrink from the thesis which he was invited to sustain, and he wrote to the minister all the reasons commonly adduced in favour of the Romish Church. Gilles refuted him. Letters in considerable number were thus exchanged, till in the end Placido Corso left the last unanswered.

Hoping to be more fortunate in a *vivâ voce* conference, where his adversary would not have time to choose and weigh his arguments, he sought to gain, by such means, the ground which he had lost. Anthony Léger, recently arrived from Constantinople, where he had filled the post of chaplain to an embassy, had resumed the humble duties of a village pastor, in his old parish of St. John. It was to him that the propagandist addressed himself; and after various negotiations, it was arranged that a public conference should take place at La Tour, on the 4th of December, 1637, in the court-yard of an elder of the church, named Thomas Marghet. Rorengo demanded that he should preside in this meeting; and it was thought proper to defer to his wish. The youthful Scipio Bastié, on the side of the Protestants, and a Capuchin named Laurent, on the side of the Catholics, were chosen for secretaries. One of the most difficult questions of canonical theology, that of the Apocryphal books, occupied the whole of that meeting.

The second was fixed for the 1st of January, 1638, and took place at St. John, in the court-yard of Daniel Blanc, for no apartment was capacious enough to receive the crowd of hearers; but the sky of Italy sometimes, even in winter, permits meetings to be held in the open air, on ground scarcely hardened by frost, at the base of snow-covered Alps. The monks were very late in making their appearance at this meeting. They excused themselves on the ground of their having been detained by their private devotions; but some of those present smiled, and said to one another in a low voice, that they showed themselves more eager to put an end to the conference than to prolong it. The discussion, however, was not terminated when night came on; but it was the last, for the propagandist would not again enter the lists "*with these wranglers*," as he said, "*who made a pope of the Bible*." Yes! the Bible was to the Vaudois even more than a pope. But the crouching slave of the Holy See could go no farther in his comparison.

The next to follow and emulate him in the arena of discussion was a Grey friar of La Tour, named Brother Hilarion. He undertook a polemical correspondence with the pastor of Bobi, Francis Guérin, whose last letters he also left unanswered.¹ In the valley of St. Martin, the monks of Le Perrier attempted similar contests, and met with similar checks.

The spirit of hatred, or at least of intolerance, so natural to monks, became exasperation in these. It was no longer by the weapons of logic that they sought to combat the Vaudois; assassinations and abductions were employed. A young man, named Morton, the servant of an Englishman, was assassinated at La Tour. A young girl of Bubiano was carried off by the monks who dwelt there, and placed under the care of a popish woman. The brother of this girl came to claim his sister again, and she eagerly followed him. The guard saw them, and raised the alarm; the Catholics ran and overwhelmed the young man with blows. Then came a priest on horseback, who took the girl behind him, and bore her off to Turin. From that time forth, all attempts made to obtain restitution of her remained ineffective.

But these were not the only wicked proceedings by which the clergy laboured to vex the poor Protestants. At their instigation, an attempt was made to compel the Vaudois settled upon the right bank of the Pélis, in the district of Lucerna, to remove and confine themselves to the left bank only; an attempt was also made to restrict all of them from residing for more than three days conse-

¹ Guérin was cited to appear at Turin in 1650, prosecuted in 1651 for not having appeared, condemned for contumacy, and obliged to go into exile.

cutively in any of the other towns of Piedmont, whither business might call them. But through the interposition of persons in high place, these vexatious measures were unsuccessful. At the same time there occurred also certain movements of troops, which the enemies of the Vaudois always sought to turn to their disadvantage.

On the 22d of March, 1639, there arrived at Lucerna, St. John, and La Tour, a great number of people from Bubiano and its neighbourhood, all in disorder and alarm, bringing carts loaded with their furniture, and horses with their stores of linen and their children, whilst they themselves conducted their flocks, as if going into exile. Then came message upon message, rapidly succeeding each other, all to announce that a regiment of Italian cavalry, in search of quarters, was advancing at a quick rate. The regiment arrived that evening at Lucerna, and from thence was sent to Bubiano; next day it attempted to enter the territory of St. John, but the Vaudois had placed strong guards at all the passes, and drove it back into the plain. Upon that occasion the excesses consequent upon the want of military discipline, the trouble and confusion which arise in the proximity of camps, prevailed for some days in Piedmont, without penetrating into the Vaudois valleys. These disastrous agitations expired at the confines of that home of the gospel, where courage maintained peace. And they were well entitled to defend themselves—that people, whose number was so small, and whose rulers were then disputing for the throne of a child.

But terrible conflagrations occurring at this period, contributed also to increase the misfortunes of these districts. On the 6th of March, and on the 21st of November, 1634, fire caught hold of the woods of Briqueras, and despoiled the hills around that place of all their lofty trees. These hills are now covered with vineyards. On the 11th of December, 1639, two fires, also at the openings of the valleys, broke out simultaneously—the one between Briqueras and St. Segont, the other between Lucerna and Lucernette. The north-east wind blew strongly; the first of the fires extended to the heights of Prarusting, devouring everything in its course. That of Lucernette quickly seized upon the woods of Bubiano upon the one side, and upon those of Famolasc and Bagnols upon the other; and its ocean of flame swept over the country as far as the hills of Barges, thus occupying a space of several square leagues. The affrighted inhabitants, not being able to contend against this devouring invasion, took to flight, or endeavoured to isolate their dwellings, by cutting down beforehand the trees by which they

were surrounded. Numbers were compelled to defend themselves against the danger, by extinguishing the flames with the wine from their cellars, for want of sufficient water at hand.

This fearful conflagration lasted for several days. The front of the fire might be seen climbing from the plain up the mountains, like a sea of flame, leaving behind its glowing waves the naked and blackened earth, presenting at intervals, over great tracts of country, what looked like immense cauterizations, or frightful blotches of gangrene.

Besides all this, Piedmont was desolated by civil war. Three political parties had formed themselves in the country. Robbery and plunder extended everywhere like another fire. The outlaws, still scattered among the mountains, confidently acted upon their own unhappy pretensions; frequent murders signalized their vengeance. They exhibited, upon a smaller scale, the same conduct which the princes of Savoy then displayed at the head of their armies. One man kills another, and is an assassin; a prince kills a thousand men, and is a hero. When will murderers be weighed in the same balance? When will the nations become weary of shedding their blood like water for dynastic pretensions, which have nothing to do with their welfare? The union of kings is a perpetual conspiracy against liberty; what, then, must their divisions be for the nations of men?

The Marquises of Lucerna, and of Angrogna, having embraced the party of the pretenders to the regency, maltreated the Vaudois, who had refused to take part in these intestine divisions, which brought so much suffering upon the kingdom. Another member of the same family, Count Christopher, upon the contrary, espoused the cause of the duchess and her son.

It was dreaded that the usurpers, supported by the Spanish army, might devastate the Vaudois valleys with fire and sword. A general meeting was held at St. John, to consider what was to be done. The count was there. The pastor, Anthony Léger, insisted that the Vaudois should maintain their independence on behalf of the legitimate prince, Charles Emmanuel II., then a minor, and the tutelage of whom his uncles were disputing with his mother. The Vaudois prepared their own militia for service; made provision for the maintenance of the government, already much disorganized; opened the passage of the Alps to the French army, which Turenne and D'Harcourt led to the succour of Christina; and finally restored to that victorious princess one of the best defended provinces of her dominions.

The recollection of all this, which she afterwards showed them

that she retained, was far from being that of gratitude; and this princess, when she became powerful, was like the serpent warmed again to life. But at the present time she was in misfortune, and perhaps even afterwards, she was more weak than cruel.

Be this as it may, the enemies of the Vaudois availed themselves of their position around her to irritate her against them; and as Léger had exercised a great influence in the council of his countrymen, they had him condemned to death for contumacy, on the pretext that he had been in the service of foreign powers, without authority from his lawful sovereign. This service had been limited to the discharge of his pastoral functions whilst he was with the ambassador of the United Provinces. But any pretext is good enough for hatred, and hatred was satisfied. Léger was compelled to retire to Geneva, where the academy of that town had long the honour to number him amongst its professors. He was a man of extremely mild character, and of remarkable talent.

Encouraged by this first success, the enemies of the Vaudois went farther in their demands. Agents of the Roman Propaganda had established themselves at Turin, and their influence extended, like an invisible net-work, over the court of Savoy. The father of the duchess, Henry IV., had been a Protestant; fanaticism presented this circumstance to the mistaken eyes, or rather to the servile conscience of Christina, as casting upon her origin a deplorable stain, which the most fervent zeal alone could efface; and we have seen already wherein zeal for Catholicism consists. Everything injurious to the Protestants was fervour in her estimation; the Propaganda encouraged these sentiments, and their triumph was completed through the influence of political views.

This took place in the following manner:—From the vacancy of the ducal throne, and from the moment that Christina's regency was disputed, the clergy gave all their support to her competitor, Maurice, of Savoy, who was a cardinal. Christina, therefore, in order to win back the clergy to her side, thought it necessary to rival her brother-in-law in zeal, that is to say, in concessions, honour, and power, accorded to the clergy; restrictions, rigour, and intolerance, in regard to the Vaudois. One of the first acts of her government was to enjoin the Vaudois settled without their limits to return to them within the space of three days.¹ A month before, she had given instructions to the magistrates in favour of the Capuchin missionaries, ordaining that, upon information lodged, the podestats should act according to their office against those whom

¹ Dated 3d November, 1637.

they denounced.¹ Next year she renewed her orders against the Vaudois extending themselves beyond their own territory.²

At this time an accident happened to the castle of Cavour, which was in part destroyed by lightning, but was restored by the French. A year afterwards, at the synod of St. Germain,³ the younger Léger was ordained to the holy ministry, who at a later period became, by his courage, as well as by his writings, one of the most powerful defenders of the valleys. The congregation which he was then appointed to supply was that of Pral and Rodoret. Some months after, the duchess, still upon solicitation of the Propagandists, gave many injunctions to the prefect of the province, whose name was Rossano, to have the Protestant worship interdicted at St. John, and the church shut up which the Vaudois possessed there.⁴ Again she renewed the prohibition against their passing beyond their limits, not only to acquire lands, but even to farm them, and that under pain of death and confiscation of goods.

A special commissioner was sent from Turin to watch over the observance of this edict—a doctor of laws from Montcallier, master of requests to the council of state, and very zealous in the sense in which that term was understood by his sovereign. His name was Gastaldo, and he took up his abode at Lucerna. His first care was to cite all the Vaudois to appear before him who possessed lands or establishments of any kind beyond the limits to which it was thought fit to restrain them—limits which became narrower continually; for, according to a more recent order, even the right bank of the Pélis had been interdicted to them.⁵ The persons cited having refused to appear, their properties and establishments were declared to be confiscated and to have fallen to the exchequer.⁶

But it was not enough to oppress the Vaudois; favour must also be shown to their adversaries, and in a very long edict⁷ of the Duchess of Savoy, in which she treats at once of duels, of the chase, and of taxes, all the governors of castles in the Vaudois valleys were ordained to accede freely to the requests of the Capuchin missionaries, to attend at the meetings held by the Vaudois, to watch over them and to interdict them if necessary. The Vaudois were at the same time prohibited from assembling without the presence of chaplains, under a penalty of fifty crowns of gold for every

¹ Dated 19th October, 1637.

² 9th November, 1638.

³ 27th September, 1639.

⁴ These orders are of date the 4th and 17th of April, 1640. The church of the Vaudois was then situated in the quarter of Les Malanots.

⁵ This order was of date 23d December, 1640. Gastaldo's citation was of date 14th January, 1641.

⁶ By decree of Gastaldo, 29th January, 1641.

⁷ Of 15th and 16th January, 1642.

one who should contravene the edict; and this singular edict, which contains so many other things, promises, moreover, an immunity from public burdens for five years together, to all Protestants who should consent to become Catholics.

This promise having seduced no one, it was renewed by a special edict still more urgent than the first.¹ A few abjured; but the public contempt, and the affronts which they received from their fellow-countrymen, very soon compelled them to quit the valleys, and to seek a residence elsewhere.²

Shortly after succeeded, one after another, measures still more rigorous against the Vaudois. They were prohibited from passing beyond their limits, even for a few hours, except on market-days.³ The magistrates of the neighbouring towns were enjoined, in case of their so doing, to arrest them without any legal formality.⁴ At the same time proceedings were instituted against their pastors⁵—the official celebration of the Catholic worship was appointed to take place in all the Protestant parishes⁶—the Capuchins were encouraged,⁷ and new rewards were promised to apostasy.⁸

In 1645, an institution was founded at Lucerna, expressly to receive and provide with marriage portions such young Vaudois girls as might abjure; but this institution could not maintain itself. The same year a Sovereign Council, established in Piedmont by the king of France, adopted still more vexatious measures against the Vaudois of Pérouse and Pragela.⁹ The Catholics, and those who had become Catholics, were loaded with the favours of the court.¹⁰ A young minister, named Louis Gaston D'Albret, who was born at Paris, and had studied at Geneva, arrived in the valleys, where he filled the office of pastor for two months, when he was unable to resist the pressing solicitations to apostasy which were addressed to the Vaudois. He abjured on the 26th of July, 1647—received great honours at Turin—resided with the nuncio, and afterwards disappeared from the country, bearing with him a gratuity of 800 livres which the Duchess of Savoy had sent him,

¹ This second edict is of 6th April, 1642. I mark these dates precisely, because these events have been related by no previous historian.

² As the family of Durands of Rora, which removed to Bagnol.

³ 17th February, 1644.

⁴ 18th September, 1645.

⁵ The judiciary citations relative to Anthony Léger are of date 20th December, 1642, and 10th April, 1643. A petition of the Vaudois, on this subject, bears date 12th June. The order relative to the ministers Guérin and Lépreux, is of 3d April, 1647.

⁶ This order is of 13th December, 1646.

⁷ Orders of 10th January, 28th April; 8th October, 1646; 22d July, 1648, &c.

⁸ 8th May, 1645; 8th March, 1648, &c.

⁹ Edict of 17th July, 1645.

¹⁰ For general favours, exemption from burdens, from taxes, &c., 10th September, 1645; 9th and 12th October 1647; 4th November, 1648.

eager perhaps to get him removed from her dominions, as well as withdrawn from Protestantism; for she also was a D'Albret, that name being a patronymic of the progenitors of Henry IV.

The ancient privileges of the Vaudois were, however, ratified at this period more frequently than ever;¹ for the Vaudois thought to make them more secure by confirmations. In this the court granted nothing, and they gained nothing; on the contrary, they robbed themselves; for the fees of sealing, copying, and registration required costly sacrifices at their hand on each new confirmation. But Rome grudged them even this impotent safeguard; and Innocent X. annulled, by a pontifical decree, dated on the 19th of August, 1649, the last favours which these poor people had obtained from their sovereigns. The influence of the Propagandists went on increasing, and ere long all the privileges, guaranteed in such mockery, were arbitrarily suspended by the edict of the 20th of February, 1650.² This suspension was to continue until the Vaudois should have demolished the eleven places of worship which they possessed beyond the prescribed limits; dismissed those pastors who were natives of other countries;³ shut up the numerous schools maintained by them elsewhere than in their own territory; and consented to the universal celebration of the Catholic worship in all the valleys. These severities were all owing to the increasing intrigues of the Capuchins and the Propaganda.

The Vaudois sent up petition after petition, and, by these dilatory means, only succeeded in keeping all their difficulties unresolved. The monks, meanwhile, erected chapels in the valleys, notwithstanding the visible displeasure, and sometimes the formal opposition of the inhabitants: it required an edict of the sovereign to compel the people of Macel to permit the building of the church of La Salsa.⁴

But the claims and representations of the clergy became every day more urgent; and the petitions of the Vaudois having been rejected, instructions were given to Gastaldo, on the 15th of May, 1650, to restrict them within a boundary-line drawn above St. John and La Tour; ordaining all those who were settled in these

¹ An edict of 26th February, 1635, approved on 19th September, confirmed the privileges of 1585; it cost the Vaudois 15,198 livres. Other confirmations were dated 8th May, 1643; 17th July, 1648; 30th June, 1649, &c.

² This edict was grounded upon a Report or *Parere* of the Minister of Justice, *Gambarana*, of which the reasoning is curious enough—"Perchè," it says, "*detti heretici . . . sono disobedientissimi, e continuamente intravengono alli ordini di V. A. R., e alle loro proprie concessioni . . .*" &c., &c.

³ The pastor, Daniel Roche, had already been recalled from the valleys to Geneva, where he had entered the academy of that town in the capacity of a professor. The letter recalling him is dated 23d March, 1648.

⁴ Edict of 28th January, 1649.

communes, as well as those of Lucernette, Bubiano, Fenil, and St. Segont, to retire from thence within the space of three days, under pain of death, with obligation to sell their possessions within the space of fifteen days, under pain of having them confiscated. The entirely Protestant communes of Bobi, Villar, Angrogna, and Rora, were enjoined to maintain, at their own expense, a station of Capuchin missionaries in each; and, at the same time that all possible means were thus employed to augment the number of Catholics, foreign Protestants were absolutely prohibited from settling in the valleys under pain of death, and of a fine of 1000 crowns of gold, to be imposed on the commune which should admit them.

Charged to put in execution enactments so Draconic, or rather, to designate more perfectly their cruel injustice and savage atrocity, enactments so profoundly Catholic—Gastaldo, however little sympathy he had hitherto shown for the Vaudois, acted with great moderation, it must be said, in the application of this ordinance, which, in his hands, became rather comminatory than repressive. The times fixed by the ordinance had long passed over without the parties, who were so unfortunate as to come under its sweep, having yet complied with it, and Gastaldo kept his eyes closed. He himself supported, by his representations to the sovereign, the petitions which were sent up by the persons interested, against whom, in the meantime, he took no steps; and ere long new confirmations of their ancient privileges were granted to them, on the 12th of January and the 4th of June, 1653. Thus the barbarous ordinance of the 15th of May, 1650, was never carried into effect.

But during this interval the Propaganda had attained unexpected greatness in consequence of the jubilee, which, in 1650, brought to Rome the rich tribute of the superstitions of all Europe. A sort of popular enthusiasm was created for that work, in which it was open to all Catholics, of whatever condition, to take a part. To be engaged in it, was all that was necessary to obtain a plenary indulgence; persons of great note enlisted themselves; princes and artisans took their places together in these ranks; there was no one who did not need indulgences, or, at least, there was no one who had not some need of pardon; this institution of the Propaganda, therefore, rapidly extended, not only in Italy, but also in France. It had special councils in almost all the towns of these countries; and now to its title of "*Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith*," it added, in Piedmont at least, these supplementary words, "*and for the extirpation of heretics.*"¹ These councils,

¹ *Congregatio de propagandâ fide et extirpandis hereticis.*

as we have already said, were indifferently, or rather, with perfidious ingenuity, composed of persons of *civil life* and persons of *religious life*, if that name of *religious life* may be given to the gross fanaticism which labours, hand in hand, with corruption and cruelty. Yet this is what Rome calls zeal! If such be not the language of Antichrist, where shall we expect to find it?

As there was a plenary indulgence for the Propagandists, the women also desired to have their share. They formed a special council; and thenceforth the Propaganda was composed of two councils—one of men and another of women. This institution was founded at Turin, under the high favour of a royal ordinance.¹ The archbishop of that city, and the Marquis of St. Thomas, a minister of the crown, were the presidents of the former of these councils. The Marchioness of Pianesse was president of the latter. She had spent her youth in dissipation, and sought to expiate her past faults by the extremeness of her new zeal. Being a woman of strong passions, and easily led away, but perhaps also of a noble and generous disposition, it was no difficult matter for her spiritual directors to impel her into a wrong course, which they could teach her to regard as that of duty. Mankind, in general, are more easily swayed by a command issued in name of truth than by proof of the truth. Here lies the secret of the power of Popery.

All means were set in operation by the Propagandists to attain the object of their association; and as we now enter on the historic chapter of Léger, we shall borrow from that historian some particulars concerning the proceedings of the council, which owed for its president the Marchioness of Pianesse.²

"These ladies," says he, "divide the towns into districts, and each visits her district twice a-week, suborning simple girls, female servants, and children, by their cajoleries and fair promises; and causing trouble and annoyance to those who do not choose to listen to them. They have their spies everywhere, who inform them of all Protestant families in which there is any domestic disagreement; and then they profit by the occasion to blow the fire of division as much as possible, to separate the husband from his wife, and the wife from her husband, the child from his father and mother, &c., promising them, and in fact bestowing upon them, great advantages, if they engage to attend mass. Frequently they impel them to institute law-suits against one another, and if once they have a hold of them by this handle, they never let them go until they have either recanted, or are ruined. They know the

¹ This ordinance is cited in the edict of 31st May, 1650.

² Léger, Part II., chap. vi.

merchant who is unprosperous in business, the gentleman who has gambled away or squandered all that he had, and in general all families which fall into necessitous circumstances. And to seduce them with their *dabo tibi*, these ladies never fail to propose apostasy to these persons when they are almost desperate. They make their way into the very prisons, and accomplish the release of criminals who give themselves up to them. And as they employ great sums of money in keeping all this machinery in motion, and paying those who sell their souls to them for bread, they make regular collections, and do not fail to visit all families in good circumstances, shops, taverns, gambling-houses, &c., demanding alms for the extirpation of heresy. And if any person of condition arrives at an inn, they lose no time in paying their respects to him with an empty purse in their hands. To conclude, they meet in most of the towns twice a-week, to compare accounts of what they have done, and to concert plans for what they are to do. If it so happens that they have need of the secular arm, or of an order of Parliament, it is rarely that they do not succeed in obtaining it. The councils of the lesser towns give in reports to those of the metropolitan towns, the latter to the council of the capital, and those of the capitals to that of Rome, where is the great spider that holds the threads of all this web."¹

Such was the secret of the power so rapidly and immensely organized and extended by the activity, everywhere multiplied and propagated, of the innumerable agents who served it, and were its devoted instruments. The Marchioness of Pianesse herself, Léger adds, great lady as she was, and unquestionably the first at court, took the pains, as long as she lived, of going in person several times a-week, to make the above-mentioned collections through the town, even in the public-houses.² Could we desire greater devotedness or self-denial in a work of Christian charity? Let us do justice to our persecutors! they thought to serve the cause of charity: but let us execrate the detestable Popery which so perverted the idea of charity, and which changed into infernal poisons the most celestial perfumes of the noblest souls!

And these were not the only works of this kind to which these generous-hearted persons were guided by their church of perdition, and to which they might sometimes be seen to flock with a disinterestedness well worthy of a better cause. All the Vaudois children that could be withdrawn from under their paternal roof, and carried off from their parents, were considered as innocent victims saved from heresy, that is to say, snatched from the claws

¹ Léger, Part II., page 74.

² Ibid.

of Satan, and rescued from eternal perdition. Zealous Papists did not shrink from making the greatest sacrifices, braving even the terrors of the laws and the vengeance of men, in order to seize upon them. These children were then placed with rich Catholic families, who undertook their maintenance, or in convents, which undertook to make them slowly die to the world, to their native country, to the pure affections of the heart, and to the faith of the Bible. But what anguish and disorder were thus brought into families! And in this way did the abominable power of corruption, deposited in the bosom of Catholicism, transform the natural generosity of the hearts of its adherents into odious deception and barbarous treachery, as it had transformed Christian doctrine into miserable superstitions. The law of Nature was not more respected than the law of Revelation: for indeed both are from the same Divine source, and it is in the nature of Antichrist to oppose everything which comes from God.

It was, however, under the guise, and perhaps in all the sincerity of the greatest benevolence, that the instruments of apostasy were sometimes made to act, whose inflexible and cruel servility was perhaps also nothing else than the Catholic transformation of a genuine devotedness. Thus, by the concurrence of a number of rich persons and diverse legacies, there were opened in all the valleys (at Lucerna, at Pignerol, and at Le Perrier), establishments for lending money upon pledges, which were then called *Lombards*, and are now known as *Monts de Piété*.

The valleys were exhausted by the successive cantoning of different bodies of troops since 1653.¹ The famine augmented the price of wares, and poverty made them scarce. The establishments of which we speak had stores of corn, linen, various kinds of stuffs, and cash, all which resources they placed at the disposal of the Vaudois. When one of them had pawned his last articles of furniture, in order to prolong his life, they offered to restore them to him without any repayment on his part, on condition that he should give his soul in pawn to Popery; or they threatened him with the prison, if he did not reimburse them for the advances which he had received, and afterwards offered to release him from it, to annul his debt, and even to furnish him with fresh assistance, if he would abjure. These means were successful in drawing over numbers of persons, but still they did not accomplish so much as was desired.

¹ Piedmont was then in alliance with France, and opened a passage through its territory to the troops of Louis XIV. to go to the assistance of the Duke of Modena. They were led by Prince Thomas, uncle of the Duke of Savoy.

The death of the Marchioness of Pianesse drew near. Not hoping anything more from this world, she bethought herself of her husband, whom she had not seen for a long time: she sent for him and said to him, "I believe I have much to expiate, and perhaps in my conduct towards you. My soul is in danger, help me and labour for the conversion of the Vaudois." The husband promised; he was a brave soldier, and he laboured accordingly in soldierly style, putting all to fire and sword.¹ He had still another motive for obeying, namely, that his wife left him considerable sums, of which he was to have the disposal only upon that condition. The Jesuits presided at this compact of agony and extermination suggested by the Propaganda. From this time forth their only business was to find an occasion, or pretext, or reason for violent measures. The monks became more arrogant than ever, and the Jesuits dispersed agents amongst the Vaudois, whose employment was to provoke and excite the people to some sudden out-breaking.

Léger relates that the wife of Pastor Monget, at Le Villar, took an active part in the burning of the abode of the monks in that place, but the fact is not proved. The habitations of the monks were certainly destroyed by fire, or by the hands of the Vaudois, not only at Le Villar, but at Bobi, Angrogna and Rora; but the punishment of these crimes, in the persons of those who were guilty of them, could not be alleged as a motive for the violent measures of 1655, far less in justification of them; for the last of these acts, the burning of the convent of Le Villar, took place in 1653, and next year, as well as in that same year, the Vaudois again obtained the confirmation of their ancient privileges, after having rebuilt for the monks, the house which had been burned down.² This fact,

¹ Extract from M. Michelet's *Course of History*, published in the supplement of the journal *Le Siècle*, of 8th May, 1843.

² These confirmations were of date the 12th of January, 1653 (before the fire at Le Villar), and the 4th of June, 1653 (after that event), as well as on the 8th of December, 1654. (This last document relates only to civil privileges). In the greater number of papers relative to the events of 1655, which have come under my eyes, I have nowhere found, amongst the complaints brought against the Vaudois, the fact of that fire, which was then an affair terminated and set right. Monget himself was banished from the country. In the reports addressed to the government on the subject of the Vaudois, about the end of 1654, these two complaints are set forth:—

1. That certain young people of Prarusting, in returning from a wedding, had cast down, in sport, a *piloun* already ruined. (This name is given to a kind of isolated pillars which support nothing, but in which is formed a little niche where is placed either a statue or a picture of the Virgin, holding in her arms the infant Jesus. This figure is named the *Madone*).

2. The Vaudois of La Tour are accused of having excited an ass, and then let

to which Léger ascribes too much importance, because of the part which he acted as moderator in connection with it, had nothing whatever to do with the proceedings of 1655. Pretexts more serious, but having as little foundation, were then brought forward. The priest of Fenil had been assassinated. The assassin was seized after another crime. Pardon was promised him upon condition that he should confess plainly that he had killed the priest solely at the instigation of the Vaudois, and in particular of Léger, then pastor at St. John. Berru (such was the assassin's name), not having shrunk from the commission of a crime which entailed upon him capital punishment, could not be expected to shrink from a falsehood which was to save his life.

And it was on the denunciation of this man, guilty of three avowed murders, that the pastor of St. John, unknown to himself, without examination, and without being confronted with his accuser, without any judicial process, and without having even been cited, was condemned to death, as the instigator of one of these assassinations, whilst the assassin was set at liberty. We may easily understand the sentiments of indignation which are expressed in the writings of Léger, and cannot be surprised if the heart of the persecuted man sometimes caused the pen of the historian to tremble.

When hatred was reduced to such accusations as these—when the magistracy could listen to them, there must assuredly have been a world of prejudices on the one side, and a very irreprehensible life upon the other. But the worthlessness of the pretext shows the blindness of the hatred: other machinations show its ingenuity.

Louis XIV. had sent troops to the succour of the Duke of Modena in 1654, and it was resolved to take advantage of their return and their passage through Piedmont, towards the end of that year, to canton them in the Vaudois valleys, and to make them serve for the work in hand. A dreadful success crowned the clerical intrigues in this instance, and there would therefore rest an ineffaceable stigma on the front of Catholicism, like the mark on Cain, the first fratricide, even if bloody pages were not so abundant in the history of that religion.

him loose to cross the ranks of a Catholic procession. Their justification bears that this ass, which had been fastened before a shop, was frightened by the singing, the noise, the appearance, and banners of the procession itself, and that it broke its halter and escaped without anybody having to do with it.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PIEDMONTESE EASTER, OR THE MASSACRES OF 1655.¹

(SATURDAY, THE 24TH OF APRIL, BEING EASTER EVE.)

Proceedings of the Society *de Propaganda fide*—Gastaldo, the duke's lieutenant in the valleys—Severe measures—Prolonged and fruitless negotiations—The Marquis of Pianesse—His deceitfulness—He puts himself at the head of troops for the extermination of the Vaudois—Indecision of the Vaudois, who are in part deceived by false pretences—Janavel—The Vaudois resist the Marquis of Pianesse at La Tour, but are defeated—Further combats—Further treachery of Pianesse—Massacre on the day before Easter—Fearful atrocities—M. Du Petitbourg refuses to conduct his troops upon occasion of this massacre—His subsequent exposure of its enormities.

ALL the means hitherto employed to destroy the Vaudois having proved insufficient, others were devised; for the avowed object of the Propaganda, officially established at Turin, and extended over the whole of Piedmont, was *the extirpation of heretics*. Whatever

¹ AUTHORITIES.—The works which follow being very numerous, I think it may be advantageous to arrange them in two sections:—

I. *Works written with a design favourable to the Vaudois.*—*Léger*. The most important. His whole work relates to this epoch of the history of the Vaudois. Léger is rich in documents; but being himself a witness of the events which he relates, and a sufferer, he sometimes writes in a style which displays much passionate feeling. His work was reprinted at Lyons in 1699, in one vol., folio, and translated into German, Breslau, 1750, 4to.—Léger embodies in this work the greater part of Morland's "*History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont*, . . ." &c. Folio, which was printed at London in 1658, whilst Léger's work was not printed (at Leyden) till 1669. Two vols., folio, ordinarily bound in one.—"*Rélation véritable de ce qui s'est passé dans les persécutions et massacres faits, cette année, aux Eglises Réformées de Piémont*," &c. . . . Place of printing not given. M.DC.LV. 4to of 84 pages.—At page 55 commences a second little work, entitled "*Suite de la relation contenant une succincte réfutation de l'invective du Marquis de Pianesse*. . ." &c. The same work was also printed at Geneva, with this note, *Jouste la copie imprimée à Turin, M.DC.LV.*—It has been republished, with some modifications, under different titles:—" *Récit véritable de ce qui est arrivé depuis peu, aux vallées de Piémont*." (No date nor place of printing.) 8vo of 47 pages.—"*Discours sur les calamités des fidèles de Piémont*." 8vo, 20 pages.—"*Lettre des fidèles des vallées de Piémont, à MM. les Etats-généraux*," &c. 8vo, 15 pages. (Dated from Pinache in the Val Perouse, at that period belonging to France, 27th July, 1655.)—" *Lettre des Protestants des vallées de Pérouse à Mylord Protecteur d'Angleterre, avec un cantique sur les actes funestes de leur massacre et de leur paix*." 8vo. Two little works, each of 8 pages.—"*Rélation véritable de Piedmont, de ce qui s'est passé dans les persécutions et massacres, cette 1655 année, des Eglises réformées*," &c. Villefranche, MDCLV. 8vo. Not paged. 32 leaves.—"*Histoire d'une ambassade des cantons évangéliques de la Suisse, au Duc de Savoie, en 1655*." (Revue Suisse, t. iii. p. 260.)—" *Voix de pleurs et de lamentations*." Printed at Villefranche, MDCLX., small 4to, 402 pages. The second part

might be the reasons to which recourse was had for the institution or justification of the violent proceedings now to be considered, this avowed object was their real cause.

alone relates to our subject. Its title is "*Examen de la procédure et des cruautés que les massacreurs ont exercé contre les pauvres Chrétiens des vallées de Piedmont, avec les pleurs et lamentations de leurs frères*," from p. 89 to p. 242. (Not at all historic.) See also most of the works which treat generally of the Vaudois.

II. Works written in a spirit unfavourable to the Vaudois.—"*Rélation des événements qui se sont passés entre les Vaudois et le Duc de Savoie, faite par ordre de S. M. (Ch. Emmanuel II.,) pour répondre à une autre relation des Vaudois, partielle et inexacte*." It is to this work that the second part of the "*Rélation Véritable*," cited in the preceding section, is a reply, derived from the work of Morland.—"*Somma delle ragioni e fondamenti, con quali S. A. R. s'è mossa a proibire alli heretici della valle di Luserna, l'habitatione fuori de limiti tolerati, Torino, 1655*." Folio, 10 pages. It is the French translation of this manifesto, which has been cited amongst the authorities for the preceding chapter.—"*Summa rationum quibus Regia Celsitudo Seren. Sabaudiae Ducis adducta est ut prohiberet haereticis Lucernae vallis ne extra limites toleratos domicilium haberent. Augusta Taur.*" Folio, eight pages. The same manifesto in Latin. It commences with an apology for the order of January 25, 1655, and contains some interesting documents.—"*Rélation des succès arrivés en la vallée de Lucerne, l'an 1655*." Not paged, and with no intimation where it was printed. (Léger has given the whole of this pamphlet in the tenth chapter of his second part, refuting it point by point.)—"*Relazione de successi seguiti nella valle di Luserna, nel anno 1655*." Folio, eight pages, without intimation where printed. (This is the same pamphlet in Italian. Its great object is the justification of the Marquis of Pianesse.)—"*Rélation très véritable, de ce qui s'est passé aux vallées de Luserne, Saint-Martin et Angrogne, cette année de 1655*," &c. 4to, 38 pages. No indication where printed. (This pamphlet is a reply to the "*Rélation Véritable*" of the Vaudois, which is itself a reply to the "*Relation*" of the Marquis of Pianesse.)—"*Gesta in valle Lucernensi, anno 1655*." 4to, eight pages. (No date nor place of printing.) A translation of it in French. Folio, 10 pages.

To these works relative to the circumstances of this period, and called forth by them, may be added the following:—"*La conversione di quaranta eretici, con due loro principali ministri, d' alla setta di Calvino, alla santa fede catolica; nell' augusta città di Torino, alla 18 di maggio 1655*." (Not paged, and without date or place of printing.)—The pastors here referred to returned afterwards to the evangelical faith, and published "*Sainte palinodie, ou repentance des prisonniers des Eglises Réformées de Piémont, lesquels par infirmité, avaient fait abjuration de la vérité, avec une brève reformation des articles de ladite abjuration, dressés par ordonnance de l'archevêque de Turin et du général des Inquisiteurs de ladite cité*." MDCLVI. 8vo, 87 pages. (No place of printing.) See concerning the facts of this case, Léger, part II. p. 65.

To all these may be added the diplomatic papers exchanged between the different Protestant powers of Europe and the Court of Turin, on occasion of these events, which may be found partially embodied in several collections, *Leti, Life of Cromwell*; *Morland, Léger, Florent, Martinet*, &c. These papers are preserved in the State archives at Turin, where also several manuscripts are to be found: "*Origine de la guerre des Barbeta en 1655*;" "*Relation de ce qui s'est passé à l'arrivée et au départ des ambassadeurs Suisses*," &c.—"*Mémoire remis par les ambassadeurs Suisses à S. A. R. en faveur des Vaudois*;" "*Notta delle transgressione attuali che commettono gli eretici*," &c., all relating to the latter part of the year 1655; and a multitude of other notes, documents of various kinds, and in particular, letters, of which the greater part (but not all) have been published.

Charles Emmanuel II. was a prince of much clemency and goodness, and with much that was noble in his character. The Vaudois allowed themselves to be drawn into unaccustomed murmurings, and even reprehensible doings, under the excitement of a system of incessant provocations and wrongs to which they were subjected, unknown to their sovereign, by the Jesuits, the Capuchins, and the Propaganda. But again it must be said, that neither the intentions of the duke, nor the doings of the Vaudois, were the cause of the massacres of 1655. The spirit of Popery alone excited that storm. But how was the duke induced to favour it?

It has already been said, that the council *De Propagandâ fide et extirpandis hæreticis* was composed of the highest personages of the court.¹ Its meetings were held in the palace of the Archbishop of Turin. Other councils established in the provinces sent in their reports to it. These reports were invariably hostile to the Vaudois. Their immemorial residence at Saint John, at Briqueras, at Bubiano, and at Campillon, was represented as if they had made new encroachments; their appeals to their ancient privileges as acts of resistance to the recent decrees of Gastaldo, himself a member of this council. Other reports, founded upon these, were presented to the sovereign by ministers who also formed part of this council of extirpation and of death (*de extirpandis hæreticis*).

It is a fact honourable to the Duke of Savoy, that he did not consent at that time to adopt any new measure more severe than preceding ones, but confined himself solely to giving Gastaldo orders that the edict of 15th May, 1650, should be put into execution—an edict which indeed had, since that time, been suspended and legally abrogated by late ratifications of the ancient privileges, but which was still valid as to certain reserved articles, and was far exceeded by the pressing and almost universal demands of the public fanaticism, then clamouring for the complete annihilation of the Vaudois. As to the military operations which followed, the duke had the responsibility of them without directing them, and we shall soon also see by what combinations of insidious and perfidious intrigues both the inhabitants of the valleys and the Duke of Savoy were deceived. The former fell by thousands in a frightful carnage; the latter was rejected by indignant Europe from amongst the number of civilized princes; and the cause of all this

¹ It included the Minister of State, the Marquis of St. Thomas; Ferrari, the President of the Senate; Philippa, President of the Court of Accounts; the Grand Chancellor; the Archbishop of Turin; the King's Confessor; the Marquis de Pianesse; the Count Christoforo; the Abbé de la Mena; Gastaldo, Lieutenant of the Crown, and, from the year 1650, Supreme Governor of the Valleys; as also Borengo, the founder of the Grey Friars of La Tour, Grand Prior of Lucerna, &c.

was Rome—alone remaining barbarous, persecuting, and savage, in the midst of civilization.

Gastaldo, the duke's special lieutenant in the Vaudois valleys, having been ordered to see that the people complied with the requirements of the edict of 15th May, 1650,¹ issued, on the 25th of January, 1655, an edict, bearing that all Protestant heads of families settled in the communes of Lucerna and Lucernette, Fenil and Campillon, Bubiano and Briqueras, St. Segont, St. John, and La Tour, should remove to the communes of Bobi, Villar, Angrogna, and Rora—the only communes of the valley in which his royal highness was disposed to tolerate their religion—and that within the space of three days, under pain of death and confiscation of goods. Moreover, they were bound to sell their lands within the twenty days next following, at least unless they would consent to become Catholics. Finally, it was ordained that the Catholic worship should be celebrated in all the Protestant communes, whilst the Vaudois were prohibited from offering any molestation; and the penalty of death was denounced against any one who should dissuade a Protestant from becoming a Catholic. All these provisions show plainly enough in what spirit and under what influence this edict was conceived.

Gastaldo, however, who was authorized by his instructions to banish all the Vaudois families resident within the prohibited communes, confined himself to demanding, in the first instance, the removal of their heads. The Vaudois obeyed. All the heads of families against whom these requirements were directed retired into the higher parts of the valley. A petition was addressed to the sovereign. He seemed disposed to clemency. The Count Christopher of Lucerna interceded for the oppressed people. "I would willingly allow them to reside at St. John and at La Tour," said the duke, "if they, on their part, would consent to retire from the other localities nearer to the plain, for their adversaries will not leave me in peace without having obtained some satisfaction."

Meanwhile, the Propaganda bestirred itself. In place of the duke's being told that the Vaudois were perfectly ready to obey, he was told that they were in a state of rebellion, and had already assassinated the priest of Fenil. Their deputies arrived at Turin, and were not received. The court remitted them to the council of the Propaganda, saying that they would have to deal with it. This council likewise refused to receive them on account of their

¹ These orders were given on the 13th of January, 1655. The ratifications of their privileges, subsequent to 15th May, 1650, were not yet legally approved. Of this, advantage was taken to consider them as not granted.

being Protestants, and ordained them to have their petition presented by a Popish procurator. They chose one named Gibelino, who was introduced into the hall of deliberation. The council was sitting, the Archbishop presiding; and the humble procurator of the Vaudois was obliged to present their petition on his knees. The reply of the Council was, that they must send other deputies, authorized to make suitable engagements in name of all the people.

These new representatives arrived at Turin on the 12th of February, but their mandate bore that they should subscribe nothing contrary to the concessions or privileges of their constituents. They were told that this would not suffice, and that they must be furnished with unlimited powers. They returned to the valleys; and the following month was spent in exchanging protocols, and sending memorials and supplications, sometimes to the court, sometimes to the Marquis of Pianesse, who at all events replied very temperately to those which were addressed to him.

Moderation of language sometimes proceeds from hardness of heart. Perverse sentiments permit a man to be more master of himself than generous sentiments do. It will soon appear that these observations are not incorrect in reference to the Marquis of Pianesse, whose conduct has suggested them. He had, moreover, studied in the school of Jesuitism, and its atrocities sanctioned the course which he pursued—perfidious but polished—cruel but devout—shrinking from no means of attaining an object. The fruits of this doctrine are like those of which an old Vaudois poem speaks—

Lical son vernis e lendenas e poelh abimol.¹

At last, in the beginning of April, 1655, a third Vaudois deputation, composed of two deputies only,² repaired to Turin, furnished with a general mandate by which they were authorized to accept all the conditions which it might please his royal highness to impose, provided always that their liberty of conscience was untouched; and, in the event of its being menaced, they were to demand, in name of all their brethren, permission to retire from the dominions of his royal highness.

This was to state the question courageously and unambiguously. It was not to shrink from its difficulties. The answer must needs be decisive.

The Marquis of Pianesse was commissioned to make it. After

¹ Which are outwardly splendid (*vernis*), and of which the interior is abominable dust.—*La Barca*, stanza xvii.

² David Bianchi, of St. John, for the valley of Lucerna, and Francis Manchon for that of St. Martin.

some delays he fixed a day for an audience. It was the 17th of April, 1655. The deputies proceeded to the palace; they were told to come back at a later hour. They came back; his excellency was not yet visible. They presented themselves a third time, and were put off for a day or two. "What can be the meaning of this?" said the deputies, full of impatience and anxiety. They were but too soon informed.

On the evening previous to the day which had been assigned to them for an audience, namely, on the 16th of April, at nightfall, the Marquis of Pianesse had quitted Turin to join the armed force which awaited him on the road to the Vaudois valleys; and next day, whilst the commissioners, men of candour and integrity, were confidently waiting to see him at his mansion, Pianesse, in whom Jesuitism had extinguished at once nobility of blood and the honour of the soldier, was already on the verge of their country, at the head of troops intended for the extermination of their people.

These troops were numerous. Besides those which were already quartered in the district, there was the regiment of *Grancey*, commanded by the first captain, *Du Petitbourg*, quartered at Pignerol. There were also the regiment of the city, commanded by *Galeazzo*; that of *Chablais*, commanded by the *Prince de Montafon*, and that of *St. Damian*, commanded by an officer of that name. The Marquis of Pianesse had the general command of all the assembled forces.

On the 17th of April, he sent a messenger to La Tour to require the Vaudois to provide lodging and entertainment for 800 infantry, and 300 cavalry, whose cantonment in their commune had been appointed by his royal highness. "How can his royal highness command us to find lodging for his soldiers, in a place where, by his last edict, we ourselves are prohibited from dwelling?" replied the Vaudois. "Then why are you here?" retorted the messenger. "We are here on our business," said they, "but we have removed our residence to within the appointed limits." The messenger therefore returned without having accomplished anything. Towards evening, the Marquis of Pianesse, after having passed, without resistance, the line of Briqueras, Fenil, Campillon, Bubiano, and St. John, from which the Vaudois had retired, arrived under the walls of La Tour with the regiments of the city and of St. Damian.¹

¹ I shall sometimes desert, in the recital of these events, the narrative of Léger, to which, however, I shall always refer for the facts of which he was an eye-witness, or of which he gives satisfactory proofs. The details following are also from the

It may readily be supposed that this concentration of troops upon the valleys, the avowed designs of the Propaganda, the high position of those who were engaged in its cause, the general excitement of popular fanaticism, the warnings of their friends, and the threats of their adversaries, must have revealed to the Vaudois, clearly enough, the hostile intentions entertained against them. They knew not, however, how far it was necessary for them to be upon their guard, or how far they might trust to the good faith of their sovereign. No official prosecution had been directed against them; they had obeyed the edict of the 25th of January, whilst they protested against it, and had sent deputies for the purpose of obtaining its revocation; and these commissioners were still at Turin. On the one hand the Vaudois could not overlook the violent projects of the Propaganda, but on the other there was room for doubt if the Duke of Savoy would become the instrument or accomplice of that body.

What were they to do? They betook themselves to prayer; they consulted their pastors; they wrote to Geneva; the general voice recommended them to take measures of self-defence; but uncertainty as to the future prevented the concerting of any plan. They perceived that a storm was coming; but could they foresee the extent of the calamities with which they were to be overwhelmed? If they had foreseen them, all hesitation would have disappeared, and the vigour of an unanimous resistance would have

pen of an eye-witness (an officer of the regiment of St. Damian), who appears to have written down, day by day, the things which he saw in that expedition. His notes are unpublished, and are contained in the archives of state at Turin. These archives have also furnished me with a great number of official reports and narratives, written when all was over, to abate the horror of the massacres which had been perpetrated in the valleys. One of these documents declares, for example, that in all the valleys not more than fifty Vaudois perished; another affirms that at most some ten or twelve of them were killed. We learn, on the contrary, from the official reports, that in the commune of Bobi alone, there were (according to a statistical report drawn up on the 11th of May) 160 Vaudois killed, 160 who became Catholics, 32 who fled to France, 10 made prisoners, and 40 who were scattered over Piedmont; in that of Le Villar, on the 10th of May, 150 dead (of whom 36 were buried under an avalanche), 289 who became Catholics (all of whose names are given), 20 dispersed among the mountains, 25 in Piedmont, and 4 retained as hostages. This report gives therefore a total of 310 persons put to death in these two communes alone, and raises to more than 2000 the number who perished in all the valleys together. And we may judge of the horrors enacted by those which are avowed; the officer of the Marquis of St. Damian, in the journal of which we have spoken, says, under date the 9th of July, "Alle ore 20, furono uccisi e scoiati due eretici; e ad uno doppio gavato il cuore fu legato un gatto, per mangiarli linterno."

This officer was far from being favourable to the Vaudois, for with regard to an arrangement which they proposed to the Marquis of Pianesse on the 21st of April, he says, "Their pretensions were so impertinent, that it would have seemed as if they had been in the right and the prince in the wrong."

proved itself equal to the maintenance of their despised rights. But in indecision and ignorance—desirous of obeying the commands of their sovereign, which enjoined them to provide quarters for troops—made anxious, and with good reason, by seeing at the head of these troops, one of the leaders of the Propaganda, who had vowed their destruction—neither daring to comply with confidence nor to resist with vigour, they took only half measures, insufficient on either view of the case. Janavel alone had, in the month of February, raised a small company of resolute defenders, in the anticipation, which events too well justified, that the anterior measures already adopted were only the prelude to a terrible persecution. But he was then regarded by his compatriots as too exclusive and too violent.

It has just been stated that the Marquis of Pianesse had appeared, on the 17th of April, at evening, under the walls of La Tour.¹ It was a Saturday, there was fine moonlight—the whole army of the Duke of Savoy halted in the plain, which extends from Les Appiots to Pra-la-Fèra and Les Eyrales. The commander-in-chief caused the Vaudois to be summoned to provide quarters. They being only some 300 or 400 in the town, replied that it was impossible for them to furnish quarters, that no preparation had been made, and that they requested time to reflect and to consider the matter.

Delay was absolutely refused—they were told that they must immediately receive the troops; and, in case of refusal, the troops would seize by force the posts demanded. Hereupon the Vaudois entrenched themselves behind bastions erected in haste. The entrance of La Tour, opposite to the bridge of Angrogna, was closed with barricades. This barrier arrested the enemy, and was thickly covered with defenders. It was near ten o'clock at night. The Marquis of Pianesse caused the attack to be commenced, the Vaudois made a valiant resistance. After three hours' fighting the assailants had still obtained no advantage. But towards one o'clock in the morning, Count Amadeus of Lucerna, who knew the locality, put himself at the head of the regiment *de villa*, commanded by Galeazzo; and whilst the rest of the troops continued to give employment to the besieged, this regiment turned the town on the side of the Pélis, ascended by the meadows and gardens which extend upon that side, and following the steps of its guide, penetrated to the centre of La Tour, in the street of Les Bruns, and assailed the defenders of the barricade in the rear. The Vaudois now abandoned the barricade, wheeled about, forced their

¹ "Circa le 22 hore," says the narrative above quoted.

way through the ranks of these new comers, who vainly pursued after them, and retired to the heights.

About two o'clock in the morning, the Catholics being victorious and masters of the place, repaired in a body to the church of the mission, sung the *Te Deum laudamus*,¹ and exclaimed on all hands, "*Viva la santa Chiesa Romana!*"² *E viva la santa fede,*³ *e guai agli Barbetti!*"⁴ In this affair the Vaudois had only three killed and a few wounded. About 5 o'clock in the morning the Marquis of Pianesse arrived, *con tutta la sua nobiltà*,⁵ and took his quarters in the mission buildings.

It was then Sunday morning—Palm-Sunday, the beginning of Holy Week. The spirit of Antichrist burned to signalize these Christian festivals by a grand massacre of Christians. On that same Sunday, therefore, immediately after mass, the Catholic soldiers, conducted by Mario, the commandant of Bagnola, set out by way of worldly diversion, or by way of preparation for the approaching Easter, to give chase to the heretics; that is to say, to kill, by shooting with their muskets, all the Vaudois whom they met, hiding themselves in order to take them by surprise, and burning the houses whose owners they had put to flight or killed.⁶

In the evening additional troops still arrived. On Monday, the 19th, the army, according to Léger's account, already consisted of nearly 15,000 men.⁷ It was no longer possible to doubt that the old project of the extermination of the Vaudois, so long cherished, matured, and loudly avowed by the more zealous representatives of the Romish Church, was at last to be put in execution. It was thus that Popery prepared to celebrate the Easter of 1655.

The Vaudois, beholding from the heights of Angrogna and Le Taillaret, the devastation and conflagration which were already spread over the plain, took measures of defence. They placed sentinels at the advanced points, and defensive parties at the most

¹ "We praise thee, O Lord!" ² "Hurrah for the holy Roman Church!"

³ "And hurrah for the holy faith!"

⁴ "And woe to the Barbets!" This name of *Barbets*, given in derision to the Vaudois, is probably derived from that of their pastors, anciently called *Barbas*.

⁵ "With all his nobility." An expression of the contemporary writings.

⁶ "*Andarono scaramucciando per quelle montagnuole, rentrezzando gli eretici anamazandone molti ed abruciando qui sue case o cassine che possono prendere.*" The writing from which we have taken these particulars cannot be suspected of any partiality for the Vaudois. It is entitled "*Memorie delle irruzione e barbarie fatte dagli eretici Valdesi contro i catholici della Torre, Luserna, San Secondo,*" &c. (Archives of Court at Turin.) To justify this title, the author enlarges much upon the irruptions of Janavel, of which we shall afterwards speak.

⁷ Second part, chap. ix. p. 108.

important passes. But they were ill armed and ill organized; besides they could not believe in the perfidies of which they became the victims.

On the morning after Palm-Sunday (Monday, the 19th of April, 1655) the troops of the Marquis of Pianesse attacked these poor mountaineers, at once by the heights of La Tour, Saint John, Angrogna, and Briquéras. The Vaudois contented themselves with defending their positions. They were one against a hundred; but a powerful aid sustained them—their confidence in God. All these attacks were repulsed; the enemy could not drive them from one of their entrenchments. The campaign began, therefore, with a victory on their side. Could they foresee that it was to terminate in such great calamities?

On Tuesday, the 20th of April, only two attacks were made—the one directed against the Vaudois of St. John, entrenched at Castellus, the other against those of Taillaret. Both resulted, a second time, in the success of the Vaudois. The first was repulsed, with great success, by Captain Mayer. The second was not less fatal to the assailants; for the Vaudois lost only two men, in an action in which they killed fifty of their enemies. Léger, who relates these particulars, was himself in that engagement.

The Marquis of Pianesse—seeing the considerable forces at his disposal give way as before a superior force in attacking these advantageous and well-guarded posts—thought it necessary to have recourse to means which but too often proved successful against the Vaudois, because they were ignorant of the way of using them; but which have never been more skilfully employed than in the Church of Rome, and have contributed to it a part of its power. He had recourse to perfidy. On the morning of the following day (Wednesday, the 21st of April), two hours before sunrise, he sent to all the entrenchments of the Vaudois, clarions and heralds, to inform them that he was ready to receive deputies, in order to treat of an accommodation, in name of his royal highness the Duke of Savoy.

The deputies of all the communes of the valley repaired to his presence; he welcomed them graciously, conversed with them till mid-day, gave them an excellent dinner, testified the best disposition towards the Vaudois, and assured them that it had never been his intention to disquiet them in any way. Gastaldo's edict, he added (that of the 25th of January), had reference only to those dwelling in the low country, who must, indeed, be contented to return to the mountains; but as to the communes of the upper valleys they had positively nothing to fear. He seemed much

vexed at the excesses which his soldiers had already committed; laid the blame upon the difficulty of causing discipline to be observed by so great a number of troops; expressed his fear of not being able to restrain them, and his desire to send them away; and spoke of the embarrassment which their number caused him, and of the advantage which there would be in scattering them. "You may render a service to your country and to me," he added in conclusion, "by engaging your respective communes, each to receive and to lodge only one of the regiments which have been sent hither. By thus receiving them without resistance, not only will the localities which shall receive them be secure from all violence, but it may be also that the prince, touched with this proof of confidence, will display less rigour in the exclusion pronounced against the towns of the plain."

The deputies promised to exert themselves, as much as they could, in favour of so good a design. Léger and Janavel opposed to it a vain but inflexible resistance. The communes consented to receive the soldiers of the Marquis of Pianesse; and that very evening they took possession of all the passes, installed themselves in all the hamlets; and, in spite of the formal order to conduct themselves with prudence, did not even wait until next day without massacring a few heretics.

It was this which betrayed them. In their eagerness to obtain possession of the strongest positions of our mountains, whilst two regiments pursued the ordinary route of *Villar* and *Bobi*, and a third that of *Angrogna*, a special detachment began to ascend the hills of *Champ-la-Rama* and of *Coste Roussine*, in order to arrive sooner at *Pra-du-Tour*. This detachment, on its way, set fire to the scattered houses of *Le Taillaret*; the smoke was seen, and the cries of the fugitives and shouts of the persecutors were heard from the *colette* of *Rora*, on which a fire was immediately kindled as a signal of distress. It was immediately perceived from all the heights of *Angrogna*, whither the greater part of the refugees from the plain had retired, who had been compelled to quit *Bubiano*, *Campillon*, &c., in consequence of the edict of *Gastaldo* of 25th February. The people of *Angrogna* themselves, also, soon saw the rapid march of the invading detachment, which, directing its course towards the *Pra du Tour*, triumphantly descended by the slope of the mountain. There soon appeared, besides, near the *Gates of Angrogna* and the *Pausa dei Morti*, the regiment of *Grancey*, which alone had been expected. Then, perceiving the treachery, they kindled in their turn their signal of distress, and the cries—"To *Pérouse*! to *Pérouse*! to the *Vachère*! Every one save himself!

There are the traitors! God help us! Let us fly!"—were raised, and ran along, spreading like an electric flame over the vast flank of these mountains, from which the men, in a condition to carry arms, retired in haste to the heights of the Vachère, and thence by the valley of Pramol, to those of Pérouse and Pragela, which then appertained to France.

On the side of Bobi the alarm was less prompt, for the regiments of Bagnola and Petitbourg (of which the former was to be quartered at Bobi and the latter at Le Villar) arrived peaceably by the ordinary road. Apprehension was excited when the soldiers, instead of remaining at Bobi, were seen to ascend to Sarcena and Ville Neuve; victims had already been slaughtered as they came, but the knowledge of these isolated murders could not spread, and the officers everywhere manifested an intention to maintain a severe discipline amongst their troops.

Even at Angrogna, where they found only some women, old men and children—feeble guardians of their deserted houses—they at first abstained from any excess. De Pianesse contented himself with taking up his position there, and giving rest to his troops, without seeming to think of remaining in the place more than two or three days, according to the terms of his agreement with the deputies. Thus seeking to gain the confidence of the Vaudois women and children, these new comers persuaded them to recal their husbands and brothers who had taken flight, protesting that no harm would be done to them. Some of them came back, to their cost. "*Non servanda fides hæreticis*," said the Council of Constance. "*Ad extirpandos hæreticos!*" cried the Propaganda.

From the head of the valley downwards, in villages and hamlets, on the highways and rocks, the Propaganda, by the help of the bad faith which its church authorizes, had now introduced its soldiers, or posted its assassins. Accordingly the veil was raised. On Saturday, Easter Eve (24th April, 1655), at four o'clock in the morning, the signal for a general massacre of the Vaudois was given to these perfidious troops, from the summit of the castle of La Tour.

The soldiers, apprized beforehand, had risen early; they were fresh and active; they had slept under the roofs of those whose throats they were to cut. Those whom the Vaudois had received, lodged and fed with such confidence, who ought to have protected them, were now at the same moment throughout the whole valley, and with the same fanaticism, transformed into base assassins. Rome carries off the palm for conversions of this kind.

And now, how can we give an idea of the horrors which ensued? It would be necessary to be able, with one glance, to include at once

the whole country, to penetrate into all apartments, to be present at all executions, to distinguish in this vast voice of anguish and desolation, each particular cry of a heart or of a living being torn in pieces. Little children, Léger says,¹ were torn from the arms of their mothers, dashed against the rocks, and cast carelessly away. The sick or the aged, both men and women, were either burned in their houses, or hacked in pieces; or mutilated, half-murdered, and flayed alive, they were exposed in a dying state to the heat of the sun, or to flames, or to ferocious beasts; others were tied, in a state of nakedness, into the form of balls, the head between the legs, and in this state were rolled down the precipices. Some of them, torn and bruised by the rocks from which they had rebounded, remained suspended from some projecting rock or the branch of some tree, and still groaned forty-eight hours afterwards. Women and young girls were violated, empaled, set up naked upon pikes at the corners of the roads, buried alive, roasted upon lances, and cut in pieces by these *soldiers of the faith* as by cannibals: then, after the massacre, the children which had survived it, and were found wandering in the woods, were carried away; or children were forcibly taken from what remained of their afflicted family, to be conveyed into the dwellings of these butchers, and into the monasteries, like lambs taken to the slaughter-house; and finally, the massacre and the removal of children were succeeded by conflagration—the monks, the propagandists, and the *zealous Catholics* running from house to house with resinous torches or incendiary projectiles, and ravaging, in the midst of the fires, these villages now filled with corpses.

"Two of the most infuriated of these fire-raisers," says a work of the period,² "were a priest and a monk of the order of St. Francis, who marched about, escorted by troops; and if there was any hidden cottage³ which had not fallen into their hands on the first occasion, they might be seen repassing on the morrow; and to finish their work the priest had only to discharge his carabine, loaded with an artificial fire, which stuck to the walls." Let the reader imagine these mad wretches running about amongst the burning houses, urging on the carnage and destruction, and these mountains resounding with the fall of ruins, of avalanches, of rocks, and of living bodies cast down the precipices!

Such was the frightful, unparalleled, unprecedented scene which

¹ Part II. chap. ix.

² "*Récit véritable de ce qui est arrivé, depuis peu, aux vallées de Piémont* (8vo, 47 pages), p. 23.

³ [*Recoin de couvert.*] *Couvert*, a cottage, a roof, but implying the support of walls.—A *shed*, a little building.—*Lou câbert*, the phrase is borrowed from the patois of the country.

was then presented in these regions of despair. "And let it not be said," adds the historian Léger, "that I exaggerate things upon account of the persecutions which I myself personally have endured; I have travelled from one neighbourhood to another to collect the authentic testimonies of the survivors, who deposed what things they had seen before two notaries who accompanied me. In some places fathers had seen their children torn through the midst by strength of men's arms, or cut through with swords; in other places mothers had seen their daughters forced or murdered in their presence. Daughters had witnessed the mutilation of the living bodies of their fathers; brothers had seen the mouths of their brothers filled with powder, to which the persecutors set fire, making the head fly in pieces; pregnant women had been ripped up, and the fruit of their womb had been seen taken living from their bowels. What shall I say? O my God! the pen falls from my hands. Dead bodies lay scattered about or were planted upon stakes; portions of children, torn in quarters, had been flung into the middle of the road; brains were plastered against the rocks; trunks of human bodies were to be seen destitute of arms and limbs, or bodies half-flayed, or with the eyes torn out of the head, or the nails torn off the toes; others were fastened to trees with the chest opened, and without heart or lungs; here might be seen bodies of women still more horribly mutilated; there graves scarcely filled up, where the earth still seemed to give forth the groans of the unhappy victims who had been buried alive; everywhere misery, terror, desolation, and death! These are the things which I can tell!"

The universal destruction of the Vaudois houses by fire followed the massacre of their inhabitants. In many hamlets, the witness of the martyrs proceeds, not one single cottage remained standing, so that the beautiful valley of Lucerna then presented only the aspect of a burning furnace, where cries, which became more and more unfrequent, attested that a people had lived!

Léger adds after this a long series of notarial depositions, giving the particulars of martyrdoms of which there had been eye-witnesses, the horrors which were committed in the face of the sun, the names of the victims, and the vauntings of their butchers. I shall not copy the representation of these frightful scenes. Why should we stay to contemplate individual martyrdoms when we see an entire people suffer martyrdom at once?

All these noble and courageous persons, thus put to death, might have saved their lives by abjuring their religion; and the torments inflicted upon many of them were still prolonged in prison without

making them yield. Ten years, twenty years afterwards, there were still in the galleys of the sovereign, galley-slaves who were *martyrs*. In the dungeons of Villefranche and of Turin there were forgotten victims whose tortures, firmness, and joyful death, Heaven alone could know.

However, there were also numerous abjurations in the Vaudois valleys. Originating, as they did, under the impression of terror and despair, every one can appreciate their value. A deed obtained by violence is considered as null in law. Will it be so before the Supreme Tribunal? It is not for us to resolve that question, but rather to render homage to those who have persevered with unshaken fidelity in the manifestation of their faith.

Poor Michelin of Bobi (whose son was then pastor at Angrogna), after being treated in a way the most ignominious and painful that can be imagined, having survived these sufferings, was cast into the prisons of Turin. All means possible were employed to make him abjure, but all without success. One day there descended into his dungeon two ministers of his own church, the one named Peter Gros, and the other Francis Aghit. Did they come to encourage him, or to partake his sufferings? But how could they have been permitted to get access to him? They were accompanied by Jesuits. Ah! perhaps they might be brought to be buried in this dungeon with their faithful parishioner. God be praised! they would at least be able to comfort, to confirm one another, and to pray together. No; these pastors were of the number of the feeble souls whose convictions had been given up in exchange for a miserable life; they came, driven on by the hideous hand of Popery, to persuade the prisoner also to follow their example, and to abjure his religion. The surprise which poor Michelin felt was so cruel, the shock so great, and the wound so deep, that it caused his death.¹ These two pastors afterwards returned to the Protestant church, but the old man of Bobi had not made his religion a garment, which he could change according to circumstances—he had made it his life; and beholding those who had instructed him disown their own instructions, it might be said that he died for them.

Other prisoners also died, rather than abjure. James and David Prins of Le Villar, of the hamlet of La Baudèna, were committed to the prisons of Lucerna; and there, says Léger, they having resisted all solicitations to apostasy, with which they were plied by the monks, "their arms were flayed from the shoulder to the elbow, the skin being cut into stripes, which were left attached by the upper end, and which thus rested loosely on the quick flesh; the rest

¹ Léger, p. 125, Part II.

of the arm was flayed in the same manner, from the elbow to the hands, and their thighs down to the knee, as also their legs, from where the garter is tied to the ankle; and in this state they were left to die."¹ These stripes of skin, to remain hanging in this way, must have been torn off and raised from the flesh from their lower extremity upwards. What an atrocious refinement of barbarity!

"I cannot refrain from remarking here," adds the historian, "that there were six brothers of these Prinsees, and that they had married six sisters, and all of them had numbers of children, and that they lived together without having ever made any division of their property, and without the slightest discord having ever been observed in that family. It was composed of more than forty persons, each of whom had his own department of labour; some in the work of the vineyards and cultivation of the fields—others in the care of the meadows, or in that of the flocks. The eldest of the brothers and his wife, who was also the eldest of the sisters, were like the father and mother of the whole family."² Yet these patriarchal scenes, so worthy of respect, so beautiful, so simple, and so Christian, furnished prey to the demon of Popery, trained to cruelty by superstition, and descending beneath the level of the savage!

Sometimes, in these barbarous mutilations, hæmorrhage occurred, which was arrested by fire, in order to prolong the agonies, and multiply the torments of the victim. A man of Freyssinières, a farm-servant at Bobi, after having had the soles of his feet and the palms of his hands pierced with a poignard, was deprived of the sexual organs, and suspended over a burning torch, that the flame might arrest the effusion of blood. After this, his nails were torn away by pincers, to compel him to abandon his religion; but as he continued resolute, he was fastened by the feet to the harness of a mule, and in this way dragged through the streets of Lucerna. Seeing him well nigh dead, his executioners encircled his head with a cord, and drew it so tight, that the eyes and the brain were forced out, after which they threw the corpse into the river.³

It had not been so bad if these accumulated horrors had been the result of a transport of vengeance, of a fit of madness, of one of those outbursts of rage, those feverish excitements, those sudden frenzies, those irresistible impulses of blind, imperious, and brutal fury, of which men are sometimes the victims! But no: it was the issue of the great work of Popery, coolly prepared, patiently expected, accomplished with premeditation. All crimes and vices seem then to have combined for the service of Popery: Popery

¹ Léger, p. 122.—*Notarial Depositions.*

² Léger, p. 118.—*Notarial Depositions.*

³ Léger, Part II. p. 122.

alone, like the monarch of the infernal regions, could have thought of disciplining them, that they might do the more harm.

It was from the steeple of a Catholic church that the signal of St. Bartholomew's Day was given;¹ it was from the minsters of Palermo that the *Sicilian Vespers* sounded; it was from an edifice which bore the name of the Virgin Mary² that the signal was given for the *Piedmontese Easter*, the frightful celebration of which filled the Vaudois valleys with tears and blood. O holy mother of Christ! the highly-favoured Mary! if a sword was to pierce thy soul, was it not in the church which pretends to honour thee most, which calls thee queen of angels, and has made thee queen of demons?

In a pious song, printed about this period, we read the following lines:—

"Seigneur, ici le sang d'Abel
Crie encore sur les supplices;
Vois Zacharie encor parmi ces sacrifices,
Mort entre le temple et l'autel.
Gloire de l'Eternel, justice des justices,
As-tu les yeux fermés et ta puissante main
Endormie en ton sein?"³

They are not equal to the sonnet of Milton, but they are an echo of the feeling which was excited throughout all Europe in favour of the Vaudois.

Many persons, even amongst those who had been chosen to serve as the instruments of this work of extermination, reprobated it with horror, and refused to have any part in it. Of this number was the first captain of the regiment of Grancey, M. Du Petitbourg, of whom we have already spoken. When he knew to what employment his troops were destined, he refused to conduct them to that disgraceful massacre, and resigned his command. The court of Savoy having caused a sort of apology to be afterwards written, in which all the odium of these events was cast upon the leaders of the French army, the commandant, Du Petitbourg, published a declaration, by which he disclaimed all participation in the barbarities committed, and at the same time attested the reality of them in a manner which puts it beyond all doubt,⁴ and with extracts made without alteration from this document, I shall conclude this chapter.

¹ The steeple of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois.

² The fort of La Tour was named the fort of Saint Mary.

³ "O Lord, the blood of Abel still cries here of violent deaths; thou still beholdest Zachariah amongst these sacrifices lying dead betwixt the temple and the altar. Glory of the Lord! Judge of judges! are thine eyes closed, and does thy mighty hand sleep in thy bosom?"

⁴ In the *Apology, or Faithful Relation of the War of 1655*, are set down, to excuse the deeds of violence which are acknowledged, many calumnies against the

"I, the seigneur Du Petitbourg, first captain of the regiment of Grancey, in command of the regiment, having been ordered by the Prince Thomas to go to join the Marquis of Pianesse, and to receive orders from him at La Tour, *I have been witness* of many deeds of great violence and extreme cruelty, committed by the outlaws of Piedmont¹ and by the soldiers, on persons of every age, sex, and condition, *whom I saw* massacred, dismembered, hanged, burned, and violated; and of many frightful conflagrations. *I saw* the order that every one must be killed. As for his [the Marquis of Pianesse's] protesting that no one was ever touched except in battle, nor the least outrage committed against persons unable to bear arms, I maintain that this is not the case, and that *I with my own eyes saw* men murdered in cold blood, and women, aged men, and little children miserably put to death.

* * * * *

So that I positively affirm and protest before God that none of the cruelties above-mentioned were executed by my orders; on the contrary, seeing that I could do nothing to prevent them, I was constrained to retire, and to renounce the command of the regiment, that I might not be present at such wicked actions.—Done at Pignerol, this 27th of November, 1655.

"(Signed), "DU PETITBOURG."

This declaration was made and signed before witnesses; the witnesses are M. St. Hilaire, captain of the infantry regiment of Auvergne, and M. Du Favre, captain of the infantry regiment of Sault. Léger gives this document entire, in his second part, at the end of Chapter IX.

I must now proceed to relate how the Vaudois were enabled to recover from such an extermination. Ezekiel saw the dry bones restored to life by the breath of the Lord and becoming a people; and if we see a people die who are animated by the Spirit of God, it can only be to obtain a life more perfect and more happy than this earthly life. But the Vaudois were to recover possession of their country. It is time that we should pass to these glorious events.

Vaudois. I have not thought it necessary to take notice of them. To render infamous, to kill and to calumniate, was the rule followed by the Marquis of Pianesse.

¹ Outlaws and volunteers of every condition had been invited to the standard. The Irish assassins, driven from their native country by Cromwell, and received in Piedmont, distinguished themselves by their savage ferocity in these cruel massacres.

CHAPTER VIII.

JANAVEL AND JAHIER.¹

(APRIL TO JUNE, 1655.)

The fugitive Vaudois find an asylum in the French dominions—Janavel, with a small band, obtains wonderful victories over the troops of Pianesse—Pianesse has recourse again to the arts of treachery—He ravages Rora, but is attacked and defeated by Janavel as he retires with his booty—Pianesse marches against Rora with almost ten thousand men—Janavel's wife and daughters made prisoners—His constant resolution—The Duchess of Savoy and the French court—Mazarin refuses to take part against the Vaudois as she desires—Cromwell offers them a refuge in Ireland—Intercessions of foreign powers—Collections made for the Vaudois in Protestant countries—The Vaudois continue in arms—Another Vaudois troop takes the field under Jahier—Janavel makes an attempt to seize Lucernette, but fails—Jahier and he effect a junction—They seize St. Segont—Further successes—Janavel is severely wounded—Jahier is killed.

It has been already stated that the Vaudois of Angrogna, and the refugees of the plain of Piedmont, had, in great part, retired into the valley of Pérouse; those of St. Martin, forewarned by a man who, although a Catholic, was compassionate,² of the arrival of the troops of Galeazzo, with commission to put all to fire and sword, made haste to gain the valley of Pragela; and such of the inhabitants of Bobi as contrived to escape the massacre sought an asylum in that of Queyras, across frightful snows, precipices, and rocks. All these places of refuge were then within the dominions of the King of France.

With the view of shutting that hospitable country against the Vaudois, the Duchess of Savoy, who appears to have taken a much greater part in these disastrous events than her son, wrote to the court of France.⁴ She wished to prevent her subjects from leaving the valleys, and to have them massacred there. Mazarin did not enter into her views; he replied that humanity imposed upon him the duty of opening an asylum to the fugitive Vaudois.

This gave them facilities for rallying, arming, and organizing themselves. They were even able to re-enter their country in

¹ AUTHORITIES.—The same as in the preceding chapter.

² His name was Emmanuel Bochiardo. He warned the Vaudois "*Che il Signor Marchese Galeazzo a ordine di abbruciare e d'estirpar ogni cosa*," &c. His letter is of date May 5, 1655.

³ Called *Madame Royale* in the documents of the time.

⁴ Anne of Austria was then regent; Louis XIV., a minor; Mazarin, prime minister.

much greater numbers than they had left it, for a multitude of their brethren from Queyras and Pragela joined them. Meanwhile, a man of energy and ability, Captain Joshua Janavel, who alone had foreseen the treachery, supported, doubtless, by the hand of God (in which no one ever put more absolute confidence than this intrepid warrior), kept in check the enemy's army, and, by slow degrees, drove it from the valleys.

This came to pass as follows:—It will be recollected that the 24th of April was the day fixed for the general massacre of the Vaudois. Troops had been cantoned in the principal place of each commune, except Rora; not, however, that that place was to have been spared. Accordingly, on the morning of that day of extermination, the Marquis of St. Damian had sent a battalion of 500 or 600 soldiers from Le Villar, in order to surprise Rora, under the command of Count Christopher of Lucerna, who was designated the Count of Rora, because his *apanage* had been given him in that *seigneurie*. These soldiers climbed the steep slopes of the mountain of Brouard, which lay between them and Rora. Janavel, whose residence was at the base of a long ridge which that mountain sends out in the direction of Lucerna,¹ saw the soldiers ascending on the way towards the menaced village; and he, ascending also by a different way, gathered together as he went, six determined men like himself, with whom he posted himself in a favourable position on the path by which the troops must pass, who advanced in expectation of taking the village by surprise. There he awaited them with his little party, behind some rocks that left a narrow passage only, through which they must of necessity pass.

So soon as they were engaged in this defile, Janavel and his companions united in one loud cry, and discharged their pieces, of which every one took effect; six soldiers fell, the rest drew back; those who followed, believing the ambushade to be formed by a much larger body than it really was, wheeled about, and the advanced guard was then separated from the main body of the squadron. The Vaudois, concealed amongst rocks, where the enemy could form no estimate of their numbers, poured in their fire, and cleared the ground of the advanced guard, causing it to disband and take to flight. The rearguard, which had yet scarcely arrived at the summit of the mountain ridge, seeing that the foremost ranks were endeavouring to re-ascend it, made all haste to get down again

¹ He resided in a quarter called *The Vineyards of Lucerna*. In the reports and despatches of the time, which make mention of his first exploits, he is designated in this way, "The Captain of the Vineyards of Lucerna." But his name was not long of being sufficiently well known.

by the side on which it was advancing, without having even seen those by whom it had been attacked; the fugitives likewise, turning their backs upon the Vaudois, saw them as little; and thus a whole battalion retired before a corporal's party, or rather before the exaggerated image of a perilous ambushade. Such incidents are rare, but they can be conceived. It was thus that the entire army of Brennus took to flight before the temple of Delphi, at the noise made by the priests of Apollo, transformed, by the affrighted imagination of the soldiers, into supernatural combatants.

Janavel, returning by Rora, apprised the inhabitants of that village of the danger which they had run. Ignorant of the massacres which had been perpetrated on that same day in the valley of Lucerna, the people of Rora immediately went to complain to the Marquis of Pianesse, of the invasion attempted against them in the morning. "If they meant to attack you, it was not by my orders," he replied; "the troops which I command never made any such wicked attempt. It can only have been a horde of Piedmontese robbers and vagabonds. You would have done me a pleasure if you had cut them in pieces. However," added he, with an air of kindness, "I shall take care that such alarms do not take place again." It was not an alarm, in good sooth, which he intended, but a surprise which should crush them all. Proof of this was soon afforded.

On the following day a new battalion was sent against Rora, by the mountain of Cassulet. This time Janavel had seventeen men with him; the number seems very small, but under his guidance they were worth an army. Of these eighteen men, twelve were armed from head to foot, six had only slings. He disposed them in three bands of six men each, to wit, four musketeers and two slingers. His position was chosen beforehand; it was again a defile, in which ten men had scarcely room to manœuvre: he had almost twice the number, and occupied the most advantageous position.

As soon as the battalion of the Marquis of Pianesse had advanced into the depths of the scene of ambushade, the Vaudois made their appearance. An officer and ten foot-soldiers fell at their first discharge. Stones flew like hail, whistling amongst the ranks of the enemy, who fell into disorder. "Every man save himself!" cried a coward. The troops began to disband. Janavel and his men rushed upon them from the rocks above, a pistol in one hand, and a sword in the other. Their agility, vigour, and intrepidity multiplied their numbers; it seemed as if jaguars or lynxes flew from crest to crest of the rocks, as lightly as winged insects from flower to flower. The battalion, already surprised, thrown into confusion,

and half routed, saw its discharges of musketry wasted amongst empty bushes, or upon impenetrable rocks, and yet men resolute and completely armed, springing up, falling down, and leaping about before their eyes from these bushes and these rocks, and scattering death around their steps. The battalion, or rather the companies which were first surprised and most engaged, recoiled involuntarily before them. The retrograde movement extended, the contagion of terror spread, one was carried along by the example of another—and presently these 600 men, who had been led to a field of battle with which they were not acquainted, fled towards Lucerna, ignorant alike of the number of their adversaries, and of the number of the dead whom they left behind them.

Men who flee do not defend themselves—they do not see the danger, they aggravate it by their flight, giving arms to the enemy by their own weakness, and doubling the energy of his assaults. It was thus with the battalion on the mountain of Cassulet. It had lost only twelve men in the defile, it lost forty in the flight. The following are the words in which Janavel, thirty years after, when banished from his country, recalled in his exile that glorious event: "We were but very few in number; a few fusileers, and six or seven slingers, who were not yet able to use the musket, and we defeated the enemy; if we had not, we would have been all destroyed. When they fought down hill, the stones of the slings and the ten fusileers did more execution than you could have believed."¹

From these few words it appears that amongst that little handful of combatants who saved Rora, and who ere long became the salvation of the valleys, there were some young men who were not yet able to use the musket. It is impossible not to be all the more struck with the success of this heroic phalanx; we know not which most to admire, their courage, or the Divine protection which gave them the victory. But valour is not to be measured by age, nor the strength of an army by the number of its soldiers. Janavel's troop had already given proof of this, and was to give further proof of it.

The Marquis of Pianesse, a second time frustrated in his projects, sent to Rora, Count Christopher, the seigneur of the place, to restore confidence amongst the Vaudois, and to repudiate, as a mistake, the sending of troops into their valley. "Reports have been made against you," said he, "whose falsehood has been discovered; you have only to keep yourselves quiet, and you shall live in peace." At the same time he caused a battalion, more numerous than the

¹ Letter written from Geneva to the valleys by Joshua Janavel, in 1685, to forewarn the Vaudois of the terrible persecution which broke out in 1686. (Archives of the Court at Turin.)

former, to be collected, for the purpose of annihilating them. It seems marvellous that the Vaudois could allow themselves to be caught by such promises; and such impudence of falsehood seems surprising in a man of noble birth; but we must not forget that they considered lying to be a sin, and that he regarded it as a virtue. Has not the highest organ of Catholicism, an ecumenical council, declared that it is lawful to break faith with heretics? And did not the Propaganda, Jesuitism, and all that constituted the life and power of the Romish Church at that period, make it a duty? What a Protestant would reckon disgraceful, is matter of pride to a Papist. To accomplish the shedding of blood by treachery was a legitimate triumph for Rome. Yet we may suppose that confidence was not completely restored to the minds of the Vaudois.

Next day, being the 27th of April, an entire regiment moved into the valley, pressed on towards Rora, took possession of all the paths, occupied all the positions, burned a number of houses which lay in its way, and carried off a load of plunder and the flocks of the inhabitants, who had retired to the heights of Frioulant. Janavel, with his men, beheld from a distance the ravaging of the valley, but durst not approach because of the great numbers of the enemy. However, when he saw them encumbered with booty, and embarrassed by the flocks which they took away with them, he encouraged his seventeen men, fell upon his knees, offered a fervent prayer to the God of armies, and with undaunted boldness conducted his little troop to an advantageous position named Damasser. The regiment was arrested in its passage—did not know the number of the enemy—did not choose to abandon the booty—lost its foremost men, and thought it best to turn back and retire upon Le Villar.

But the Vaudois knew their own mountains better than these stranger troops; they took a short path, got before them, posted themselves on their line of passage, and again cut off their retreat. This was near the summit of the mountain which separates Rora from Le Villar, on a little grassy plain, named the *Pian pra*, which means the *smooth meadow*. The army of Pianesse advanced, bearing along with it an immense booty. It marched in disorder and carelessly, for the foes over whom it had been unable to gain any advantage had disappeared from its path, and as no trace of them was to be perceived, it seemed that they had thought it best to make no further demonstration. All at once a destructive fire was opened at a short distance from amongst the trees. The soldiers, instead of defending themselves, hurried forward in their course. They were already on the descent of the mountain. Janavel's

party rolled down upon them an avalanche of stones. They dispersed themselves in order to avoid them. Hereupon the Vaudois rushed in amongst these disbanded soldiers. In vain they attempted to rally; the ground did not any longer permit it; many of them lost their footing and were helplessly killed, or fell over the precipices. However, the greater part of the army arrived at Le Villar, but they had left their booty by the way; the Vaudois lost none of their men, and recovered possession of all their property which had been carried off.

Having re-ascended to the *Pian pra*, Janavel caused his men to halt. "Let us give thanks," said he. His men fell on their knees. "O God!" exclaimed their intrepid leader, "we bless thee for having preserved us. Protect our people in these calamities, and increase our faith!" This short prayer was followed by the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed. Meanwhile the fugitives arrived at Lucerna. The Marquis of Pianesse, furious, humiliated, burning with rage, yet desirous to restrain himself, perceiving that it would be vain to have recourse to new acts of deceit or perfidious protestations, convoked the whole forces under his command, from Bubiano, from Barges, and from Cavour. They were all to assemble at Lucerna in order to march upon Rora; the day and the hour were appointed; but the zealot who conducted the massacre at Bobi, Mario De Bagnol, wished to have the glory all to himself of destroying this miserable handful of adventurers, for so they designated these heroic mountaineers who defended, with so much courage, their unhappy families.

Captain Mario accordingly set out with his musketeers two hours before the other troops. He had three companies of regular troops, one of volunteers, and one of Piedmontese outlaws, a fifth of Irish, expelled from their country by Cromwell, in punishment for the massacres of which they had been guilty of the Protestants of that island. It was a good reason for their being received amongst the slaughterers of the Vaudois. They had even received a promise beforehand, that a free grant would be made to them of the dispeopled lands of the valleys. They fought, therefore, for their own interest. Fanaticism and self-interest! by what more powerful motives for carnage could they have been inspired?

Captain Mario divided his troops into two parties, of which one took the right, and the other the left side of the vale of Rora. They advanced without resistance to the rocks of Rummer, already signalized four days before as the scene of Janavel's first victory. Janavel was again intrenched there, his little troop augmented by a number of new combatants, and thus raised to the number of from

thirty to forty men. But the right of the Count of Bagnol, having deployed upon the heights, had got above Rummer, and threatened to attack the Vaudois in the rear, whilst the rest of the assailants would have attacked them in front.

Janavel saw the trap in which he was on the point of being taken; and with the promptitude of decision and energy of action, which mark military genius, he exclaimed, "Forward! to the *broua*!"¹ the victory is up there!" and wheeling about, he left the position which he had occupied opposite to the front of Captain Mario, whose movement in pursuit was retarded by the necessity of scaling rocks, and turned against the upper detachment which was already deploying upon the smooth brow of the hill; all the Vaudois had their pieces loaded; Janavel turned them directly upon the right wing of that detachment which was manœuvring in order to surround them. "Fire!" cried he. A terrible discharge was poured in upon the enemy; the bulk of the troops inclined in that direction to resist the Vaudois; but Janavel had flung himself upon his belly on the earth, and the bullets passed over his head: and immediately taking advantage of the clouds of smoke which still covered him, instead of pressing on in his original direction, he made a sudden bend, and proceeded, sword in hand, to cut his way through the left wing, where the enemy was already weakened by the movement of concentration which had taken place to the opposite side. Breaking in this way the line of the invaders, he passed through them, and attained the summit or *broua* which he had pointed out to his soldiers. Here he had the advantage of the ground; and all the Vaudois ranging themselves in order of battle, with their backs against the rocks, with the triple energy which is given by a good cause, trust in God, and success, they faced their foes with an intrepidity that daunted them. In vain did the two divisions of the Count of Bagnol's troops re-unite, in order to assail them; they could make no impression upon the Vaudois.

The enemy formed a circle embracing all the base of the hill, and as the level of the water rises around a promontory, the circle closed as the enemy ascended towards them; but it did not pass a certain limit, for the soldiers who formed it fell dead as they came within the range of the bullets of the Vaudois. As the snow melts on the side of a mountain, this army became gradually less; and here its course of invasion was stayed. "The Vaudois," says Léger, "made so long and courageous a resistance, that at last confusion and a sense of dismay manifestly seized on that great multitude of assailants, and they took flight, leaving sixty-five of

their number dead on the ground, without reckoning the wounded and the corpses which were carried away."

Seeing that the enemy retired by the opening of the valley, the Vaudois would have pursued them. Janavel stayed them. "Better than that!" said he; "they must be utterly destroyed." And passing along the heights till he had got before the fugitives, he ran to post himself again, with his invincible fusileers, at a narrow pass called *Pierro Capello*.

The enemy's troop came up, now beginning to recover breath. At the moment when they least expected it, the Vaudois fired upon them again, hurled down masses of rock, rushed upon them, and redoubled their affright, their disorder, and their loss; there was not a shadow of resistance—a panic, or rather the fear of the God of Jacob seized upon these disbanded soldiers, so that not being able easily to flee, because of the difficulty of the paths, they flung themselves headlong over rocks, and into ravines and torrents, and were drowned or lay dead beneath precipices, if they did not fall by the swords or the bullets of their terrible assailants. Captain Mario himself was with great difficulty drawn out of a hole full of water, in which he must otherwise have been drowned; and was carried back without his accoutrements, and without hat or shoes, to Lucerna, where he died a few days after.

We come now to the record of a fact which one could not venture to introduce into a work of pure imagination, so improbable it would appear. But history must not shrink before prodigies sufficiently authenticated; and it is well known that truth is often that which is least truth-like.

Astonishing as were already the repeated victories of Janavel over enemies fifty times more numerous, it is not without surprise that we observe that the Marquis of Pianesse now called to arms all the disposable troops under his command, and caused nearly 10,000 men to march against the little commune of Rora, so perseveringly defended by a simple company of brave mountaineers. It was in the beginning of May, 1655: 3000 men set out from Bagnol, 3000 from Le Villar, and 4000 from Lucerna, to make a simultaneous assault upon a village of fifty houses.

The division from Le Villar was the first to make its appearance. Janavel repulsed its attack; but whilst he was engaged in battle, the two other divisions entered the lower part of the valley, plundered the village, burned the houses, massacred the inhabitants, committed monstrous outrages, and carried off as prisoners the unfortunates who had not been killed. The position was no longer tenable; Janavel had no longer anything to defend; Rora was

destroyed; its inhabitants were slain or taken captive; and he withdrew with his heroic cohort into the valley of Lucerna.

Next day he received from the Marquis of Pianesse a note in these terms:—"To Captain Janavel. Your wife and your daughters are in my hands—they were made prisoners at Rora; I exhort you for the last time to abjure your heresy, which will be the only means to obtain pardon for your rebellion against the authority of his royal highness, and to save the lives of your wife and your daughters, who shall be burned alive if you do not submit. And if you persist in your obstinacy, without putting myself to the trouble of sending troops against you, I will set such a price upon your head, that were you the devil incarnate, you must certainly be brought to me dead or alive; and if you fall into my hands alive, you may lay your account with it that there are no torments so cruel that they shall not be inflicted upon you. This warning is for your guidance—consider how you may turn it to your advantage."

The following is Janavel's reply: "There is no torment so cruel that I do not prefer it to the abjuring of my religion; and your threats, instead of turning me from it, confirm me in it all the more. As for my wife and my daughters, they know if they are dear to me! But God alone is Lord of their lives; and if you destroy their bodies, God will save their souls. May he graciously receive these beloved souls, and likewise mine, if it so happen that I fall into your hands." Such was the answer of the heroic mountaineer. A price was immediately set upon his head.

He had still one son, a young boy, who had been committed to the charge of a relative belonging to Le Villar. Fearing lest he also might be made prisoner, the intrepid and afflicted father took with him this child, bore him across the snows to the other side of the Alps, descended into Dauphiny, and there deposited his son—re-victualled his little escort, and took some days' repose, of which he availed himself to recruit his band—and then, still putting his trust in God, he crossed the Alps once more, re-entered the valleys, and took the field again, more powerful, formidable, and intrepid than ever.

Meanwhile, Léger, the moderator of the Vaudois churches, had proceeded to Paris, where he published a statement, addressed to all the Protestant powers of Europe. Many proofs of the liveliest sympathy and most active interest reached the Vaudois churches from all parts. On the other hand, the court of Savoy, or rather the duchess,¹ urged by the Propaganda and by the pontifical (I dare not say the apostolic) nuncio, pursued with vigour amidst the

¹ Most of the papers of which we shall have to speak bear her signature.

applauses of the dignified clergy, the real object of so much agitation, namely, the expulsion or complete extermination of the Israel of the Alps, these evangelical children of the valleys.

After having requested of Mazarin that an asylum should be refused them in France, and having failed to obtain her request, she next requested that he would have them removed from the frontiers of Piedmont, at least three days' journey. The execution of this scheme having been also refused, she requested and obtained a prohibition against French subjects coming to the help of the Vaudois who still remained in the valleys.

She was so active in her proceedings—her designs were so loudly proclaimed, that even in the valleys themselves, many persons doubted if the Vaudois would ever be able to recover their position. Francis Guérin, minister of Roure, in Pragela, confidently prophesied to the refugees that they ought to renounce the hope of returning to their native country, the time being come when the candlestick must be removed out of its place.¹

The captain of the Duke of Savoy's Swiss guards being from the canton of Glaris, where there were a few Catholic families ill-contented to dwell in a Protestant country, proposed to Charles Emmanuel II. that he should receive these families into the valleys, and send the Vaudois in exchange, into the canton of Glaris.²

Cromwell, on his part, made offer to the Vaudois to receive them into Ireland, in place of the natives whom he had expelled from that island. But the reply of the moderator was more in accordance with the interests of his native land; he entreated the Protector to send a plenipotentiary to Turin, to exert himself for the re-establishment of the Vaudois in the valleys, instead of their removal from thence. The plenipotentiary sent was Morland, who rendered such important service in the pacification of that unfortunate country, and who afterwards wrote a remarkable history of the events which had there taken place.

Most of the foreign powers, from the King of Sweden to the Helvetic Cantons, wrote to Charles Emmanuel in favour of the Vaudois. "This business makes a great noise in Switzerland, as well as in France and Germany," wrote the Sardinian ambassador, De La Borde, to the Duchess Christina.³ "Your highness will give it such consideration as you deem fit at a time when the com-

¹ These facts are mentioned in a letter of the Duchess of Savoy to Lesdiguières, Governor of Dauphiny, asking him to adopt measures in conformity with these arrangements. The letter is dated 2d June, 1655, and is in the Archives of State at Turin. Lesdiguières received orders to the same effect from Louis XIV., 4th and 18th June, 1655. (In the same archives.)

² Léger, II. 365.

³ Letter of 18th June, 1655. (Archives of Turin.)

mon arms might be more profitably employed elsewhere." In another letter,¹ the same ambassador expresses himself still more clearly. "This war," he says, "can only have been recommended by the friends of Spain, to turn away the arms of his royal highness from the Milanese."

Thus every one judged of this matter according to his own way of thinking. Diplomats ascribed it all to political causes, and ecclesiastics to religious causes; but all were unanimous in their condemnations. And let us ask in passing, would the whole of Europe have been so moved, would so many sovereigns have addressed such strong representations to the court of Savoy, on the subject of the massacres perpetrated in the Vaudois valleys in 1655, if these massacres had never taken place? The court of Savoy, however, presently adopted the course of contradicting the news. But the feeling of the sad reality was so deep amongst the sufferers, that twenty-five years afterwards, the year 1655 is still designated in their correspondence by these simple words, *The Year of the Massacres*; and authentic documents do not permit a doubt to remain as to the veritable character of these events, in which the hideous consequences of Popery are exhibited in all their magnitude.

In Switzerland, in England, in Holland, and in almost all Protestant countries, collections were made, and public fasts were held upon account of the Vaudois. Many Catholics also testified the deepest sympathy. I love always to distinguish the principle of Catholicism from the virtues which may be concealed in generous souls beneath the external forms in which it has clothed them. Louis XIV. himself commanded Lesdiguières to receive the Vaudois fugitives kindly, and to assure them of his royal protection.² In the valleys of Le Queyras and Pragela, which belonged to France, the people took up arms for the help of the persecuted.³ The regular troops deserted with the same view.⁴ A formal order was placarded at Grenoble prohibiting these desertions.⁵ Captain Janavel had already returned to the valleys with his valiant party, augmented by numerous recruits from Le Queyras.

Captain Jahier, a native of Pramol, had retired into the Val Pérouse, in the French territory, with the refugees of Bubiano and the people of Angrogna, who, on the 22d of April, had fled before

¹ Of 25th June. (Archives of Turin.)

² These were the terms which he employed in stating the matter to Cromwell. (Léger, II. 226.)

³ Letter of Christina to Lesdiguières, 2d June.—Letter of Louis XIV. to the same, 18th June. (Turin. Archives of State.)

⁴ Letter of Louis XIV. to Lesdiguières, dated 4th June. (Archives as above.)

⁵ 14th June. This order is printed as a placard.

the army of Pianesse. He returned a month after at the head of these exiles, supported by their brethren of Pragela, and settled them again in the valleys of Angrogna and Pramol. Then he wrote to Janavel to come and join him.

Janavel had at first taken up his position on a high mountain, called the Alp of the *Pelaya di Geymet*. Thence, descending by the valley of Rora, which he knew so well, he attempted to take possession of Lucernette, a Catholic village situated half a league from Lucerna. But, at the sound of the tocsin, the troops from Lucerna and from Bubiano gathered to the spot in such numbers, that Janavel was compelled to relinquish his project. He was already surrounded by the enemy when he beat a retreat; and this retreat was so skilfully executed that his enemies themselves could not speak of it without admiration. In this affair the gallant captain received a bullet in his leg, which remained lodged in the flesh as long as he lived. But this wound did not prevent him from proceeding in his expeditions. His attempt upon Lucernette, though it had failed as to its object, was not without important consequences, for it gave a new aspect to this war of extermination. The Vaudois now, for the first time, took the aggressive part.

An inexpressible terror began to trouble the towns of Piedmont which lay nearest to the mountains. Each wished fortifications and a garrison. Irish troops were quartered at Bubiano, but they committed such excesses that the inhabitants themselves were very soon obliged to take arms and expel them. Thus the persecutors began to destroy one another.

It was just at this time that Janavel effected his junction with Captain Jahier (on the 27th of May), on the banks of the Angrogna. These two warriors, uniting their forces, became more formidable and more powerful in their expeditions. The first enterprise which they attempted in common was against the little town of Garsiliano, which they endeavoured to seize that very evening. But it happened, as at Lucernette, that, numerous troops coming at the sound of the tocsin from all the neighbouring townships, they were compelled to retire, carrying off with them only some cattle and six pairs of oxen, which they had seized.

Next day, at daybreak, having sought encouragement in prayer, and feeling the necessity of some energetic demonstration to save their country, they assailed the town of St. Segont, and made themselves masters of it. To preserve themselves from the enemy's fire, the Vaudois rolled before them great casks filled with hay; and in this manner they approached the walls of the town, from which a shower of balls fell upon them, but the balls were lost in the casks,

without striking the men, who were sheltered behind these rolling screens. Arrived at the bottom of the fortifications, they set fire to bundles of faggots and vine twigs, the smoke of which concealed them from the eyes of the besieged. Having then broken through a gate, they penetrated into the town and loaded themselves with booty. An Irish regiment was surprised in its barrack and cut to pieces. The number slain by the Vaudois amounted to 700 or 800 Irish, and 650 Piedmontese. The unarmed inhabitants were spared,¹ and in part retained prisoners; afterwards the village was destroyed by fire.

It was a terrible execution, and which, perhaps, it might not have been requisite to carry so far, but for the necessity imposed upon the Vaudois of making such a display of their force as should produce an impression amongst the enemy, who had not shrunk from butchering them when defenceless. Moreover, in time of war men do not reason with the coolness of a calm judgment. And the Vaudois valleys had been so cruelly destroyed, the blood which had been shed cried so loudly, the irritation had become so profound, that without attributing such reprisals to the spirit of vengeance alone, we may regard them as a necessary consequence. They had, indeed, the effect of leading the persecutors to see that they must treat this sacrificed people with more consideration. And if it be true that men have no respect for any but those whom they love or those whom they fear, the Vaudois, certain of not being loved, had no alternative but in making themselves feared. They succeeded in a few days.

The capture of St. Segont was already equivalent to a battle won. They had made 1400 of the enemy bite the dust; on their side the loss was only seven men;² and these almost incredible facts were well known. The terror inspired by Janavel and Jahier seized all the neighbouring towns. They concerted schemes of mutual defence, and arranged a telegraphic signal, which was to appear on the tops of the steeples, giving notice of the coming of the Vaudois, and indicating their position.

The people, who suffered from the interruption of trade, the cantoning of troops, and the incursions of the Vaudois, began to express a very strong indignation against the cause, or at least against the effects of these troubles; and the public voice became still more urgent as the exploits of Jahier and Janavel, with their intrepid partizans, became more numerous. The Marquis of Pianesse

¹ One girl only, Mademoiselle Alix Marseille, was killed by a stray shot.

² To wit, one of La Tour, two of the Val St. Martin, one of Rocheplate, two of Angrogna, and one of St. John. They had also six wounded.

endeavoured to cut them off by setting a price upon the heads of those amongst them who were of most note;¹ but their troop, instead of being reduced, was augmented every day by new recruits or new refugees, who came to them from Queyras and Pragela. On the 2d of June it consisted of four companies, commanded by the captains with whom we are already acquainted, and by captains Laurens and Benet. In their little council of war they resolved to make an attack upon Briqueras. To execute this design the four companies marched by different directions, so as not only to be able to surprise the town, but also to oppose the approach of the troops, whose assistance it might demand.

In consequence, Janavel kept upon the borders of St. John and La Tayarea, in order to arrest the progress of the troops which might come from La Tour and Lucerna; Captain Laurens took the direction of the last spurs of Rocheplate, ready to intercept those which might be sent from St. Segont; for notwithstanding the recent burning of that village, it had been rendered habitable again by prompt repairs. Jahier descended into the plain of Briqueras, and began to ravage the surrounding fields; but on a signal given, the garrisons of the neighbourhood hastened to the assistance of Briqueras with such rapidity, that no assault could be made upon that place.

Jahier then retraced his steps towards the hills of St. John, where Janavel had kept in check the troops whose progress he had

¹ In this way we may learn the names of the most distinguished of these last defenders of their country. They are thus given in the edict of 23d May, 1655. The figures which follow the name indicate the sum promised for the head of each of them:—Joshua Janavel, 300 ducats; Bartholemew and James Jahier, 600; Paul Vachère, of Lucerna, 300; Francis Laurent, of Les Chiots (Vale of St. Martin), 200; John Malanot, of the same place, 200; Daniel Grill, of Pral, 200; Abel, John, Anthony, Philip, and Gioanino Peirotti, of Pral (a whole family), 200; Charles Fautrier, 150; Paul Fautrier, 150; Stephen Grass, of Bobi, 150; Lorenzo Buffa, of Angrogna, 150; the brothers John, Peter, and James Tron, called Gianetti (of the Vale of St. Martin), 150; Peter Chanforan and Bartholemew Imbert, of Angrogna, 150 each; Bartholemew Bonous and James Perronel, of Bioclarret (together), 150; and, finally, Daniel Arbareu, of Angrogna; Bartholemew Gianolet, of St. John; William Malanot, of the same place; Gianone de Gianoni, of Angrogna; David Bianchi, of St. John; Joshua Mondon, of Bobi; Daniel Pellenc, of Le Villar; Paul Goante, of La Tour; Paul Bernard, of Rodoret; James, William, and Michael Bastie (without other designation); price set upon their heads, 100 ducats for each. For the brothers John and Francis Meruson, of Traverses, in Pragela, 100 ducats for both.

A price was likewise set by this edict upon the heads of the three Vaudois pastors; to wit, John Léger, the historian, 200 ducats; John Michelin, of Bobi, and Isaac Lépreux, 300 ducats each.

The edict is signed by Charles Emmanuel, and counter-signed Morozza. The names of all the staff of the Vaudois troop are given by Léger, p. 199.

been appointed to arrest. Thus mutually reinforced by one another, the two captains attacked the enemy with such impetuosity, that one hundred and fifty of their number were left dead upon the field of battle. The Vaudois had only one man killed.

A few days after, a convoy of three hundred soldiers was sent from Lucerna to the fort of Mirabouc. Janavel was at Bobi; he was aware of this movement, and awaited the enemy at the defile of Marbec, where he kept them in check for five hours, but was at last obliged to let them pass, after having killed many of them. The valiant captain had on this occasion only eight men with him, and although they retreated, yet it must be granted that they showed great intrepidity in daring to attack three hundred. It is true that they were favoured by the admirable position which their leader had chosen. None of them was killed.

After this, Janavel fell back upon the Alp from which he had made his first expedition against Lucernette, namely, the *Palea di Geymet*, situated opposite to Le Villar. This village was the only one which had not been burned, upon account of the great number of its inhabitants who had become Catholics, and whom it was thought proper to leave at peace in their dwellings. Janavel sent word to them that they must join him, to augment the number of the defenders of the country, in default of which they would be treated as apostates, traitors, and enemies. On this energetic language, the people of Le Villar, whether from fear or from patriotism, joined the standard of the rude warrior who so addressed them.

Janavel then united his efforts once more with those of Jahier, and they formed the project of jointly retaking the Protestant capital of their valleys, the town of La Tour. In this they failed, but they slew more than three hundred soldiers.

The combined troops of these two captains, at this time, amounted to more than six hundred men. They established their headquarters on one of the heights of Angrogna, named Le Verné. But it was necessary to provide for the maintenance of these soldiers; and this could only be done by putting the enemy to ransom.

The inhabitants of Crussol, a village situated in the valley of the Po, having done much harm to the Vaudois at the time of the last massacres, Jahier resolved to lay them under contribution. He set out during the night with one hundred and fifty men; and next morning, at break of day, before the people of Crussol could take any steps for their defence, their village was attacked. The inhabitants retired in consternation to a deep cavern; and the

Vaudois carried off, without resistance, more than four hundred cows or oxen, and six hundred sheep. This booty was conveyed for division to the Alp of Liouza, which, by a very ancient charter, was granted to the abbey of Staffarde.

Whilst this expedition was accomplished on the banks of the Po, the Catholics of St. Segont, and the neighbouring villages, attacked the one hundred and fifty Vaudois who remained at Angrogna. Captains Laurens and Benet, with the brothers Jahier, repulsed these assailants, who, in their retreat, surprised a defenceless man, and satiated their cruelty upon him.¹

However, Captain Jahier had gone to Pragela to sell, or place in safe custody, a part of the booty which he had made at Crussol. Janavel having in vain expected him for eight days, resolved to attack the town of Lucerna himself. This delay caused the failure of the expedition; for a new regiment, which had arrived in that town on the previous evening, repelled the attack.

Two days after, the Marquis of Pianesse, having called to active service all the troops of the district, supported by the new regiment under the command of M. De Marolles, made an attack in his turn upon Janavel's troop, in the very centre of Angrogna. This was on Friday the 15th of June, 1655. The troops advanced up the valleys, at the same time upon La Tour, St. John, Rocheplate, and Pramol. It was intended to attack them all at once; but this simultaneousness of operations could not be attained, because of the different routes which the army of Pianesse pursued, and the distant points which it occupied. The detachment which came by Rocheplate gave the signal of attack some minutes too soon. Janavel had with him only three hundred men. He went against these first assailants, and repulsed them before the troops from Pramol could come up in their rear. In order to divide them he inclined towards the heights of Rochemanant, when suddenly he found himself opposed to the detachment which had come up by the *côtières* of St. John, and at the same time he saw the detachment advancing which came from La Tour.

In this critical position—assailed on all sides, and lacking half his men, who were still in Pragela—the hero of Rora, with that quick confidence of judgment and energetic promptitude of execution which characterize great captains on the field of battle, fell back ere the battalion of Rocheplate could rally on his flank—dashed into the midst of that which came from Pramol—cut it

¹ They passed a cord round his head, and twisted it with a stick till it penetrated into the flesh. The man's name was Peter Reggio; he belonged to Pinache, and died a few days after, in consequence of this treatment.

in two—passed through it—and, as he had formerly done with so much success at Rora, posted himself with his men on the summit of a hill. The hill, thus crowned with this band of heroes, is formed by a bending up again of the mountain-slopes, of gentle inclination on the side which they ascended, but suddenly cut off and broken into precipitous ridges on the opposite side.

The four battalions of the enemy drew together at the base of this slope. Janavel was now shut in betwixt a precipice and an army ten times more numerous than his own. It was nine o'clock in the morning. He resisted in this position till two o'clock in the afternoon; then, judging that his men had been sufficiently exposed in maintaining the conflict, without flinching, for five whole hours, and perceiving already some marks of weariness, impatience, and hesitation amongst the ranks of the enemy, Janavel raised his arms towards heaven and cried, "It is in thy name, O God! support and preserve us!" Then to his men he said, "Forward, my friends!" And, like an avalanche of pikes, swords, and balls, these courageous men rushed to the bottom of the hill with all the impetuosity of a valour too long restrained. Without awaiting their shock, the enemy attempted to spread themselves out in the plain, and recoiled before them. By this manœuvre, in extending, they weakened their line. The Vaudois succeeded in breaking it, and disorder ensued. Confusion readily arises amongst bodies under different commanders. It was habitual with these troops of different origin whenever they were worsted, and followed immediately upon this bold movement of the Vaudois. The 3000 men disbanded. The Vaudois pursued them, killed more than 500, and themselves had only one killed and two wounded.

But all was not ended. Having purged the vale of Angrogna from its invaders, Janavel retired to his entrenchments. At the same moment Captain Jahier arrived from Pragela; their troops were fatigued—the one party by the combat, the other by the march, and those of Janavel had had no food since morning. Whilst they took a hasty refreshment he went to reconnoitre the position of the enemy. He saw them rallying their bodies of dispersed troops in the plain of St. John, and far from thinking of any attack.

This indefatigable warrior called again upon his men; caused them to descend by the borders of the valley, and fell like a thunderbolt unexpectedly upon the army, which was a second time put to the route before him. The Vaudois killed more than 100 men; but the death of Janavel had well-nigh proved at that juncture a greater calamity to his compatriots than a defeat, for that leader, to whom they could not have found a successor, was struck by a

bullet which passed quite through his body, entering by the chest and coming out by the back. His mouth filled with blood; he lost consciousness, and was thought to be on the point of expiring. The grief of those around him was extreme. He gave over the command to Jahier, to whom he also gave his instructions, amidst tears, prayers, and liveliest testimonies of affection on the part of his soldiers.

However, Providence was pleased not permanently to deprive the valleys of their intrepid defender, and after six weeks' suffering the cure of Janavel was completed. He had caused himself to be carried to Pinache, in the French territory, to recover or die there. His last advice to Captain Jahier had been, not to attempt anything for that day by reason of the fatigue of their troops; but an emissary having come to apprise Jahier that he might take possession of the town of Ossac, that too impetuous captain, as Léger calls him, whose intrepidity always got the better of his prudence, burning to signalize himself by some grand exploit, took with him 150 soldiers and set out under the guidance of the emissary.

The emissary was a traitor. He led Jahier into an ambush, where a squadron of cavalry surrounded and defied him. In this moment of extremity Jahier rose above himself by his extraordinary valour; seeing himself betrayed he killed the traitor, invoked God, caused his soldiers to take to their swords and pikes, rushed upon the cavalry of Savoy with an intrepidity worthy of a better fate; and there, thrusting and striking, disembowelling horses, killing their riders, and breaking through the ranks of his adversaries, he made terrible ravages all around him—killed with his own hand three officers of the enemy, and at last, overcome by the number of his wounds, fell dead upon the spot. His son, who fought by his side, died with him. All his soldiers, with the exception only of one, were cut in pieces. The survivor hid himself in a marsh, and passed the Cluson at night by swimming, to bear this deplorable intelligence to his compatriots.

That 15th of June was a fatal day! The Vaudois were deprived at once of Janavel and Jahier. "The latter," says Léger, "had always shown a great zeal for the service of God and the cause of his country; having the courage of a lion, and, moreover, meek as a lamb, always giving to God alone all the praise of his victories; extremely well versed in the Holy Scriptures; perfectly familiar with controversy and a man of high ability, who might have seemed to possess every estimable quality if only he had been capable of moderating his courage."¹

¹ Léger, Part II. p. 104.

CHAPTER IX.

END OF THE CONFLICT, NEGOTIATIONS, AND PATENTS OF GRACE.¹

(JUNE TO SEPTEMBER, 1655.)

Foreigners come to the assistance of the Vaudois—Further successes of their arms—They fail in an attempt, conducted by the French General Descombies, to take the Fort of La Tour—Intervention of Cromwell—His ambassador, Morland, at Turin—Treaty of Pignerol.

THE adversaries of the Vaudois exulted over the death of Jahier and the loss of Janavel, whose wound they regarded as mortal. The hopes which had been formed of an accommodation vanished once more. The army of the persecutors, which had for a moment been held in restraint, assumed the offensive with new vigour. But during this time also, public opinion had declared itself with greater energy in favour of the Vaudois. The fame of the exploits of Jahier and Janavel advanced their cause in a military point of view, as the sufferings of their martyrs had already exalted it in its religious aspect.

Men of arms, from different countries,² came to offer their services to this heroic people, whom their enemies had thought to destroy. The French Lieutenant-General Descombies and the Swiss Colonel Andrion were of the number. The latter had already distinguished himself in Sweden, in France, and in Germany. There remained also amongst the Vaudois certain captains of merit; amongst others, Bertin and Podio of Bobi, Albarea of Le Villar, Laurens of Val St. Martin, and Revel and Costabelle, the lieutenants of Janavel and Jahier.

The moderator, Léger, had also returned to the valleys. On the first day after his arrival he thought it proper to pass to Angrogna, where his compatriots were assembled. He repaired thither with Colonel Andrion, who had likewise just arrived. The Vaudois were encamped on the Vachère. During the night they sent soldiers in the direction of La Tour to reconnoitre the positions of the enemy. These soldiers, having come to the hamlet of St. Laurent, there discovered a detachment of Piedmontese troops, who awaited the dawning of the day to ascend higher and attack the Vaudois. These troops were scattered as in a halt; the darkness of night

¹ AUTHORITIES.—The same as in Chapter VII.

² "There arrived every day a good number of them," says Léger (II. 197).

was still thick; and the two Vaudois soldiers mingled with them and conversed with them in their own language. They thus learned the designs of M. De Marolles, their commander; and, quitting the tents at break of day, hastened to inform their comrades of what they had learned.

Some musket shots were fired after them in vain to arrest their flight; and the enemy, finding themselves discovered, seized their arms and followed on their track. The Vaudois got in advance so far as to forewarn their companions. Léger then took refuge with all haste behind the barricades which had been erected. The enemy divided themselves into four battalions; and from five o'clock in the morning till three o'clock in the afternoon, ceased not to attack the barricades of the Vachère upon three different sides. They were defended only by a few hundred Vaudois.

After this long and unequal combat, the lower barricades, called the *Cases* [*Les Casses*] were carried, and the Vaudois retired to a more elevated spot called the *Keep* [*Le Donjon*]. The Piedmontese army raised a shout of victory, and came forward to the assault, exclaiming, "Come on! come on! ye remains of Jahier!" But from the summit of this keep, down steeper and higher slopes than those of their first fortifications, the Vaudois rolled stones, or rather rocks, which came with thundering rapidity, and made chasms in the ranks of the enemy, dashing them to pieces or crushing them into the earth. The army paused, "Come on! ye remains of St. Segont!" cried the Vaudois then in their turn.

Many of the Piedmontese soldiers had talismans, such as relics and medals dedicated to the Virgin Mary—so many amulets, to which they ascribed the power of turning the balls of the heretics. Those who still survived attributed their preservation to these precious safeguards. They had not seen at what distance from them the balls passed; and danger unseen sometimes seems to have no existence. But in view of these rocks bounding so furiously down, and seeing their companions in the attack falling on their right hand and on their left, the soldiers recoiled for fear of death. They came in contact with each other, jostled upon each other, and impeded each other's movements; disorder got into their ranks, and the Vaudois took advantage of it to rush upon them cutlass in hand. The rout was now complete; the army was defeated and fled, leaving a hundred dead on the field of battle, and bearing off almost as many corpses, with twice that number of wounded.

The syndic of Lucerna seeing these deplorable remains of the army enter the town, it drew from him a saying, whose point

cannot easily be perceived except in Italian,¹ "The wolves used to eat the *barbets*, but now it seems that the *barbets*² have devoured the wolves."

A few days after, the garrison of La Tour again revisited the valley of Angrogna, to waste the little that remained of crops in the fields, and to burn the miserable cottages which had escaped the previous burnings; but they were repulsed by Captain Bellin, who pursued them to the very entry of the town. The disorder with which they rushed in caused so great a panic, that the Vaudois captain might have made himself master of the place, if he had known how to make the most of his advantage.

An attempt was made a few days afterwards to accomplish this object; but the opportunity was past, and the attempt was not crowned with success. The enterprise was, however, conducted by an experienced officer, M. Descombies, a native of Languedoc, who had arrived in the valleys on the 17th of July, and had almost immediately been named commander-in-chief of the Vaudois. The Vaudois at the same time equipped a little squadron of cavalry, of which the command was intrusted to another French refugee, named Charles Feautrier. Whilst the adversaries of the Vaudois were gradually weakened, the defenders of the valleys became more and more numerous; they had at this time almost 1800 men in active service. Moreover, Janavel had recovered of his wound and returned to join his brethren.

The whole of these forces being assembled together, advanced by night to the hill of Le Chiabas, distant scarcely ten minutes' walk from La Tour. There the Vaudois halted until the day broke. "Certainly," says Léger,³ "if, according to the advice of those who belonged to the valleys, the attack had been immediately commenced, it would have been all over both with the town and the fortress; but the fatal prudence of M. Descombies was the cause of the fort not being taken." This general not having yet seen the Vaudois engaged in action, not knowing the localities, and not daring to rely upon what was told him, sent Frenchmen, who had come with him, to reconnoitre the approaches of the Châtelard; for so the fort of St. Mary or citadel of La Tour was called. These emissaries described it to him as impregnable; and Descombies then gave orders for a retreat, that he might not throw away, in this first affair, the lives of the men who had intrusted themselves

¹ *Altre volte li lupi mangiarono li barbetti, ma lo tempo è venuto che li barbetti mangiano i lupi.*

² A contemptuous epithet given to the Vaudois, derived from the ancient name of their pastors, *Barbas*.

³ Page 197.

to his command. However, the presence of the Vaudois had by this time been telegraphed, and M. De Marolles issued from Lucerna at the head of his regiment. Descombies was going to conduct his troops and his cavalry to the Vachère, when two Vaudois captains, Bellin and Peironnel, exclaimed, "Those who love me, follow me!" The troops hesitated; the officers rushed forward; 100 men followed—the rest fell back. "I will remain here to sound a retreat," exclaimed Janavel, who was still too ill to fight. The half of the Vaudois army then abandoned its commander-in-chief; and even a few Frenchmen joining them, they made an assault upon La Tour. Upon this occasion Captain Fonjuliane performed prodigies of valour. The Vaudois, who knew the weak places in the fortifications of La Tour, made their assault near the convent of the Capuchins. A shower of balls was poured down upon them from the fort and convent. Nevertheless they demolished the wall, penetrated into the interior, seized the cloister, set it on fire, rushed into the town, occupied all the outlets, and made themselves masters of it in a few moments. The slaughter was great; but the conquerors spared all who sought mercy. The Capuchins were of this number, and remained prisoners. The intrepid assailants then mounted to attack the citadel, sheltering themselves, as they had already done at St. Segont, behind casks either empty or stuffed with hay, which they rolled before them, and in which the balls safely spent their strength.

The garrison, seeing the convent lost, the town on fire, and the bastions of the fort scaled on all sides, began to capitulate, and asked only to retire with their lives. But just then the regiment of M. De Marolles arrived from Lucerna. The garrison seeing it approach, persisted in resistance. Presently the cavalry of Savoy surrounded the place, to cut off the escape of the attacking party. If the Vaudois had only had a small body of cavalry on their side to guard the approaches of the town, they would have been able to have completed their conquest; but M. Descombies had led his cavalry back to the Vachère. Janavel, seeing his brave compatriots almost surrounded, sounded a retreat from the top of the hill of Chiabas. He was a man so intrepid and so experienced that they could not but regard his orders with confidence. The Vaudois therefore retired. It was full time: the pursuit was hot; but Janavel had calculated so justly that they were all saved. "What a loss it was," said they to Descombies, "that your troops were not there to support us!" "I regret it more than you do," he replied, "for my honour is compromised. Ah! if I had seen you fight before! I knew very well that the Vaudois were brave

soldiers; but I did not think that they were lions, and more than lions." It was his desire then to find an opportunity, as soon as possible, of showing that his bravery was not unworthy of theirs; but again the opportunity once lost never returned.

The report of the Easter massacres spread over indignant Europe. The representations made by European sovereigns to the court of Savoy became stronger and stronger. Cromwell, in particular, manifested extraordinary zeal and activity in favour of the Vaudois; not contented with addressing Charles Emmanuel himself, he solicited the other powers to follow his example. Louis XIV. replied to him as follows:¹—"Most Serene Protector, . . . To show that I nowise approved their turning aside my troops for this business, although under pretext of quartering them in the valley of Lucerna, I immediately sent several of my officers to the Duke of Savoy to put a stop to the proceedings [against the Vaudois] which were still being carried on under his authority. . . . And I even gave orders to the Duke De Lesdiguières, governor of Dauphiny, to receive them, treat them humanely, and assure them of my protection. And as I am informed by your letters of the 25th ult.,² that you are touched with the calamity of this miserable people, I am very happy to have anticipated you in your desire; and I will continue to address myself to that prince for their consolation and re-establishment. I have gone so far as to make myself answerable for their obedience and loyalty, so that I have good hopes that my mediation will not be ineffectual."³

The French ambassador in Piedmont, M. De Servient, received orders to act according to the spirit of this letter. Holland and Switzerland also sent to Turin mediators for the Vaudois. Morland, the youthful plenipotentiary of Cromwell, arrived on the 21st of June at Rivoli, where the court was. On the 24th he was admitted to a public audience; and after the customary compliments he added, "The Most Serene Protector himself adjures you to have compassion on your own subjects in the valleys, so cruelly maltreated. Misery has followed the massacres; they wander upon the mountains; they suffer from hunger and from cold; their wives and children drag out their lives in destitution and consuming affliction. And of what barbarities have they been the victims! Their houses burned, their members torn, scattered about, mutilated, sometimes even devoured by the murderers! Heaven and Earth shudder at it with horror! Were all the Neros of past and future times to view these fields of carnage, infamy, and inexpressible atrocities (let it not wound your royal highness), they would conclude that they

¹ 12th June, 1655.² May, 1655.³ Léger, Part II. p. 226.

had never seen anything but what was good and humane in comparison with these things! I say it without offence to your majesty. O God! Sovereign ruler of Heaven and Earth, avert from the heads of the guilty the just vengeance which so much bloodshed calls for!" Such was the harangue of Morland.

This speech, characterized by Puritan energy and unction, pronounced with the manly assurance of youth and courage, more like the severe accents of the prophets than the complaisance of diplomacy, produced a profound sensation. Never had prince been so boldly found fault with to his face. Charles Emmanuel made no reply: but the Duchess spoke. The Jesuits had moulded her mind. "I am very sensible," she said, "of the interest which your master testifies in my subjects. Only I am astonished that he should have lent an ear to the inaccurate reports of which your address gives evidence. The distance at which he resides can alone excuse them; for it is impossible to represent as barbarities, chastisements so mild and paternal, inflicted upon rebellious subjects, whose revolt no sovereign could excuse. Nevertheless, I am well contented to pardon them, in order to show to the Most Serene Protector the desire which I feel to please him."

Morland left Turin on the 19th of July, promising to return in order to assist the Vaudois in the negotiations which were to be opened with regard to them. But the government made haste to have them concluded in his absence, in order that they might be more free to grant less. On the 18th of August, 1655, in presence of the Swiss ambassadors¹ who had arrived at Turin after Morland's departure, and under the influence of Servient, the ambassador of France, was concluded at Pignerol the treaty named the *Patents of Grace*, which re-established the Vaudois in part of their privileges, and by its perfidious reservations became the occasion of incessant vexations to them. It cannot be doubted that if the return of Morland had been awaited, this treaty would have been much more advantageous; for about the end of July Cromwell had sent a new ambassador, Mr. Downing, with orders to take with him from Geneva the Chevalier Pelh, his resident ambassador to the Helvetic body. They were then both to join Morland, and all together

¹ These ambassadors came in name of the Protestant cantons; but there exists a letter from the deputies of the Catholic cantons in the *Diet*, in which they say to the Duke of Savoy, that they had intended to unite delegates of their own communion to that embassy, to intercede likewise in favour of the Vaudois; but that their offer not having been accepted, they expressed their sentiments on this point to him by writing. The letter is dated 21st July, 1655. (Archives of Turin.) The court of Turin wrote on the 3d of August to the Pope's nuncio in Switzerland, to entreat him to remove from these Catholic cantons their too favourable prepossessions respecting the valleys. (Same Archives.)

to repair to Turin, to act in concert with the ambassador of the United Provinces (Holland). But the treaty of Pignerol was unfortunately signed before the arrival of these influential personages, and was thenceforth to afford too evident proofs of their absence. The following were its principal provisions:—

"The Vaudois, having taken up arms against their sovereign, deserved to be punished; however, through clemency they will be pardoned; and the Duke of Savoy wishing to make known to the world with how much tenderness he loves his people,¹ consents to accord to them:—

"I.—The confirmation of their privileges. (Liberty of conscience, of trade, and of transit.)

"II.—An amnesty for the excesses committed during the troubles.

"III.—The annulling of the prosecutions commenced, and of the decrees of outlawry issued against Léger, Janavel, Michelin, Lepreux, and other outlawed persons" (on whose heads a price had been set).

"IV.—The Protestants are prohibited from dwelling henceforth on the right bank of the Péliis, below Lucerna, and at Lucernette, Bubiano, Campillon, Fenil, Garsiliano, Briqueras, and St. Segont." (This clause would assuredly not have been admitted by the representatives of Great Britain and the United Provinces, since it was expressly contrary to the treaty of Cavour, 1561.)

"V.—The possessions of the Vaudois, lying within the districts where they are prohibited from dwelling, shall be sold within three months, in default of which they shall be paid for by the exchequer to their proprietors, according to the price which they cost.

"VI.—The Vaudois may inhabit the commune of St. John, but they are prohibited from practising any public religious service there.

"VII.—They shall be exempted from divers taxes for the space of five years (because," adds the patent, "they are not in a condition to pay them, by reason of the losses which they have suffered).

"VIII.—Mass shall be celebrated in all the valleys; but the Vaudois shall not be required to attend.

¹ *Volendo far noto al mondo, con quanta tenerezza d'affetto amiamo i nostri popoli.* . . . These expressions need to be read in their exact form in order to be believed genuine. There is at the end of this preamble an expression which shows that Charles Emmanuel had only acted under the directions of his mother, *Madame Reale, mia Signora e Madre quale habbiamo sempre tanto deferito.* And she had only acted according to the suggestions of the clergy who were under the influence of Jesuitism, the language of which may be recognized at the slightest glance in the very first words which we have cited.

"IX.—Those who, having abjured their religion during the late troubles, shall think that they have been constrained thereto by violence, and wish to return to Protestantism, shall not be punished as relapsed.¹

"X.—The prisoners on both sides, including women and children, shall be restored as soon as they shall be demanded." (In virtue of this article, the wife and daughters of Janavel were delivered up. But these words, apparently so precise, *The prisoners shall be restored as soon as they shall be demanded*, were the cloak for bitter deceptions; for the greater part of the children carried off during the war had been dispersed in Piedmont, had been passed from hand to hand, from castle to castle, from monastery to monastery, so that their parents knew not whither to go to seek them; and the authorities responded to their complaints, "Tell us where your child is and we will secure your obtaining it." Thus Jesuitism triumphed still by its crooked policy, even under the protective provisions of an official edict.)

Some clauses of a mere temporary interest terminate this treaty, consisting in all of twenty articles.²

The plenipotentiaries had, it is true, demanded more solid guarantees for the repose of the Vaudois; amongst others, the demolition of the fort of La Tour, but they were refused or eluded; and, as we shall very soon see, the want of them became the source of new difficulties and misfortunes.

¹ But, on the 6th of August, the greater part of those who had become Catholics had been removed from the valleys and conducted to a great distance. The principal stages they were to pass through are marked as follows:—*Paësans, Moretta, Piombes, Leyni, Vische, Borgo d'Alea, Saluzzola, &c.*

² The negotiators of this treaty were, in name of the Vaudois, the four ambassadors sent by the evangelical cantons of Switzerland, viz., Solomon Hirzel of Zurich, Charles de Bonstetten of Berne, Benedict Sossin of Basle, and James Stockart of Appenzel. On the part of France, the Ambassador Servient; and on the part of Piedmont, MM. Truchi, Gastaldo, and De Grézi.

CHAPTER X.

INFRACTIONS OF THE TREATY OF PIGNEROL—LÉGER'S VICISSITUDES.¹

(A.D. 1655 TO A.D. 1660.)

Grievances not redressed by the Treaty of Pignerol—The Fort of La Tour—Continued operations of the Propaganda—Gastaldo, governor of the valleys—New vexations—Violations of the treaty—Question of the right to meet for public worship at St. John—Léger, pastor of St. John, the object of the particular hostility of the Romish party—He is condemned to death, and flees from the country—His labours and trials in his exile—Odious conduct of Charles II. of England, with regard to money collected in that country during the time of Cromwell, for the Vaudois.

THE treaty of Pignerol could not all at once diffuse the tranquillity of a regular and peaceful government, over a country so torn by extraordinary troubles. The conditions of the treaty were far from being satisfactory to the parties concerned. Hastily concluded by the plenipotentiaries of France and Piedmont, to escape the influence of the ambassadors of Holland and England,² whose arrival was not waited for,³ they left modifications to be desired, which all subsequent efforts⁴ were ineffectual to obtain. On the one hand, however, the Propaganda found the concessions too great; on the other, the Vaudois judged them insufficient, and ere long were forced to complain that they were not carried into effect.

The fort of La Tour, which Charles Emmanuel I. had caused to be demolished in 1603, and whose walls had begun to be rebuilt during the late war, became one of the first subjects of discontentment. A recollection of the base conduct of Castrocara, Gallina, and other persecutors of the Vaudois, was sufficient to excite distrust in the bosoms of the persecuted. In the conferences preparatory to the treaty of Pignerol, it had been agreed that that citadel should be demolished. The Swiss negotiators even wished that this demolition should be guaranteed by a special article. The Sardinian delegates replied, that the Duke of Savoy could not consent in this way to seem to disarm himself before his own subjects, but that he wanted no other fortress than grateful hearts, and

¹ AUTHORITIES.—The same as in Chapter VII. Principally *Léger* and *Morland*.

² Letter of M. D'Ommeren to the Swiss cantons, 19th October, 1655. (*Léger*, p. 238.)

³ Attestation of the Secretary of the Embassy at Turin, 17th Sept., 1655. (*Id.* p. 223.)

⁴ Acts of an Assembly held at Payerne, on the 13th of Oct., 1655. (*Id.* p. 223.)

that the fortifications of La Tour would be razed immediately after the signature of the treaty.¹ "What would be the use," they said also, "of introducing into the treaty a clause which would be humiliating to the sovereign, and which would be without an object after the lapse of a few days?"

The patents of Pignerol were therefore silent on this point, and the enemies of the Vaudois congratulated themselves upon it; but Jesuitism aimed at still more, and sought to introduce into this charter provisions altogether opposed to these positive promises. The charter was signed; but in the space between the text and the signatures was inserted a new paragraph, bearing that "His royal highness accorded to the Vaudois the right of addressing petitions to him for the demolition of the citadel of La Tour, or its reconstruction in another place."² This implied the right of refusal; it was to bring again into question all that had already been agreed; it was to commit a forgery; and when it was complained of, the reply made was that this interpolation was owing to the negligence of a clerk.³

The Vaudois, however, sent up the petitions, the vain right of sending which had, with so deceitful an intention, been thus granted them. The duke replied, with much apparent kindness, that he was happy to have it in his power to give them a new proof of his good-will, and that he would destroy as much of the fort of La Tour as was not necessary for the defence of his dominions. He did, indeed, cause a little useless fort to be demolished which stood in the plain of La Tour, but at the same time he redoubled his activity in the construction of the citadel situated on the height. The works were so vigorously carried on that the building was terminated in the course of the same year, and a garrison was placed in it in the year following. Thus the honeyed duplicity of a cruel political expediency trifled with the good faith of the people, and laboured to oppress them whilst affecting to establish a claim to their gratitude.

However, the French authorities saw with dislike a fortress of such strength constructed so near their frontiers. The governor of Dauphiny⁴ and the commandant of Pignerol⁵ expressed their dis-

Letter of the Swiss ambassadors to those of France and Piedmont, 30th Nov., 1657. (Léger, p. 283, al. 3.)

² Some editions of the *Patenti di grazia* do not contain this article (Guichenon, Hist. p. 1017). In others it is preceded by a special declaration on the part of Servient, the ambassador of France. (Raccolta degli Editti, p. 103.) Léger discusses this point at length, Part II. pp. 263, 264, 265.

³ See Léger, pp. 250, 283, &c.

⁴ Lesdiguières.

⁵ La Bretonnière.

approbation of it;¹ and Louis XIV. then offered to the Vaudois to become guarantee for the full execution of the treaty of Pignerol concluded under his auspices.² A synod was held at La Tour to deliberate upon this offer.³ The Vaudois thanked the monarch for his protection, which they entreated him to continue,⁴ and put into the hands of his envoy a memorial,⁵ setting forth all the grievances of which they thought they had cause to complain, since the signing of the *Patents of Grace*. These patents, said they, have not been carried into effect;⁶ the release of our prisoners is refused,⁷ our children are still carried off,⁸ and the soldiers who garrison the fort of La Tour commit with impunity the gravest crimes against our persons and properties.⁹

Thus pillage and assassination, rape and violence, continued the Catholic *work of faith*. The Propaganda had not renounced their design—the extirpation of heresy. Did they not proclaim the lawfulness of all treachery against heretics? Did they not brand all those as heretics who rested on the authority of the Bible? Was it not therefore their duty, at all hazards, to destroy the Vaudois?¹⁰ Thus the report spread far that new conflicts were about to arise in these afflicted valleys.¹¹ And meanwhile an attempt was made to create division amongst their inhabitants by the vilest insinuations. Some Jesuits, who had introduced themselves by pretending to be Protestant refugees from Languedoc, excited the poor people to distrust of their pastors, propagating, with perfidious ingenuity, reports of malversation against those of them who had been intrusted with the distribution of the considerable sums col-

¹ Guichenon, p. 1077.

² Letter of Louis XIV. to Lesdiguières, 22d February, 1656. (Léger, p. 246.) Lesdiguières himself wrote to the Vaudois on the 4th of March, 1656, sending them Louis XIV.'s letter by a lieutenant-colonel named M. Du Buis. (Id. p. 247.)

³ On the 28th and 29th of March, 1656.

⁴ See the letters of the Vaudois in Léger, pp. 248 and 249.

⁵ This memorial is given by Léger, p. 250, *et seq.* It contains fifteen articles.

⁶ See Art. v., vii., viii. and ix., xi. and xii. of the memorial.

⁷ Art. x. Léger, p. 251.

⁸ Art. xiii. The *Patents of Grace* still authorized this carrying off of children within certain limits, whilst seeming to prohibit it—"I figliuoli non potranno esse tolti a loro parenti, mentre che sono in età minore cioè li maschi di dodici, e le femine di dieci anni. (Art. xv. of the *Patents*.)

⁹ Those of the assassin soldiers who had been apprehended by the peasants, and delivered over to the authorities for justice, promptly obtained their liberty, through the interposition of the Castilian Cordeliers, with whom the valleys were then infested. Their presence also occasioned serious grievances. Léger reports numerous instances of deeds of violence committed by them (pp. 250-266), of which the Swiss ambassadors speak as eye-witnesses.—(Letter of 30th Nov., 1657. Léger, p. 283.)

¹⁰ The designation of the Propaganda assumed it as a duty: "*Congregatio de extirpandis hæreticis*."

¹¹ Léger, p. 247.

lected in foreign countries.¹ The calumnies most ready to be credited are those which concern the meanest interests; the unfortunate, moreover, are more easily moved to suspicion, and ignorance favours such an attempt. The Vaudois, accordingly, soon presented the melancholy spectacle of intestine divisions and recriminations about pecuniary affairs, whilst yet they had scarcely well escaped from their greatest calamities.²

New trials very soon came upon them to re-unite them again against a common danger. The auditor Gastaldo, who had been made governor of the valleys, without ceasing to be a member of that body so hostile to the Vaudois—the Propaganda, issued, on the 15th of June, 1657, a decree, by which he prohibited them from setting up any kind of worship at St. John, under pain of a fine of 1000 crowns of gold for the minister conducting it, and of 200 for every one of his hearers. At the same time new Popish missions were founded in the valleys; the Jesuits got a footing in them everywhere; exemptions from taxation, and other indulgences, were granted to the Catholics and those who had become Catholics, whilst an extreme rigour was shown in the execution of all measures burdensome to the Protestants. The latter were not left, however, without the comfort of receiving lively proofs of the interest with which they were regarded by others. The synod of Dauphiny gave the Vaudois churches marks of its fraternal sympathy by sending them several pastors, but the Piedmontese government took advantage of their foreign origin to expel them from the country.³

In a letter addressed to the Swiss ambassadors who had negotiated the treaty of Pignerol, the Vaudois complained of the increasing annoyances to which they were subjected; and the ambassadors wrote in their turn to Piedmont to complain of the infractions of the treaty.⁴ After mention of the promises relative

¹ Guichenon estimates the collections in England at two millions of livres (p. 1014). Those of Holland amounted, on the 5th of September, 1655, to 640,687 florins. These sums were not entirely remitted to the Vaudois pastors; but a great part remained in the hands of divers committees charged with their management in London and Geneva.

² The complaints of this kind, which, in 1656 alone, were addressed by the Vaudois to the pastors of Geneva, are more numerous than could have been credited. (See the Registers of the Venerable Company, vol. K, p. 40, 95, 190, 192, 194, 195, 198, &c.) The probity of Léger was often called in question; but he was honourably acquitted after an investigation subsequently made into this business.

³ Some of them, however, received permission to reside in it on condition of their taking an oath of allegiance to Charles Emmanuel II., viz., Michael Bourset, of Ussau, in Val Cluson, pastor also of Pragela (which belonged to France), and Arnaud, of Vignes, in the Gapençois. They took the oath on the 9th of November, 1657, in the palace of the counts of Lucerna.

⁴ The letter is dated from Zurich, 30th November, 1657. It is signed by the four ambassadors, and is given by Léger, pp. 283-285.

to the demolition of the fort of La Tour, and the excesses of which the soldiers of that fort were then daily guilty, they said concerning the Vaudois, "What liberty of conscience, then, have they obtained, if the pastors of their churches, for the simple reason of their being foreigners by birth, are compelled to leave them—if all religious service is prohibited where only the right of private worship is demanded—if the Protestants are forbidden to make proselytes, and at the same time are exposed to all the proselytizing endeavours of their adversaries? Finally," they add, "whilst the Vaudois are forbidden to acquire, or even to rent, any property without the limits which are fixed for them, the Catholics are forbidden to sell them those which they possess within these same limits. Now all these things," say they, reminding the Piedmontese government of the treaty of Pignerol, "touch our hearts so much the more sensibly, because we took part, in the name of our lords and superiors, in the framing of that treaty, and are parties interested therein."

The President Truchis replied with much ability, to show that the stipulations granted to the Vaudois had not been violated, but that, on the contrary, they themselves had been guilty of not observing them.

The synod of the Vaudois valleys then drew up a statement of the violations of the treaty which they had to complain of, adding evidence in support of them. This memorial was printed at Haarlem in 1662, and reprinted in the same town, with new particulars, in 1663. But the Piedmontese government was deaf to all these complaints, and seemed only, on the contrary, desirous of giving every day new cause for complaints yet louder.

In virtue of the sixth article of the Patents of 18th August, 1655, the people of the valleys were to be exempted from paying the outstanding public burdens of that sad year, in which all the crops and every fortune and every family had suffered so deplorably throughout that afflicted country; yet, in spite of their profound misery, which the product of foreign collections could but very incompletely relieve, these public burdens were rigorously exacted from the Vaudois. Moreover, as if on purpose to render this exaction more flagrantly offensive, an exemption from these very charges was at the same time granted to the Catholics of the valley of St. Martin, "in order," says the decree, "that they may be able to repair the loss which the Protestants have caused them."¹

It was not, however, with a view of clearing themselves from

¹ *Acciò si possano rimettere dalli danni patiti da Religionarii.*—Edict of 16th December, 1657.

these heavy taxes, that the Vaudois at this time made the most urgent applications to the government. A money wound is not a mortal one, said the popular good sense: that only is deadly of which there is no healing; and the prohibition of religious exercises in the parish of St. John was, in their estimation, that mortal wound, from which, therefore, they wished to secure themselves. By this arbitrary prohibition all their churches were menaced at once. The edict of Cavour (1561) guaranteed the free exercise of their worship in all places in which it was then established; St. John was of the number—the patents of Pignerol had neither restricted nor enlarged these limits. (Art. VII.) If one of their parishes could be attacked, what security could remain for the rest? It is true that public preaching had been forbidden at St. John since the year 1620, in which the church of Les Malanots was shut up; but private meetings, the instruction of catechumens, and the discharge of the other pastoral functions had been always continued there.

A general synod was held in the month of March, 1658, with reference to this grave question. It decided upon making application to the sovereign, and that, in the meantime, the pastor of St. John (Léger the historian) should continue to exercise his function until the question submitted to the judgment of the duke should be decided.

This decision of the synod caused great irritation at the court of Turin. "The first duty of subjects," it was said, "is to obey their prince: in resisting his orders the Vaudois make themselves guilty of rebellion—they must be treated as rebels and guilty of high treason." The Protestant powers,¹ to which the synod had written to obtain their intercession in this matter, having addressed the court of Turin with this view, received only a reply expressing still greater inflexibility. "You do not know the people on whose behalf you interest yourself, they are rebels, unworthy of any regard."

It may readily be supposed that the Propaganda and the Catholic clergy would seek to irritate men's minds rather than to tranquillize them. The particular object of this irritation was Léger, that powerful supporter of the valleys, and courageous pastor, who remained at his post in spite of menaces and dangers. Already twice condemned to death,² he braved it still, and his enemies no

¹ To wit, the Elector-Palatine, the Elector of Brandenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, the States-General of the United Provinces (Holland), and the evangelical cantons of Switzerland. Their letters were carried by Colonel Holzhalt, in July, 1662. (Léger, B. ii. pp. 295, 325-357, and 278-281.)

² The first condemnation was on the 23d of May, 1655. It was pronounced

doubt hoped that this time would be the last. They sent him a citation to appear at Turin; the citation bore no cause assigned, and Léger paid no attention to it. A second summons was not more effectual. The Count of Saluces, who seemed to take a real interest in the Vaudois,¹ then sought out the minister, and said to him, "You have entered on a wrong course; why do you not obey this summons? This is to make men believe that you are guilty. A legal order has forbidden public worship in your parish; why do you not comply with it until it be revoked?" "I cannot suspend my pastoral functions in expectation of that revocation," replied the pastor. "The way to obtain it soonest," said his adviser, "would be to plead your cause at Turin." But Léger refused to go. "At least," said the count, "suspend the public services of your religion till a new order be issued." Léger still refused. "Will you," added the count, "contend with a high hand against your sovereign, and do you think he will permit you to prevail against him?" "I contend only in the way of right and duty," said Léger. "It is my duty to minister in our congregations; and it is a right which they exercise when they maintain their worship." Thus war was declared; Léger was to be defeated.

On the 3d of May, 1658, he received a third citation, requiring him to appear under pain of banishment and confiscation of goods. The pastor of St. John thought it proper to consult his brethren

against twenty-nine inhabitants of the valleys, of whom Léger was one. The edict charged them with having assembled illegally, and with conspiracy in that meeting. (They had only sought, in concert, the means of defending their country.) This condemnation was annulled by the first article of the Patents of Pignerol.

The second condemnation was pronounced against Léger personally, on the information of an assassin, of whom we have already spoken, and who, to obtain his own pardon, declared that Léger had engaged him to execute the murder which he had committed. The assassin was set at liberty, and Léger was cited to appear before the podestat of Lucerna, in July, 1655. It was at the hottest time of the war; the citation never came to his hands, and he was condemned for contumacy. A month after, having come to Pignerol during the negotiations which put an end to the war, he was informed of this condemnation. He immediately demanded to be confronted with his accuser; but it was replied that the accuser had been released, and that it was not known where he was to be found. The Vaudois pastor was, however, hastily freed from the sentence under which he lay, and that with as little formality as had attended the pronouncing of it.

Meanwhile, the Vaudois themselves seized the murderer with whom the accusation had originated, and conducted him to Pignerol; but the authorities still refused to confront him with Léger, saying to the latter that it was enough for him to be relieved from his condemnation. From this example we may judge what sort of protection, or even of equity, the Vaudois had to expect from the pretended justice of their adversaries.

¹ Generous sentiments seem to be hereditary in this noble family, whose present representatives have recently expressed to an author belonging to the Vaudois valleys the liveliest interest in his compatriots.

as to the course which he should pursue. A meeting was held for this purpose in Pinache, a town at that time belonging to France, where it was decided that a petition should be presented to Charles Emmanuel to preserve Léger in his congregation. This should have been done at the first; but it was too late to hope that this petition would be granted now. It was not. Three years were spent in fruitless negotiations; and on the 12th of January, 1661, a decree of the senate of Turin condemned Léger to death, and those who were accused along with him to ten years of the galleys.¹

No longer able to remain in his native country, Léger withdrew from it to continue his labours in its service; but new trials were reserved for him in foreign lands. In 1659, he had been sent to England to receive the collections made on behalf of the Vaudois. During his absence, the Jesuits, who had made their way into the valleys, under the guise of Protestant refugees, spread the report that the Vaudois pastors in general, and Léger in particular, had appropriated a great part of this money. The synod of the valleys exposed these impostures; but the calumniators, not owning themselves defeated, carried their accusations before the synod of Dauphiny,² which named a commission to investigate them. This commission proceeded to the valleys in name of the churches of France, which, having contributed to the collections, were entitled to be informed as to the use made of them. A detailed report was presented next year to the synod of Veynes, and by this report the proceedings of the Vaudois pastors were fully justified.

The complaints were then carried to Geneva, where they were no better received. But the dissatisfaction to which they had given rise in the valleys, amongst the worst-informed persons, having been carefully fomented by the enemies of the Vaudois, some of the latter thought fit to address a petition upon the subject to their sovereign. Thirty-seven persons, drawn from the least enlightened ranks of the population (for more than one-third of them could not write), signed³ an accusation of peculation, which was thus brought by the Vaudois against their own pastors. They requested that a government officer might be named to inquire into the real amount of the collections, and to take charge of their distribution.

¹ These were the deacons and elders of the congregation of St. John, named Bianquis, Bastie, Danna, Magnot, Fervout, and Curts.

² Held at Die in 1660. There existed at that time a Protestant Faculty of Theology in that town, which was suppressed in 1672.

³ Those who could not write signed by making a simple *mark*, generally in the form of a cross; and the name of the person signing was inscribed by those who prepared the paper opposite the mark which each had made.

The government affected to regard this paper as the expression of the general sentiment of the valleys, and Charles Emmanuel immediately named the Count of Lucerna to attend to the complaint. The senator Perrachino, intendant-general of the court of justice, summoned the Vaudois pastors to give in their accounts to him. It cannot be denied that the distributions were not wholly such as might have been desired;¹ but certainly it was not for the persecuted thus to submit to the control of their persecutors, and the pastors being assembled in synod, replied with dignity that the employment of all the money which had passed through their hands would be found to be justified by exact accounts, and that they were ready to produce regular receipts, when and where they might be required.

Meanwhile Léger, accompanied by two other delegates of the valleys, pursued his labours in England. The period was one of great agitation in Great Britain, where the sceptre had just passed into the feeble and inexperienced hands of Cromwell's son. The Vaudois deputies were witnesses of his fall, and of the return of Charles II., recalled after twelve years of exile, by the voice of a new parliament, the convocation of which was owing to the devoted exertions of the famous General Monk.

It was to this young sovereign that the Vaudois had to address themselves, to obtain the first annual payment from the considerable sums which Cromwell had collected on their behalf, and converted into an annuity on national security.² These sums amounted to more than £16,000 sterling; but the new prince refused to account for them, declaring that he would not pay the debts of an usurper. This, however, was not a debt, but a trust; this money had not been furnished by Cromwell, but by the English Church, and Charles II., in seizing these offerings, was guilty of an usurpation less glorious than that with which he reproached his predecessor, but as real. The commissioners of the valleys could, therefore, only recover certain small sums which had been deposited in the hands of private parties.³

The bad success of this negotiation was shortly followed, in

¹ Léger died without having completed a statement of accounts as to the sums which he had received.

² By an act signed at Whitehall, 18th May, 1658, Cromwell had assigned to the Vaudois churches a perpetual annuity of £614 sterling, the interest accruing from a capital of £16,333, 10s. 3d., the balance which remained of collections amounting to £38,241, 10s. 6d., of which the other portion had already been sent to the valleys.

³ The generous voice of an illustrious protector of the Vaudois, who owes his power to his talents alone, has recently made a successful appeal to the British Parliament for the restitution of these funds.

Léger's case, by a blow still more severe. Libels were published against him.¹ He was cited to appear at Turin;² and on the pretext that he had travelled to foreign countries to foment bad feeling against the Duke of Savoy, he was again condemned to death for the crime of high-treason. Hereupon he retired to Geneva, and thence to Leyden, where he wrote his *General History of the Vaudois Churches*, which is simply a collection of papers relative to the events of the year 1655. The church of Leyden received him as one of its pastors; he lived there for a number of years, contracted a second marriage in 1665, and ended his days there.³

CHAPTER XI.

THE WAR OF THE OUTLAWS.⁴

(A.D. 1660 TO A.D. 1664.)

De Bagnol, commandant of the fort of La Tour—*Gli Banditti*—This troop of proscribed and desperate men makes reprisals on the persecutors of the Vaudois—Edict of 25th June, 1663—Treachery and violence—The Vaudois assailed by troops under the Marquis De Fleury—Defeat of the assailants—Edict of 10th August, 1663—The Vaudois, under Janavel, continue the defensive war—An attempt to divide the Vaudois by getting a few of their number to consent to the conditions of the edict of 10th August—Intervention of foreign Protestant powers.

LÉGER and Janavel had been condemned to death.⁵ Twenty persons had been sent to the galleys, and others had been prosecuted for resisting the orders of the sovereign in the exercise of Protestant worship at St. John, where it had been interdicted.⁶

The condemned persons had fled; a price had been set upon their

¹ They were taken up and refuted in a special *Apology*. See sect. I. § ii. No. 3, of the Bibliography at the end of this work.

² On the 7th of December, 1661, although already condemned to death.

³ I do not know the precise date of his death, but he no longer survived in 1684; for under date 27th August of that year, there occurs a royal edict which makes mention of the confiscated property of the late John Léger. (*Records of the Court of Accounts at Turin. Regio controrolo, Finanze, 1684. No. 179, fol. 55.*)

⁴ AUTHORITIES.—The same as in Chapter VII., and the introductory parts of most of the works cited as authorities for next chapter.

⁵ The edict condemning Janavel is dated 25th January, 1661. Fifty persons were condemned to death along with him. A price of 300 ducats was set upon their heads. A fine of 3000 ducats was decreed against the communes which tolerated the outlaws within their bounds.

⁶ On the 31st of May, 1661, but the interdict was not published in the valleys till the 10th of August. (Léger says the 12th—p. 272.)

heads, but no one dared to give them up, and force was employed in order to apprehend them; the officer of justice, Perrachino, put himself at the head of a troop of soldiers, who commenced their exploits by ravaging and plundering. They proceeded to raze Léger's house at St. John, and that of Joshua Janavel at the vineyards of Lucerna.¹

The command of the fort of La Tour was, moreover, intrusted to the Count of Bagnol, one of those who had been concerned in the massacre of 1655, and who continued a zealous servant of the Propaganda. His soldiers committed all sorts of excesses; they arrested travellers and robbed them, plundered the houses of the Vaudois, carried off their daughters, and killed those who resisted their violence. Many of the poor villagers abandoned their dwellings, to seek a safer asylum in the deeper recesses of their mountains. The outlaws who had fled thither descended from their fastnesses to defend their brethren. De Bagnol threatened the severest penalties against all who should receive them. The house of any one who should even give an outlaw anything to eat was to be razed to the ground. Everything possible seemed to be done at that time to irritate the Vaudois.

The commandant of the fort of Mirabouc followed the example of the commandant of La Tour. The governor of Lucerna, Léger tells us,² was famous for more than sixty murders, committed before the marriage of the Duke of Savoy, on which occasion he had received pardon;³ and as to the Sire De Bagnol, who reigned in his fort over all the valley, we may mention by anticipation, that he died upon the scaffold convicted of 120 odious murders. What could the valleys become in such hands? What opinion can we form of the government which set over them such rulers?

Janavel, at the head of his troop of outlaws, was their sole defender. This troop was rapidly augmented by the addition of all the Vaudois who were driven from their dwellings. They were enjoined to return to them under pain of death and confiscation of goods. Then, under pretext of seizing the confiscated goods, the soldiers extended their ravages and pillage on all sides. The troop of outlaws, called, as at a former time, *gli banditti*, opposed these expeditions by force.

It may be imagined what this troop must have become under the conduct of Janavel. Every day was signalized by new exploits,

¹ In March, 1662.

² Léger, p. 267.

³ Charles Emmanuel II. had espoused, on the 4th of March, 1663, Frances of Orleans, who died ten months after. He married again, on the 11th of April, 1665, Joan of Savoy, who died on the 15th of March, 1724, forty-nine years after her husband.

and all attempts to apprehend him were fruitless. In vain were the Vaudois ordered to resign their arms into the hands of the magistrates,¹ and the former penalties denounced anew against the outlaws;² in vain did the Vaudois, on their part, betake themselves to the intendant of the province³ and to the sovereign,⁴ to obtain the protection of the law against the robberies of the Count of Bagnol. It was difficult for those not on the spot to estimate the justice of their complaints; the authorities could not believe that such crimes were committed, and regarded their complaints as exaggerated. The intendant of the province replied that they must return to their dwellings within the space of three days,⁵ and Charles Emmanuel promised an investigation concerning the disorders of which they alleged that they were the victims.⁶ Meanwhile, De Bagnol continued his extortions and violence.

The troop *degli banditti* defended the poor mountaineers; but they could not subsist without levying contributions on their part also, which they did most frequently on the Catholic villages. Janavel seized on several of these, laid siege to others,⁷ and took ransoms for Catholics of the plain to sustain the persecuted people of the mountains. He sometimes pursued his adversaries to the walls of Lucerna and Briqueras. There was no day, says Léger, on which some action did not take place⁸ between these warlike troops and those of the Marquis De Fleury or Captain Pool, who commanded the forces of the province; the latter, notwithstanding their numbers, being always worsted in their conflicts with Janavel.

On the 25th of May, 1663, however, the Vaudois were driven back from the quarter of Les Malanots, which they occupied at St. John, as far as the hills of Angrogna; but there, assuming the offensive in their turn, they charged their pursuers so impetuously, that they drove them back again over all the ground which they had gained, and even into the fort itself. In none of the encounters which took place in 1655, says a letter of that period, did the Vaudois kill a greater number of the enemy than in that affair.

Another skirmish took place on the 17th of June, in the immediate vicinity of La Tour. The combat, says a letter of the 21st, lasted the whole day; and the Vaudois from the upper part of the

¹ Order of 19th December, 1660, cited in the *Conferenze tenues à Turin en 1664*, p. 24.

² 25th January, 1661. (Léger, p. 290.)

³ 13th and 22d May, 1663.

⁴ 26th and 30th May, 1663.

⁵ 19th and 24th May, 1663.

⁶ 31st May, 1663.

⁷ We only know these facts from the preamble of the edict of 25th June, 1663.

⁸ Part II. p. 302. Léger, so prolix in other things, is laconic to the utmost as to historic facts. "*I omit*," he says, "*a multitude of notable encounters*," &c. (p. 303). "*I shall not spend time in relating the remarkable victories*," &c. (p. 299).

valley¹ having arrived upon the ground without being aware that a fight was going on, flung themselves into the midst of the enemy, and killed a number of them without sustaining any loss.

But, as the bringing of military forces against the valleys had no other ostensible object than to apprehend men who had been outlawed by a judicial sentence, it was held a crime in the Vaudois to support their defenders, as if they had been guilty of favouring the escape of criminals. More than once the syndics of the communes were obliged to repudiate all connection with the troop *degli banditti*.

On the 25th of June (1663), the Duke of Savoy, wishing to inspire the Vaudois with admiration of his unexpected goodness,² issued a long edict, which, under pretext of pacifying the valleys, ordained them all to take up arms and make war upon the outlaws. Two hundred and sixty men, drawn from different communes,³ were appointed to assemble at Le Chiabas, opposite to La Tour, and to await the orders of the commandant of Briqueras. Each commune was, besides, to give an hostage as security for its loyalty. An investigation was to be commenced at Turin, under the direction of the Count De Bagnol; and to crown all these benefactions, his highness pardoned all the Protestants, on condition of their returning to their dwellings within the space of fifteen days.

By the same edict, the preamble of which expressed so much benignity, Joshua Janavel was condemned to have his flesh torn with red-hot pincers, to be quartered, and to have his head cut off and planted on the top of a pike in an elevated place. The sentence of death against Léger was reiterated; a person named Artus, one named Bastie, one named Rivoire, two named Muston, one named Revel, and a number of others, amounting to thirty-five persons in all, were condemned to death and confiscation of goods. These were the most intrepid leaders of the little Vaudois army. Six persons also were condemned to the galleys for life, and four to be put in irons for ten years. And it was actually proposed that the Vaudois themselves should take the lives of their own leaders and pastors! And this was called a clemency worthy of admiration! We may judge what must have been the severity of those who deemed it so.

The governor of La Tour and the treasurer-general of his highness urged the Vaudois, in the most pressing manner, to accept these

¹ From Le Villar and from Bobi.

² *Volendo . . . dar occasione agli religionarj di restar ammirativi d'una benignità, tanto da essi inaspettata.* . . . Preamble of the edict of 25th June 1663.

³ Bobi and Rora were to furnish fifty of them, Le Villar fifty, La Tour sixty, and Angrogna one hundred.

terms. They had eight days to make up their minds. But if ever there was dignity in silence, it was on this occasion. The Vaudois allowed the duke's ultimatum to remain unanswered. The commune of Prarusting alone declined all responsibility for the proceedings of the valley of Lucerna.¹ The seigneurs of the neighbourhood did their utmost to augment this division, to obtain the acceptance of the conditions of the edict by at least a part of the Vaudois. Not being able to obtain this, they particularly insisted that the inhabitants of the valley of Lucerna should give a proof of their peaceful and loyal disposition by escorting a convoy, which it was proposed to send, for the revictualling of the fort of Mirabouc. This fort commands the narrowest part of the valley of Lucerna, and shuts up the pass by which Dauphiny may be reached, whither, it will be remembered, that the Vaudois had oftener than once retired in time of persecution.

It was not without some hesitation that, by conveying warlike stores to this fort, they contributed to close this retreat against themselves in the event of their utmost need of it. But the protestations of the governor of La Tour and the treasurer-general were irresistible. "In return for this act of submission," said they to the Vaudois, "the most complete peace will be granted you. Bring back your families to their dwellings, and entertain no anxiety as to the future."

The Vaudois were already conforming to these advices, when all at once they received information that troops were being secretly sent out from Turin. And they very soon learned that these troops were marching against them. In fact, six regiments of Royal Guards had left the capital on the 29th of June, under the command of the Marquis De Fleury. This army had therefore set out eleven days before the expiration of the time allowed to the Vaudois for returning to their dwellings, and four days before the time when they were to make their reply as to the conditions of the edict. It came to be afterwards known that reinforcements of troops had been secretly directed to Lucerna and La Tour² even before this edict was published. It is a vain attempt, therefore, which is made to justify the aggression upon the Vaudois by saying, that the duke meant to punish the inhabitants of the valleys for not having conformed to the edict of the 25th of June, since the assailants were already on the march, not only before the Vaudois could make known their intentions in this respect, but even before they had heard of the edict.

¹ Resolution adopted at the General Council of St. Segont, sitting of 1st July, 1663.

² Investigations. *Conférences tenues à l'Hôtel de Ville, à Turin, en 1664*, p. 57.

The Marquis De Fleury marched direct upon Angrogna, taking the road by St. John. The Marquis of Angrogna,¹ commanding the cavalry of St. Segont, bent his course towards the same point by the heights of Rocheplate, whilst the infantry ascended to it by the hills of Briqueras. These bodies of troops united at daybreak on the higher plain to which these different roads conduct. This was on the 6th of July, 1663. Their object was to seize on the Vachère, which rises above the plain, and commands, from its central position, the openings of the three Vaudois valleys.² But a corps of observation, placed by the Vaudois, defended this important post.

The bulk of the Vaudois army, commanded by Janavel, occupied a position farther down, on the borders of St. John. It was therefore threatened with the danger of being attacked in the rear by the troops of the Marquis De Fleury. At the same time those of the Count De Bagnol would have assailed it in front, ascending the valley at once on the side of La Tour and on the side of St. John. They accomplished this movement, and effected their junction in Janavel's sight.

The Vaudois patriot recoiled before forces superior to his own. Arriving at the summit of the slope, he found it already occupied by the enemy, who cut off all his communication with his rear-guard, which had just been moving in the direction of the Vachère. Never had Janavel been in a situation of greater danger; his destruction might have been deemed inevitable; it appeared as if nothing but a miracle could save him. But Janavel's trust in God was unshaken, and in him the confidence of the Christian was as eminently displayed as the intrepidity of the warrior.

With that perfect knowledge of the locality which he possessed above every other man, and that coolness which never forsook him in presence of danger, he sent sixty men into a defile called the *Gates of Angrogna*, opening upon the little plain then occupied by the Marquis De Fleury. "There," said he, "you may arrest an army, and you will cover at once the Vachère and Rochemanant. Go and pray, and be resolute." Then, continuing to fall back before the lines of the Count De Bagnol, he arrived at those impregnable precipices called Rochemanant, having with him only about 600 men. "Here is our Tabor," said he to his men; "to your knees and take courage!" The bible-reading warrior recollected the victories of Barak and Deborah. His men had got ahead of the

¹ Of the family of the Counts of Lucerna.

² Those of Angrogna and Lucerna on one side, those of Pramol and Pérouse on another, those of Faët and St. Martin on a third.

enemy; they fell upon their knees. "O God!" exclaimed their leader, "shield us by thy mighty hand!"

But the enemy approached. The Vaudois spread themselves among the rocks; they barred every entrance; and from every aperture issued their death-dealing bullets. De Bagnol paused, and examined the ground. After having given his troops some repose, he attempted to carry the post, but was repulsed. The troops drew breath and returned to the assault; they were repulsed a second time. The count had already lost more than 300 men, and his army could do nothing against a rock. He attempted to scale it, but his soldiers were flung down one above another. Then a superstitious terror seized them. Could it be true that these heretics had made a compact with the devil to be made invulnerable? It was even said that the Vaudois collected in the folds of their shirts all the bullets which pierced their garments, without their bodies being injured. Janavel, indeed, had been pierced through and through in 1655; but that wound, which would have been mortal in any one else, had left him valiant and vigorous. These thoughts, more or less strongly entertained, and more or less general, were indicated by the increasing hesitation of the Catholic troops. The Vaudois perceived it, and made a vigorous sortie. "Let us sweep away these hordes of cowards at once," said Janavel. And his experienced warriors rushed from all the places in which they were intrenched. The enemy gave way and disbanded. The Vaudois, sword in hand, pursued with vigour. The Count of Bagnol in vain sought to oppose the rout, in which he himself was carried along; his soldiers rushed in a disorderly manner to the lateral slopes of the mountain; ten Vaudois put a hundred of their enemies to flight. The latter did not halt till they had reached the plain; many of them perished as they fled; the whole mountain was swept clean of its invaders.

Janavel now rallied his heroic army, mounted to the higher ground, gave thanks to God for the victory which he had just gained; and then all exhausted with fatigue, went to rejoin the sixty men whom he had sent to the *Gates of Angrogna* to protect his rear-guard.

As he had anticipated, these sixty men had sufficed to keep in check, since morning, all the forces of the Marquis De Fleury. They had intrenched themselves behind an earthen bank five feet high; this barrier crossing the defile, sheltered them, and permitted them to make continual discharges against the front of the enemy. But the enemy had also natural bastions which served them for bulwarks; and from rock to rock, they had come almost, it might

he said, to surround this little post of the Vaudois. One effort more and the post would be carried, the defile passed, the Vachère occupied, and the valley lost. The Vaudois perceived this, and sent an emissary to Janavel to obtain some reinforcement. But Janavel had already cleared the ground of the Count De Bagnol, and arrived in person with all his troop.

Thenceforth the advantage was no longer doubtful. Whilst Janavel attacked the flank of the enemy's army, the Vaudois, who had so long remained without moving in their defile, now issued from it with great ardour. Nothing so raises the spirits of troops as the certainty of success. With Janavel's help and their confidence in God they had no doubt of the result. The enemy, on the other hand, seeing this redoubted captain arrive with his 600 men, understood that the Count De Bagnol was already vanquished. Nothing deprives men of courage like the contagion of a defeat. The Marquis De Fleury, likewise, now saw his army yield and disband before these new assailants. The intrepidity of the Vaudois increased; victory declared for them; the Catholics everywhere took to flight, and poured their confused legions over all the hills of Angrogna, St. Segont, and Briqueras. They left as many dead upon the field of battle as the Vaudois had of combatants altogether. More than 600 men were killed, more than 400 were wounded, and the greater part of these died of their wounds, whilst the evangelical party lost only five or six men, and had only twelve wounded, of whom none died.

Having pursued his adversaries half-way down the hill, Janavel paused, and his 600 warriors knelt around him, to give united thanks to God for the victory, and for having so completely delivered them.

They were only at a very short distance from the communes of Prarusting and Rocheplate, which a few days before had detached themselves from the common cause of the Vaudois. But seeing the victory gained by their brethren, the people of these communes now went in pursuit of the enemy's troops; so that after prayer, Janavel led his little army into these villages thus brought back to their alliance, in order to fraternize with the auxiliaries who had issued from them.

Less considerable encounters and skirmishes, in which he had almost always the advantage, still signalized his operations on the following days; so that he not only diminished the forces of the enemy, but every day he augmented his own; for besides the Vaudois, who ranged themselves in greater and greater numbers under his command, many French Protestants hastened to the

support of their brethren.¹ The reverses of the Marquis De Fleury became numerous in proportion; and, as it seemed to the court of Savoy impossible that, with the considerable forces which had been placed under his command, this general ought not to have succeeded in bringing into subjection a handful of rebels (for so our heroic mountaineers are always called), the command of the troops directed against the Vaudois was taken from him, and the Count of St. Damian was sent in his stead.

The Count of St. Damian augmented his army by some new recruits, and commenced his operations by setting out from Lucerna at the head of 1500 men, to take possession of the little commune of Rora. It was at that time defended only by fifteen Vaudois and eight French, in all twenty-three men! They were posted in an advantageous position, but what could they do against 1500 assailants? They did much: they did more than the victors! They fought for six hours, and were cut in pieces with the exception of only one man, who was taken prisoner.

Inflated with his success, St. Damian, on the following day, made a sortie into the valley of Lucerna. But scarcely had he arrived at the village of St. Margaret, to which his soldiers set fire, when the Vaudois, to the number of 200, descended from the heights of Le Taillaret, so often assailed, and never assailed with success. They came upon his troop by the ravine which descends from Les Copiers, put it to flight, killed many of the incendiaries, and on their own side had neither killed nor wounded.

Charles Emmanuel, seeing that this intestine war was taking a turn so disastrous for him, and beginning to understand that the unskillfulness of his generals was not the only cause, thought that he might succeed better by intimidating these valleys, so devoted to their religion and so valiant in its defence. With this view he published, on the 10th of August, 1663, an edict, in which he began by declaring all the inhabitants of the valleys rebels, and guilty of high-treason, and accordingly condemned them to death, with confiscation of goods. There is nothing very formidable in a sentence of death pronounced upon those whom it has been found impossible to vanquish, and who slay more of their enemies than there are living men of themselves. These declarations, however, were merely a preface to numerous exceptions, by which the duke hoped to disunite this warlike and faithful people in order to bring them to

¹ An edict, printed and placarded at Grenoble, 21st July, 1663, by M. De La Berchère, First President of the Parliament of Dauphiny, interdicted all subjects of the King of France from going to take part with those of the pretended reformed religion in the valley of Angrogna, and from giving them any assistance.

a readier submission. But the Vaudois did not accept this edict, which kept in force the condemnation of their most valiant compatriots and most devoted defenders.

The war continued. After having weakened his adversaries, Janavel assumed the offensive against them. He pursued the Count of St. Damian to his very head-quarters, and afterwards renewed his incursions into the plain. The town of Lucerna demanded the protection of walls¹ to shield it from this terrible invader. The works were commenced, but a new attack of the mountaineers interrupted them.

We can here only make hasty mention of the principal of those little expeditions which took place during the rest of the year. The Vaudois made an incursion on Bubiano and were repulsed: the enemy made one towards Le Villar and was repulsed. St. Damian prepared an ambuscade in the district of the vineyards of Lucerna; but he allowed himself to be surprised there, and his troops were cut in pieces.

The army of the Propaganda was disheartened, the duke's finances were exhausted, and new overtures were made to the heroic mountaineers. Peace was offered them upon condition that they should lay down their arms, that there should be no question about religion, and that each community of the valleys should, in all time coming, send up its petitions by itself. This would have been, on their part, to cease to be a people, a church, or a body, whose parts are all mutually responsible amongst themselves; it would have been to break up their unity. The Vaudois understood this, and these conditions were still rejected.

However, they wrote from the valleys, "Our poor people are very miserable; our men have been long constrained to live under arms, feeding on bread and water, and worn out by continual fatigue. God have pity upon us! But we will resolutely resist. The very children in the streets may be heard saying that they would rather die in the caverns than abandon their religion."² The melancholy facts becoming known in foreign countries, the Protestant powers were moved by them, and collections began to be made for the unfortunate Vaudois.³

The Piedmontese rulers, unable to reduce them by arms, at-

¹ This demand is dated 11th September, 1663.

² Letter of 2d September, 1663, addressed to Léger, who was then at Leyden.

³ These collections were stopped by the report (of which this circumstance proves the great prevalence) of the peculations committed at the time of the previous distributions. But these charges referred to 1655: they had then been found false; collections had been again made in 1662; how could these charges arise anew between 1662 and 1663? This is now very difficult to clear up.

tempted to gain their purpose by creating division amongst them. Six Vaudois, five of whom could not sign their own names (but the reality of whose assent is attested by a captain of the guards of his royal highness, a Capuchin missionary, and the prefect of Pignerol), in their ignorant simplicity, and perhaps through the use of undue means, permitted themselves to be drawn into an inconsiderate procedure which favoured these designs. They agreed to a declaration by which, making a full and entire submission to the will of his royal highness, they implored his clemency, disavowed the conduct of their brethren in taking up arms, and accepted the conditions of the edict of the 10th of August.¹

History would take no notice of incidents in themselves so unworthy to occupy it, if the most insignificant occurrences, and the meanest tricks, had not sometimes been the grand resort of the government in pursuance of that cowardly, cruel, and deceitful papal policy which often prevailed over the natural nobility and goodness of the princes of Savoy.

Some historians tell us, that the persons who signed this paper had no other object than to obtain for themselves a few days' truce, to enable them to gather the grapes, then hanging ripe, without being disquieted at their work.² But the ducal council treated the declaration of these five people of Prarusting as a consequence, a ratification, and a development of that resolution to which the whole commune had agreed at St. Segont on the 1st of July, afterwards annulled on the 6th of August, when the troops of Janavel fraternized with the inhabitants of Rocheplate and Prarusting.

The people of these communes protested against such an interpretation; and the five persons themselves who had signed retracted the declaration which they had made, saying that it had been obtained from them by surprise.³ It might have been thought that the matter would now have been at an end; if so, it would never have been mentioned here.

The notary who drew up the paper, and the witnesses for the adherents who could not sign their names, maintained the validity of that deed,⁴ notwithstanding the protestation of the reputed subscribers, who withdrew their names from it.

During the time of these pitiful debates, these abortive attempts at division and dishonourable negotiations, which could be brought to no issue, disorder spread in the valleys; acts of private revenge

¹ This declaration bears date 27th September, 1663.

² Léger, Part II. p. 301, paragraph 3.

³ This retraction is dated 3d October, 1663.

⁴ This new document is dated 8th October, 1663.

were mingled with those of public defence; the Count De Bagnol and his robber troops conducted themselves at La Tour as if they had been in a conquered country; discontentment extended everywhere; the wretchedness of the people increased rather than diminished; and, to crown their hardships, the severity of winter began to come upon the mountains, aggravating still more the terrible afflictions with which they were visited.

Fortunately, the Protestant powers of Germany, Holland, and Switzerland had already addressed urgent representations to Charles Emmanuel in favour of the Vaudois. The Propaganda, on the other hand, exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent them from being considered otherwise than as rebels and malefactors; but, notwithstanding all their activity in exciting irritation, and assisting to provide for the expense of this war, the Duke of Savoy, whose intelligence was too great, and his disposition too noble, not to regard many things in it with dislike, showed an inclination to receive the ambassadors of the powers that had undertaken the part of mediators; and they arrived at Turin in November, 1663.¹

A safe-conduct was immediately despatched to the Vaudois, that they might be able to send commissioners to Turin. But the preamble of this document was not of a nature to re-assure them. "Being desirous," said the duke, "that it should be manifest to people of other countries that our subjects are rebels, and that we have all cause for chastising them, we authorize those of them to come to Turin who may be designated by the secretary of legation, attached to the extraordinary embassy of the six Protestant cantons of Switzerland."² Such was the substance of this document. For the Vaudois to have taken advantage of it would have been to have owned themselves really rebels; they feared, moreover, that it might have been to expose themselves to some surprise like those of which they had so frequently been the victims. They refused, therefore, to send any commissioner to Turin. "You see,"

¹ Léger says, on the 15th of December. Part II. chapter xxiii. p. 304, paragraph 2.) But this date is proved inaccurate by what follows in the next page of the same author; and that which I give rests upon the authority of the safe-conduct granted to the Vaudois, that they might be able securely to present themselves before the ambassadors already arrived at Turin; and this safe-conduct is dated the 14th of November. These ambassadors must, therefore, have arrived in the month of November: to wit, those from Switzerland; the ambassador from Holland arrived later; and as Léger was at Leyden, it may be supposed that this circumstance led him into his mistake. Boyer, and almost all subsequent writers, have copied his inaccuracies.

² *Raccolta dagl' Editti*, p. 136. 14th November, 1663.

* *MM. Gaspard Hirzel*, grand councillor of the canton of Zurich, and former prefect of Thurgau, and *Gabriel Weiss*, grand councillor of Berne, and former colonel of a Swiss regiment in the service of the republic of Venice.

the Piedmontese rulers then said to the ambassadors, "they dare not come, they have nothing to say in their own defence; they are avowed rebels! Is not their refusal to appear before us a proof of their contempt for their sovereign? Is it not an insult to Switzerland itself?"¹ The secretary of legation set out in person for the valleys, re-assured the Vaudois, and returned to the capital accompanied by their eight deputies.²

And now the conferences, of which we must proceed to speak, were opened at the town's-house of Turin.

CHAPTER XII.

MEDIATION OF SWITZERLAND; TREACHERY OF ST. DAMIAN;
CONFERENCES AT THE TOWN'S-HOUSE OF TURIN; ARBITRATION OF LOUIS XIV.³

(A.D. 1664 TO A.D. 1680.)

Conferences between the ambassadors of the Protestant cantons of Switzerland and delegates of the Duke of Savoy—Complaints against the Count De Bagnol—His defence—Charges brought against the Vaudois—The question of public worship at St. John—Treacherous invasion of the valleys during the conferences—Further negotiations—Terms agreed upon—Difficulties still renewed—Death of Charles Emmanuel II.

THE six Protestant cantons of Switzerland having sent MM. Weiss and Hirzel to the Duke of Savoy, to mediate in favour of the

¹ These imputations are not set down on presumption; they are a faithful summary of the official speech made by the Baron De Greysi, on the part of his royal highness, to the Swiss ambassadors. This speech is reported in the *Histoire des Conférences de 1664*, p. 217.

² These were David Léger, pastor at Le Clos (Val St. Martin), the brother of the exiled John Léger; James Bastie, pastor at St. John; Peter Baile, pastor at St. Germain; Andrew Michelin, syndic of La Tour; David Martinat, delegate from Bobi; James Jahier, of Pramol, and the Laurents, father and son, of Les Clots or Chiots, in the parish of Ville Sèche.

³ AUTHORITIES.—"Conférences faictes à Turin, dans l'Hostel de Ville, en présence de MM. les Ambassadeurs Suisses, entre les ministres de S. A. R., et les députés des vallées de Luserne, à la fin de l'année, 1663, et au commencement de la courante, 1664. A Turin, MDCLXIV." (A small folio of 232 pages.)—"Récit de ce qu'il y a de plus considérable aux affaires des Eglises réformées des vallées de Piedmont, depuis les massacres de 1655, jousté la copie imprimée à Haerlem, 1663." (A small 4to of iv. and 60 pages. The title is very long, and contains a complete analysis of the work.)—"Très-humble remontrance, touchant le pitoyable estat où se trouvent à présent réduites les pauvres Eglises Evangéliques des vallées de Piémont, à cause de l'altération et violation de leurs concessions, et

Vaudois, and Charles Emmanuel having authorized¹ conferences between these ambassadors and his own deputies, to examine into the complaints made by the valleys against the governor of La Tour,² these conferences took place in the town's-house of Turin.

They were opened on the 17th of December, 1663,³ in presence of the Swiss ambassadors, eight Vaudois deputies, and the deputies of Charles Emmanuel commissioned to justify the measures adopted by their sovereign. These last commenced by stating, according to their own view of them, the events which led to the war, which, according to them, had no other cause than the repeated rebellions of the Vaudois. The Vaudois deputies replied that the real cause of the conflicts, which they deplored, was to be found in successive aggressions, and in the continual acts of violence of the governor of La Tour. It was necessary, therefore, to enter into the investigation of the complaints brought against the Count De Bagnol.

A great number of documents were produced on both sides. The Vaudois instanced murders,⁴ robberies,⁵ tortures,⁶ and acts of violence of every sort committed by the count.⁷ The count replied on these various heads,⁸ that the murders of which he was accused had been committed either by accident, or through the private revenge of those under his command; and that if any other persons had been killed, it could only be such as had been outlawed, and whom no one was bound to regard. And in conclusion, he added, that if the murders had not been committed upon the persons of

partic. de la patente de 1655, faite en Novembre, 1661, à Haerlem . . . l'an 1662" (4to, 12 leaves, not paged).—"Apologie des Eglises évangéliques des vallées de Piémont, faite en défense de Jean Léger." This Apology was drawn up by the Vaudois Synod, held at Les Malans, in the valley of Angrogna, on the 13th of September, 1661. Léger speaks of it in Part II. chap. xix. It was he who got it printed at Geneva: see p. 371, near the bottom.—A similar pamphlet, which I have not been able to procure, is entitled, "Les Assemblées sur les affaires des Protestants des vallées de Piedmont."—See also, on the same subject, "Relation d'une ambassade des cantons évangéliques de la Suisse, au Duc de Savoie, dans le xvii. e siècle, au sujet des Vaudois." (*Revue Suisse*, t. iii. p. 260.)—The general histories of the Vaudois and contemporaneous works.—The manuscript sources of information are few in number, and are to be found at Turin, in the Archives of the Court.

¹ By edict of 10th August, 1663.

² The Count De Bagnol.

³ They were held on the 17th, 21st, 30th, and 31st of December, 1663, the 5th, 16th, and 20th of January, 1664. The minutes have been printed.

⁴ *Hist. des Conférences*, p. 6, No. i.; p. 12, No. xvi.; p. 24, &c.

⁵ Id. pp. 10-13, Nos. vi., vii., viii., ix., xvi., xvii., and xx.

⁶ Id. p. 12, No. xv. and p. 23, Nos. xviii. and xix.

⁷ Against women, *Hist. des Conférences*, p. 30; against property, pp. 8, 10, and 13; against inoffensive persons, abused out of religious hatred, pp. 16 and 17; without known motives, p. 22; by threats, p. 11, No. xii.; p. 12, Nos. xiv., xv., xvi.; by injurious words, p. 9, No. ii.; p. 10, No. iv., &c.

⁸ By a memorial in justification, not by speech.

the outlaws themselves, they must have been committed upon some of their friends or near relatives.¹ This singular defence could scarcely have the effect of placing his scrupulosity in such matters above suspicion.

As to the other points, he continued, if there have been houses broken open, and homes violated, as is alleged, these were only domiciliary visits made for the purpose of seeing that none of the outlaws were concealed there.² "Moreover," adds his defence, "there arrived other soldiers in the valleys after the 25th of June, so that the accused cannot answer for the outrages which may have been committed there."³ He positively denied the injurious language and threats⁴ which were ascribed to him; but he acknowledged that he had in his service a band of ravagers, intended to oppose those of the valleys.⁵ "In short," concluded the memorial which was presented in his name, "the Sieur De Bagnol has laboured *with all mildness*, and with particular care to *keep the valleys in peace*, and to preserve them from intercourse with the outlaws who have rushed into such an inexcusable rebellion." These last words were an insinuation intended to make the position of the Vaudois in the conference more unfavourable; but we may judge of the *very particular* care which he had taken of their repose by the troop of hired ravagers, whom he acknowledged that he had in his pay, for the purpose of plundering and robbing them.

The Vaudois were thereafter formally accused of a multitude of offences; and it is with pain that we see how questions of form and etiquette were put in the balance—in the case of these poor mountaineers, against crimes alleged to have been committed in the most revolting manner—by the very magistrates whose duty it was to have prevented them.

The following is a summary of these accusations:—"You ought to have sought legal redress for the acts of violence of which you complain; not having done so, you have failed in compliance with every rule of law." "We would have sought legal redress," it was replied,⁶ "but they refused to attend to our complaints." "You ought to have done so sooner, for then the crimes alleged could not have been longer persevered in." "We informed concerning them previously, but no reply was made to us." "You should have applied to the council of the sovereign." "We did so, begging that it would ascertain for itself, and repress the violence to which we were subjected." "That was not the right way; this does not

¹ *Conférences*, pp. 49-52, and p. 54. ² See *Conférences*, pp. 49-52, and p. 54.

³ *Id.* p. 57.

⁴ *Id.* p. 56.

⁵ *Id.* p. 58.

⁶ They had done so on the 26th of May, 1663.

belong to the council; you have failed to comply with all legal forms and rules of procedure." Such was the substance of the discussion on this point.

As to the celebration of public worship at St. John, contrary to the orders of the sovereign, the Vaudois maintained that these orders themselves were contrary to their privileges. They proved by former edicts that they were authorized to celebrate that worship; and this subject brought on a new discussion on the value of these edicts, the extent of these privileges, and the limits of the places in which religious exercises were authorized, according to the usages (*il solito*) which regulated that matter; and all these questions were debated at great length.

It is worth while, however, to observe to what quirks the adversaries of the Vaudois were reduced, to confound, by chicanery, the simple and honest good sense of these poor persecuted people. Certainly, if it had been possible to have reproached them with a crime, with any serious offence or delinquency, the accusation would not have been awanting. A strong effort was made to do so; but their replies, in this respect, were too peremptory to leave any ground for the accusation.

They were reproached, for example, with having formed a camp at the Pra, and attacked the citadel of La Tour; but, after investigation, it was discovered (1) that this pretended camp was only a sheepfold, and (2) that some children having rolled stones down the hill of La Tour, these stones had struck the ramparts of the citadel, and that the attack of which they were accused consisted of nothing more than this! Is it possible that puerilities like these can have been the subject of such grave conferences, and that they can have served as a pretext for such great cruelties? But the great complaint brought against the Vaudois was that of having given assistance to the outlaws. "Can any one be astonished," they replied, "that so great a number of persons condemned to death should have combined together to defend their lives? And, if they obtained some assistance from their families, or found shelter in the houses of their relatives or friends, can the responsibility be made to fall upon the whole body of the valleys?"

Such was the real substance of these long and wearisome conferences. The commissioners of the government, however, concluded by saying, that the Vaudois had had no cause of discontentment; and that if they took up arms, it was "to cause themselves to be molested, that they might complain thereof to foreign powers and have abundant collections sent them."¹ But if such an accusation

¹ *Conférences*, p. 82.

is only ridiculous, it cannot be denied that what it now remains for us to speak of is truly odious.

Whilst the ducal commissioners thus insulted at Turin the good sense and loyalty of the Vaudois during these conferences—which most unquestionably ought to have been accompanied by a complete suspension of hostilities, and whilst our poor mountaineers were hoping for a favourable result—the Propaganda were contriving their destruction, and perfidiously proceeding to a bloody extermination. The second sitting of the Turin conferences had not yet taken place when the plan of this treachery was already entirely arranged.¹

On the morning of the 21st of December, the Count of St. Damian marched upon Prarusting, by the borders of St. Segont, at the head of 1655 infantry and 50 cavalry. The Marquis of Parelles ascended in the direction of Angrogna, by the Garsinéra, with 1576 infantry and 50 cavalry. Count Genève, skirting the hills of the *Portes* and St. Germain, advanced upon the same point, by the opposite side, with a battalion of 786 men. Captain Cagnolo occupied the plain of St. John, at the head of 100 cavalry, ready to move in any direction that circumstances might demand; and, moreover, the Count of Bagnol, the governor of La Tour (the same who protested so much solicitude for the repose of the Vaudois, and who perished on the scaffold a few years after), was to make an attack by Les Copiers and St. Margaret, conducting against the Protestants 1118 men.

It was in this quarter that the attack commenced. The Vaudois were successively driven back from St. Margaret to Les Copiers, and from Les Copiers to the heights of Le Taillaret. But there they stood and contrived to keep their ground for some time, intrenched behind the rocks. Supposing that they alone were assailed, they sent to demand assistance from their brethren of Angrogna; they imagined that this attack was only a new villainy of the Count of Bagnol, but they were soon undeceived. They saw,

¹ The second sitting was held on the 21st of December, 1663; and there exists an order, dated on the 20th, which is entitled, "*Distribuzione delle trupe per li 4 attacchi che si devono fare dimani, 21 Decembre, alli ribelli delle valle di Luserna e San Martino.*" (Turin, Archives of State.) That it was not intended only to attack, under the name of rebels, the little troop of outlaws, is proved by the simple consideration, that the forces directed against the valleys at this date amounted to 5135 infantry, and 200 cavalry.—Léger and Boyer say 18,000 men. (Léger, p. 305; Boyer, p. 188. They also place this attack upon the 25th of December. But as the reports which they give coincide with the way in which the troops were disposed, according to the written scheme which I have before my eyes, and this document points out the 21st for the attack, I think this latter date is to be preferred. Léger, moreover, was not upon the spot, and Boyer has merely copied him.)

in the hostile army, a troop more numerous than the governor of La Tour ordinarily had under his command. Their fortifications were already outflanked, and they thought of retiring. They seemed about to perish under the assault of forces ten times stronger than their own, when a voice was heard to cry, "Courage! stand fast! we are here! God for your help!" These last words are a common form of speech in the Vaudois language.¹ Those who now spoke them were the people of Angrogna come to the help of their assailed brethren, whose valour was redoubled by the hope of success.

The enemy, supposing them already vanquished, were astonished at this resistance. The courage of the Vaudois rose on the arrival of these new forces, and their ardour increased as the attack was slackened. The Count of Bagnol, more vigorously pressed, lost courage, and became weaker rather than stronger. Victor but recently, he now only fought, and was soon to yield.

The Vaudois now assumed the offensive in their turn. They rushed out impetuously on the front of the assailing army; and, the detachment from Angrogna arriving, fell upon it in flank. That superstitious terror, which the presence of the Vaudois had so often awakened in the breasts of their adversaries, was now manifested again. The minds of the Catholics were seized with a perturbation which passed along the ranks—they disbanded, the bravery of the mountaineers completed their rout; and, like a torrent breaking its banks, which carries all before it, the triumphant Vaudois pursued their enemies to the very plain of La Tour.

On the side of Angrogna, where Captain Prionel defended at once the Vachère, Rochemanant, and Le Chiabas (three points distant several kilometres² from each other), the Marquis of Parelles gained no advantage. On the side of St. Germain, on the contrary, where the Count of Genève had advanced with only one battalion, the Vaudois were completely beaten. The enemy laid waste their fields, vineyards, and crops, and set fire to the houses which lay along the hills from St. Germain to Rocheplate. In the latter hamlet, a poor impotent woman, almost 100 years of age, was burned alive in her dwelling. At St. Germain, a younger woman had her flesh torn in shreds without being put to death. Many old men were likewise mutilated. Such was the use which Popery made of its victory!

¹ *Dio ajutaci! Diou v' s' agiutou!* (God help you!) These are the words most frequently to be heard to this day amongst the Vaudois mountains, in reference to any one going away, or to any journey, any malady, any project or undertaking whatever—*God help you!* What better wish can there be, or what words more Christian?

² [The French kilometre is equal to 1093½ yards, the British mile to 1760 yards.]

But although defeated, the Vaudois yet caused their enemies, on the field of battle, losses much more numerous than their own, having themselves lost only six men, whilst they killed 100 of the enemy, and amongst that number the Count of La Trinité, a lineal descendant of him who had so cruelly persecuted their fathers a century before; also the young Count of St. Frons, a descendant of the ancient persecutors of the Vaudois church of Pravigne. This young man was the inheritor of a great fortune, and had been married a few days before to a lady to whom he was very strongly attached. But neither wealth nor love protected him in this combat; and with much confidence we may say, that the iniquities of the fathers were visited upon the children. Amongst the combatants killed by the Vaudois were reckoned, likewise, other great personages, such as Captain Biala and M. De Grand-Maison.

No sooner were the Swiss ambassadors at Turin informed of these disastrous events, than they complained bitterly to the ministers of the ducal court of this incessant and outrageous violation of the armistice agreed upon at the opening of the conferences. The reply made to them was, that the troops of his royal highness wanted provisions, and had merely taken some steps for the purpose of obtaining them in the valleys.¹ How, then, were the burnings and massacres to be accounted for? "The Vaudois having opposed the movement of our troops," it was said, "some collisions took place, and a few houses were burned by inadvertency." Many other outrages were then represented which had been perpetrated against the Vaudois; and the count replied, that the fault lay with the Vaudois themselves, who had so oppressed, vexed, and molested their Catholic neighbours, that these latter had seized this opportunity to be in a slight degree revenged. Let us leave the falsehood of this statement unexposed, and attend to the conclusion of the negotiations.

It was agreed that the bases of an arrangement should be presented to the Vaudois under the title of *Patents of Grace*; for the Duke of Savoy could by no means consent, in his exalted sovereign dignity, to treat on equal terms with these miserable heretics. He was resolved to grant them nothing whatsoever, except as of his grace; and this grace granted to the Vaudois, and accepted by them, must of necessity involve an acknowledgment on their part that they had been guilty of rebellion, which, according to the report of the ambassadors, was very far from being the case.² The Vaudois

¹ The order of 20th December, hitherto unknown, shows what value is to be attached to such professions, and what steps had really been taken by the troops of Charles Emmanuel.

² Report of 2d July, 1664.

made some difficulty about accepting such propositions; but their protectors themselves entreated them not to insist upon matters of expression which were of no importance except for vanity; and accordingly the following heads of agreement were concluded at the hôtel of the embassy:—¹

"A general amnesty shall be granted to the Vaudois, with the exception of those previously condemned." (The latter were the *outlaws* mentioned in the edict of the 25th of June, 1663. At their head were Léger and Janavel. The former was already in safety in Holland, where he occupied himself in writing the history of the Vaudois; the second retired to Geneva, where he afterwards rendered the greatest services to his countrymen, by tracing out for them, in 1689, the course which they should follow to return to their country, from which they had been totally expelled in 1687.)

By the second article of these stipulations Charles Emmanuel ratified the *Patents of Grace*, granted at Pignerol on the 18th of August, 1655; but he reserved the right of demanding from the Vaudois securities for the future, and suitable amends for the present, referring this point to the arbitration of France.

This arbitration, the judgments of which were pronounced in the name of Louis XIV.,² became the source of innumerable difficulties. The Most Christian king decided that our unfortunate valleys, already ruined by war, exhausted by the depredations of the Count of Bagnol, devastated by fire, and by robbery and outrage of every sort, to which they had been subjected, should pay to the Duke of Savoy, for the expenses of war, an indemnity of fifty thousand francs, and cede to him their richest lands (the district of the vineyards of Lucerna), in compensation for the losses which had been caused to him by the pretended *rebellion* of the Vaudois. And the Vaudois could not complain, for they had implicitly acknowledged the reality of this rebellion in accepting the amnesty as of grace. Such was the consequence, in artful and greedy hands, of the disinterested counsel which the Swiss ambassadors in their sincerity had given to the Vaudois, causing them to accept these humiliating terms as a simple sacrifice of conventional dignity designed to satisfy courtly pride.

The third part of the *Patents of Grace* of 1664 relates to religious exercises at St. John. Public worship there was interdicted. A pastor of the valley might come twice a-year to visit

¹ Concluded on the 3d of February, 1664; ratified on the 13th by the Vaudois deputies; signed on the 14th by the Duke of Savoy; and registered at the Court of Accounts on the 17th. (*Raccolta degli Editti*, pp. 137-141.)

² On the 18th of January, 1667. They are printed in one vol. folio.

the members of the Protestant Church there, but he was not to reside in that parish, nor even to pass the night there, except in case of absolute necessity. He was to be permitted to visit the sick, but not to hold any religious meeting, nor even to instruct his catechumens within the limits of this commune.—(This article became the source of the most frequent and prolonged disagreements, and of accusations most easily got up, and disproved with the greatest difficulty, even when they were unfounded. The narration of what the Vaudois suffered on this score would occupy a whole volume of itself.)

The last conditions contained in the edict of 14th February, 1664, were—

(Art. VI.) That the pastors of the Vaudois churches should henceforth be natives of the country. (This condition did them no harm; but, on the contrary, confirmed their evangelical individuality, which ran great risk of being lost under the too prolonged guidance of foreign pastors.)

(Art. VII.) The Catholic chapels and churches destroyed in this last war shall be built again at the expense of the Vaudois. (More demands still against the oppressed!)

(Art. VIII.) The prisoners on both sides shall be released.

A convention of disarmament of the respective combatants followed immediately¹ upon the publication of this paper; and the Duke of Savoy wrote to Switzerland by the ambassadors on their return, that he would conform entirely to its provisions.²

After so many cruel agitations, the Vaudois valleys began to enjoy a little repose, when, unexpectedly, they received orders to send delegates to Turin, with a mandate authorizing them to treat in name of all the people.³ Each commune was obliged to send a representative; and all these delegates must be assembled at Turin on the 17th of May, 1664. The object was, to take into consideration the securities and indemnities demanded by Charles Emmanuel in virtue of the second article of the late edict.

The Duke of Savoy wished the Vaudois to pay more than half a million of francs (531,000) for the expenses of the war, and 330,367 francs besides, to indemnify the Catholic villages which had suffered in the recent events. Alas! which had suffered most? Was it the Catholics who had been obliged to forsake their properties and dwellings, to flee to the mountains, and to sacrifice their flocks, in order to maintain in misery a persecuted life? Was

¹ It took place on the 18th of February, 1664.

² The letter is dated 28th February.

³ The letter making this demand is dated 18th April, 1664.

it the Catholics whose crops had been wasted, and their houses burned, and who had not been able to save themselves from sword, and fire, and famine? No; but it was thought proper to take from the persecuted the last relics of their fortune, to pay for the barbarities of their persecutors.¹ As to the securities demanded for the future, Charles Emmanuel required the erection at the entry of each valley, and at the expense of the Vaudois, of a fortified post, of which the garrison should be maintained at their expense. He also required that they should no longer be entitled to hold their synod save in presence of one of his officers, that the communes of the valleys should not be connected together any longer in one body, but that each should henceforth treat separately of its own private affairs without consulting the rest. This was to reserve to himself the right of destroying the Vaudois in detail, by depriving them of all corporate life. Other conditions were also demanded, but they were all rejected.

A minute was drawn up of the refusal of the Vaudois; and this document was sent to Louis XIV., as the judge in the last resort. We have already stated his decision; and it must be acknowledged that, when it is compared with the exorbitant pretensions of the Duke of Savoy, he showed great moderation in this business. Many foreign powers wrote to him, moreover, in favour of the Vaudois. His arbitration was not terminated till 1667; and, meanwhile, abundant and numerous collections had been made in the Protestant churches of other countries, to give some relief to their oppressed sister of the Alps of Piedmont. The strictest precautions were taken by the distributors of these collections, to preserve themselves from the slightest suspicion of malversation.

From 1667 to 1672 numerous obstacles still retarded the fulfilment of the conditions fixed by Louis XIV.; for the decision of that monarch bore, not only that the Vaudois should pay 50,000 francs and surrender the vineyards of Lucerna, to be added to the private domains of Charles Emmanuel II., but also that they should make a declaration to him, binding themselves and their successors beforehand, to submit to the loss of all their property and the abolition of all their privileges, if they ever again took up arms against their sovereign. The people of the valleys very reasonably refused to engage for their successors. They said also that it was impossible

¹ Besides these enormous sums, there were demanded of the Vaudois 50,000 francs for the walls of Lucerna, 40,000 for the customs, 25,000 for the salt tax; also the sum necessary to repair the fortifications of La Tour and of Mirabouc; the price of the provisions and ammunition consumed by the soldiers during the war; the pay of the troops for the same time, and many other expenses of which an exact account has not been preserved. (See Léger, p. 313.)

for them to know precisely what were the domains designed by that vague expression, the *Vineyards of Lucerna*; and finally they demanded time to pay. These things were not soon settled.

In 1670,¹ the duke enjoined the intendant of the Court of Justice, Louis Beccaria, to compel the Vaudois to fulfil the conditions which had been imposed upon them. The intendant wrote to the valleys accordingly, but with much moderation;² and at last the Vaudois submitted with a good grace.³ The bearing of the court of Savoy towards them became milder, and new favours were granted them.⁴ The soldiers of the valleys distinguished themselves at the siege of Genoa, and their sovereign wrote them a flattering letter in testimony of his satisfaction.⁵ These sentiments of goodwill and tardy justice towards the Vaudois cannot be suspected of insincerity, for at this period the Duke of Savoy wrote to the apos-

¹ On the 10th of February.

² The letter is dated the 15th of February, 1670, and is to be found in Borelli.

³ The deed by which they bound themselves to pay 50,000 francs in ten years, and never again to take arms against the service of his royal highness, forms a folio volume. The deed by which he entered on possession of the *Vineyards of Lucerna* forms another; and the partial deeds of purchase, discharges, transactions, abatements, procedures, procurations, &c., relative to the different domains situated therein, form a considerable bundle of papers. All these documents are to be found in the Archives of the Court of Turin, and belong to the year 1670. But it does not appear that the payment of 50,000 francs was ever completely effected; for there are only to be found three discharges in deduction from this account—one of 4079 francs, 45 cents, of date 18th December, 1679—a second of 750 francs, dated the 23d of the same month—and a third of 2250 francs, of date 23d November, 1680.—Archives of the Court of Accounts at Turin, *Regio Controrolo, Finanze*, No. 163, fol. 24 and 33, and No. 171, fol. 120, on the back. (Communicated by M. Cibrario.)

⁴ Exemptions from charges, 24th May, 1670. Liberty of commerce and industry, 22d May, 1672. Authorization to carry arms, 9th July of same year. New exemptions, 30th November, 1674.

⁵ This letter is given in the *Histoire de la dissipation des Eglises Vaudoises*, en 1686, p. 36. It is there given under date 5th November, 1678, and with the signature of Charles Emmanuel; but there must be some error either in the date or in the signature. The words of the letter are these:—

"As we have been much pleased with the zeal and promptitude with which you have provided men, who have served to our entire satisfaction in the contests which we have recently had with the Genoese, we have thought good to testify to you, by these presents, our satisfaction, and to assure you that we shall keep it in very particular recollection, to make you feel, upon every occasion, the effects of our royal protection, as the Count Beccaria will signify to you more particularly, to whom we have given charge, more fully to express to you our sentiments, and also to take note of the officers and soldiers, both dead and remaining prisoners, that he may make a report concerning them to us, so that we may be able to act with regard to them in a suitable manner. However, the present letter will serve for an assured testimony to you of our satisfaction and contentment; and we shall pray God that he may preserve you from evil."

This letter was accompanied with conformable instructions, addressed to Beccaria, intendant of the Court of Justice.

tolie nuncio, "If I only consulted the counsels of sound policy, I ought to desire that the Vaudois should multiply rather than diminish in number; for they are loyal, laborious, well-disposed, useful to the country," &c.¹

Charles Emmanuel died in 1675;² and although he was not surnamed *the Great*, like his predecessor of the same name, he had a noble and lofty spirit. He encouraged arts and sciences; and it was he who constructed the palace which the kings now occupy at Turin. The modern part of that capital was also his work. In opening the magnificent road of Les Echelles, which connects France and Savoy, he accomplished an enterprise which the Romans appear to have attempted in vain; and, moreover, important reforms were introduced by him into most of the departments of public administration.

His son, Victor Amadeus II., succeeded him under the regency of his mother; for he was only nine years of age when the ducal crown was placed upon his head, upon which it was to become a royal crown.

The regent wrote, in 1679,³ to the Swiss cantons, to assure them of the care which she would take to cause all the privileges of the Vaudois to be respected; who, at that period, gave new proof of their valour and generous loyalty, by defending the cause of the crown in a rebellion which took place in Mondovi. The uncle of the young king, Don Gabriel of Savoy, mentioned this fact in a very honourable way, in an order of the day in 1680, and wrote himself to the Vaudois to thank them.⁴ They in their turn asked the ratification of their ancient privileges, and obtained it from Victor Amadeus II., the son of Charles Emmanuel II.⁵

¹ "Copia di littera scritta a Monsignor Nuncio Mosti rimessagli dal conte di Buttigliera d'ordine di S. A. R.," January, 1677. There is reference here to measures adopted for the conversion of the Vaudois; and it is said, "S'havesse riguardo alla sola politica, e all'interesse temporale, non sarrebbero necessarie tante fatiche e spese e tornerebbe a canto a queste Altezze Reale; il lasciare diffondere e moltiplicare gli huomini delle Valli che sono fedeli, ben affetti, laboriosi, utili al paese," &c. (Archives of the Court. Turin, No. of Series 437.)

² On the 12th of June, in consequence of the shock which he received by seeing his son fall from his horse. Boyer, p. 192, places his death in 1678. I prefer to rest upon the authority of *L'Art de vérifier les dates*; with reference to which, moreover, I have carefully examined all the dates which that learned work gave me the means of verifying whilst engaged with this history.

³ On 28th January. This letter is given in the *Histoire des negociations de* 1686.

⁴ This letter is dated 29th September, 1681, and is given in the *Histoire de la dissipation des Eglises Vaudoises* en 1686, p. 36.

⁵ The petition of the Vaudois bears date, 16th October, 1680. It prays for the confirmation of the Patents of 24th November, 1582; of 3d January, 1584; of 26th February, 1635; of 8th May, 1643; and of 11th September, 1663. The

It seemed as if this event should have placed upon a solid foundation, for all time coming, the independence and repose of the Vaudois churches; but God's ways are not our ways, and these poor churches, already so much tried, were then nearer than ever to being destroyed by an extraordinary catastrophe, which in its mysterious counsels heaven reserved for them.

CHAPTER XIII.

EXILE OF JANAVEL, REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES, PRELIMINARIES OF A FOURTH PERSECUTION.¹

(A.D. 1680 TO A.D. 1685.)

Janavel retires to Geneva—Louis XIV.—Revocation of the Edict of Nantes—Janavel becomes apprehensive of danger impending over the Vaudois—The Duke of Savoy in a condition almost of vassalage to France—Demands of the French monarch with regard to the Vaudois—He urges the duke to extreme measures—The Propaganda and the Papal nuncio second his efforts—Janavel's letter to his brethren in the valleys, and directions for their conduct in the approaching struggle.

JANAVEL, having been excepted from the amnesty which terminated the *War of the Outlaws*, was under the necessity of seeking an asylum in a foreign country. He retired to Geneva. There living apart, he ceased not to occupy himself with the affairs of the valleys. The heroic old man, notwithstanding so many adverse occurrences, had retained all the energy of his patriotism and of his faith. In solitary glory, proscribed but not forgotten, he devoted his last days to prayer for the country which he had so valiantly defended; and with the foresight of his great experience, he watched with anxiety the increasing indications of a new storm, which he saw preparing to burst on his beloved native land.

intendant of the Court of Justice, Béraudo, supported this petition by a letter of 28th November, 1681; and Victor Amadeus II. ratified these Patents and privileges on the 4th of December, 1681. This ratification was registered on the 31st of January, 1682; and the whole was published in a little volume of sixteen pages—*Confermazione de privilegi, &c.*—at Sinibaldo's, Turin, 1682.

¹ AUTHORITIES.—Historians previously cited.—Benoist, "*Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*," vol. vi.—"*Réponse pour les Eglises des vallées du Piémont*." . . . Geneva, 1679, a 4to of more than 600 pages.—Diplomatic Archives of France. Despatches exchanged betwixt Louis XIV. and his ambassador at Turin. (Communicated by M. Guizot.)—Archives of State at Turin.—Archives of Berne and Geneva. Archives of the Venerable Company of Pastors of the last-named city.—Private communications, &c.

France was then, of all the states of Europe, that of greatest weight in the balance of their respective destinies; but in proportion to his greatness, Louis XIV. had also great weaknesses. Noble and resolute before earthly powers, he submitted to the yoke of superstition, and bowed with the credulous terror of ignorance before those mysterious powers which his church showed him in the gloomy and dreadful twilight of her spiritual domain. His dissolute life, interrupted by fits of devotion, his proud spirit and selfish disposition, could have been ruled only by the accommodating and ambitious power of Popery. The latter, again, was disposed to take advantage of this influence only to crush liberty; and as the great enemy of superstition is the Bible, whoever appealed to the authority of that Divine book was pursued with all the hatred of Catholicism.

The confessors of Louis XIV., therefore, persuaded that monarch that he might promote at once his fame and his salvation by the extermination of the Protestants; the glory of his reign, by raising up again, in its imperious and majestic unity, the tottering but inflexible frame of the Romish Church; his own salvation, by offering, as a sort of expiation for his personal faults, the conversion of heretics—a holocaust before the appeased altars of that church, in which everything is bought, everything is sold, everything becomes matter of merchandise.

As it was only to procure a sort of ransom for himself, he at first employed money to obtain conversions. This cause of apostasies had only the effect of purging the Protestant Church of all whose souls were venal and their consciences worthless. A current account of expenses and receipts—the former in money, the latter in conversions—was carefully prepared, and regularly submitted to the re-assured conscience of the Most Christian King, for such was the title which, from the days of Louis XI., who deserved it so well—the kings of France had assumed on ascending the throne. Bands of beggars, calling themselves Protestants, might then be seen abjuring in mass in one town, from which, after having been paid, they went on to another to abjure again, to receive more wages, and to pursue this scandalous trade from one end of France to the other.

The resource of venal apostasies was therefore soon abandoned. But the royal consort of Maria Theresa could not so readily abandon also his vices. He committed a new adultery,¹ and thenceforth was always more affected with anxiety for his salvation. This the Protestant Church was soon made painfully to feel.

¹ About 1670, Madame De Montespan; in 1679, Madame De Fontanges.

Twenty-one places of worship were demolished in the Vivarais in 1680. Proscriptions were multiplied; and the Reformed were declared incapable of holding public offices, and even of exercising ordinary professions.¹ The persecutions to which they were subjected went on increasing, along with the criminal pleasures of the monarch.

Then came the *Dragonnades*. Louvois, already odious for the disasters and conflagrations with which the Palatinate had been visited under his command, wrote to Louis XIV. concerning the Vivarais, "It is necessary to make such a desolation in this country that the example shall be always remembered."

Even this was not enough! To strike all Protestantism with one blow, the Edict of Nantes was revoked on the 18th of October, 1685. The effect of this revocation was sudden and terrible. A great number of French Protestants carried their intelligence and their virtues to foreign countries, as well as their fortunes acquired or to be acquired. This one act weakened France more than all the victories of Louis XIV. ever strengthened her.

But, in interdicting the Reformed worship, he had not yet interdicted opinions. To this length also he now went. All Protestants were pronounced dead in law. Consequently all their acts—their very marriages—were declared null; and the children born, or to be born of these unions, were reputed illegitimate. And any one who, having abjured or appeared to abjure Protestantism, refused on his death-bed the sacraments of the Catholic Church, was dragged through the mire, and cast on the dunghill in case of his decease, or condemned to the galleys in case of his recovery; but whether he recovered or died, his goods were escheat to the king.

The king, growing old in pride and lasciviousness, had lost even the dignity of his former glory. Puerile terrors flung him in helpless servility at the feet of his confessor. Letellier at last succeeded in getting him to sign an edict, impregnated throughout with the rancour and dishonesty of Jesuitism. By this monstrous edict all the Protestants were declared converted to Catholicism; and those of them who refused to conform to the rites of that religion were to be treated as *relapsed*; that is to say, to be dragged in the mire after their death, or flung into the galleys whilst alive.

Never had the history of the Dukes of Savoy been stained with such revolting crimes. Victor Amadeus himself expressed disapprobation. All generous hearts were moved with indignation. Many

¹ The ordinance of 2d December, 1681, interdicted notaries, physicians, printers, &c., belonging to the Reformed Church, from exercising their professions from that time forth.

distinguished Catholics, as the Cardinal De Noailles, Fléchier, and Fénelon, protested against the wrong thus done to France. Vauban, the celebrated architect, who fortified so many towns for war, drew up a memorial, in which he represented this voluntary exile of 100,000 Frenchmen as a political and social calamity. He exhibited the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the subsequent measures as entailing the ruin of commerce and industry, bringing disorder into families, strengthening the fleets of hostile nations with 9000 seamen, and foreign armies with 600 officers and 12,000 of the best soldiers.

And what did the king then do? He ordained that every one who left his country should be condemned to death and confiscation of goods. It was in effect to say to his Protestant subjects, "You shall be massacred in my kingdom, and exterminated if you attempt to leave it!" Is it possible that the title of Great shall still be attached to the name of the immoral and cruel despot who, in his factitious dignity as a potentate, manifested so total a disregard for the dignity of human nature!

I have thought it necessary to make brief mention of these tyrannic measures, because they all applied to the valleys of Pérouse and Pragela, which then belonged to France; and also because of the effects which they occasioned to the other Vaudois valleys, for the news of this proceeding so operated in Piedmont, as to bring upon the Israel of the Alps the most terrible storm that ever threatened its existence. Janavel perceived it with a sad but courageous foresight, living as he did in exile, but full of patriotic solicitude. Aware of the relations which subsisted betwixt Louis XIV. and Victor Amadeus, he saw too clearly that the Duke of Savoy could only be the vassal of the King of France.

Accordingly, on the 12th of October, 1685, the King of France wrote to the Marquis D'Arcy, his ambassador at Turin—"I have given orders to the Sieur D'Harleville,¹ to attempt the conversion of the valleys² which are within my dominions, by quartering my troops in them;³ and as these valleys are adjacent to those of Piedmont, which are subject to the Duke of Savoy, and in which his predecessors have always shown how unwillingly they suffered the exercise of the Protestant religion, I desire that you communicate to that prince what I write to you, and exhort him in my

¹ King's Lieutenant at Pignerol.

² Pérouse, Pragela, Cazane, Usseaux, Méane, Exiles, Traverses, Salabertrans, and Bardonnèche.

³ By means of *dragonnades*. Protestants unconverted and obstinate in their heresy were obliged to lodge, feed, and maintain soldiers, whose business it was to torment as much as possible those with whom they were placed.

name to employ the same measures in his dominions, not doubting that they will have the same success."¹

Fifteen days after, the Marquis D'Arcy replied to his sovereign, "I have discharged the duty which your majesty was pleased to impose upon me, by your despatch of the 12th of this month. I have taken occasion to exhort the Duke of Savoy to profit by the happy opportunity which the neighbourhood of your majesty's troops presents to him, for compelling the conversion of the people of the pretended Reformed religion, and for so bringing back all his people to one and the same faith—an object earnestly desired by his predecessors, without their ever enjoying so favourable an occasion for succeeding in it as the present moment affords. The Duke of Savoy assured me that he receives with all possible sentiments of respect and gratitude, the counsels of your majesty, . . . but that he must examine into the matter more thoroughly; for several of his predecessors have in vain attempted to do it, and have even brought great disorders into this district by such attempts. I replied that his predecessors had never enjoyed the facilities for this object which your majesty offers to him, and that it might be long before he found so favourable an opportunity again. And with this I seemed to leave him to think of it, as of a thing in which his own advantage alone was concerned. The Marquis of St. Thomas and the President Truchi are the persons who most relish the counsels of your majesty; and the latter in particular thinks, that at the present moment it would be as easy as glorious to follow them," . . . &c.²

This despatch is dated 27th October, 1685; it was the commencement of a negotiation, which was to have the most serious consequences for the Vaudois and even for the house of Savoy. I shall continue to borrow from this correspondence the very language employed in it, in order to throw light upon the mysterious preludes to the persecution, which took place in 1686. The exact words will reveal, better than any analysis, that imperious influence of Louis XIV., of which so many events in our history bore the impress.

The King of France replied to his ambassador³ in the terms following:—

"It seems that the Duke of Savoy has not yet adopted a firm resolution to labour efficaciously in this great business, which will

¹ This and the following documents, to the 26th of January, 1686, are extracted from the *Diplomatic Archives of France*, and were obligingly communicated to me, in 1844, by M. Guizot, at that time Minister of Foreign Affairs.

² The despatch is much longer; but I have made these extracts as faithfully and exactly as possible.

³ From Versailles, 10th November, 1685.

never be successfully accomplished by slight efforts, such as I clearly see that he proposes;¹ but he must be given to understand that his glory is concerned in bringing back his subjects, *at whatever cost*, to submission to the Church." "And if the Duke of Savoy has not sufficient troops in that quarter" (added Louis XIV., in a despatch of the 16th of November), "you can assure him that he will be assisted by mine, and that I will give him all the help which may be needed for the execution of so pious a design."

In his reply of 24th November, 1685, the Marquis D'Arcy begins by saying, that he had reminded the Duke of Savoy, in a very urgent manner, of the offers of his Most Christian Majesty for the conversion of the Vaudois. "I have particularly called him to consider," says he, "what powerful assistance he would receive from the alarm which would be created amongst them by the approach of your troops. The Duke of Savoy, who is a very reserved prince, confined himself to the reiteration of his expressions of gratitude for the interest which your majesty takes in his affairs. The Marquis of St. Thomas has assured me that his master is inclined to profit by your majesty's example and assistance. He told me that a number of the Calvinistic subjects of Victor Amadeus are in a very hopeful condition; but I replied that the object would never be attained without the employment of force, as has been done by your majesty; and that it would never do for the duke to delay the employment of it until your troops were at a distance from his dominions. The President De Truchi again signified to me that it was difficult to know what were the duke's intentions in this respect, for he is of a very independent and reserved character; and it may be doubted if he will really labour for the conversion of the Vaudois as your majesty advises him, because when his ministers have ventured to speak of it to him, he has scarcely chosen to listen to what they had to say."

The original of this despatch is of much greater length. Abridgement was indispensable; but the sense and the most notable expressions have been exactly preserved. The same remark equally applies to the following reply of Louis XIV.:—²

"I see that your representations to the duke have been fruitless; and although his ministers acknowledge that nothing could be more agreeable to God, or useful for the dominions of Savoy, than

¹ Another despatch of the Marquis D'Arcy, dated 2d November, 1685, had apprised Louis XIV. that the Duke of Savoy, "*not thinking that it is for him*" (such is the expression) "*to do in his dominions what your majesty has not been able to do in yours*," has sent the intendant Marousse into the valleys, *to see what course he ought to adopt.*"

² Dated at Versailles, 7th December, 1685.

the entire banishment of heresy, they think that their prince will refuse to take advantage of the present conjuncture, that he may be under obligation to no one either as to the design or the execution. You must, nevertheless, explain to him that, so long as Huguenots exist on the frontiers of my dominions, his authority will never be sufficient to prevent the desertion of my Calvinist subjects; and as he may well judge that I will not suffer this, and that the insolence of these heretics will be a cause of displeasure to me, it may likely enough come to pass that I will not any longer be able to entertain for him the same sentiments of friendship which I have expressed for him up to this time. I feel assured," he says in conclusion, "that he will reflect very seriously upon this subject."

This language announced, upon the part of Louis XIV., views too decided to yield to the hesitation of the Duke of Savoy; and when he speaks of the *insolence* of the poor victims of persecution, it cannot but be felt that such a designation is more fitly to be applied to his own language, which, by haughty insinuations, signified to Victor Amadeus that he must lay his account with being threatened into compliance with the wishes of his ally.

The Marquis D'Arcy replied, on the 1st of December, 1685, that he had renewed his efforts with the Duke of Savoy and his ministers. "I have represented to them," he says, "how easy it would be to compel the Vaudois to change their religion, by the aid of the troops of France; that it would be an honourable thing for the sovereign, and would much conduce to the tranquillity and profit of his dominions, and that it might even be held so meritorious by the pope as to obtain for him the investiture of the principality of Masseray,¹ which his Holiness has hitherto refused. To these offers, advices, and representations, I receive for answer, Sire, plenty of polite speeches, thanks, and acknowledgments of obligation; but I do not see any symptoms of anything effectual likely to be done." At the end of this despatch he adds, that the ministers always seem disposed to exact the conversion of the Vaudois by all means possible. In his reply, dated 14th December, Louis XIV. said, "There is no time to be lost in order that success may be easy, and I shall be very glad that the Marquis of St. Thomas² fix the time when he is to act, and that you let me know as soon as possible."

"Sire," replied the ambassador,³ "I sought an audience of the Duke of Savoy, the day before yesterday, to know if his ministers

¹ Recently purchased by Victor Amadeus for a pension of 87,000 livres.

² Prime minister of Victor Amadeus.

³ Under date 5th January, 1686.

had faithfully communicated to him what I laid before them on the part of your majesty." His account of the interview is rather long; but it appears from it that Victor Amadeus had made a commencement, by promising to revoke the ancient edicts favourable to the Vaudois, and that he hoped to gain over their ministers to the Catholic religion, by offering them the double of what they received as pastors in their own church. "The prince added," says the ambassador, "that if he was rather long in doing it he must be excused, upon account of the desire which he had to know and do things himself, in order that he might become the more capable at a future time to serve his friends and allies."

"I observe with pleasure," replied Louis XIV.,¹ "that the Duke of Savoy is disposed to employ, without further delay, all his authority, and even his forces for the conversion of his Calvinist subjects; but I fear he may content himself with imparting his projects to you without executing them. For this reason you must strongly represent to him, that all gentle treatment of such a set of people will only serve to render them more obstinate. The only course for him is, by one stroke, to take from them all favours and privileges which have been granted to them by his predecessors—to ordain the demolition of their places of worship—to prohibit them from any exercise of their religion—and at the same time to lodge his troops with the most obstinate of them; . . . and by this firmness of conduct he will succeed so much the more easily, that these wretches will hope for no assistance; and that even if they should be able to resist the forces of the duke, they will reflect that he will always be supported by mine in the execution of this design."

On the 25th of January Louis XIV. wrote again to the Marquis D'Arcy to the same purpose;² but one part of his wish was already realized, for in a despatch dated on the 26th that ambassador sent him the following statement:—

"I was apprehensive that he wished to save himself by protracting time, and I insisted that he should indicate to me the precise day for carrying this matter into execution. So that a promise was given me, Sire, that on Wednesday next³ the Duke of Savoy would make public the resolution which he had adopted, not to

¹ By a despatch, dated from Versailles 17th January, 1686. During the interval a new despatch had been sent to him from Turin, by the Marquis D'Arcy, dated on the 12th. In it the ambassador said, "*I am not a little surprised and vexed to see him (the Duke of Savoy) always defer the execution of this design, which I continue, however, to urge to the utmost of my power.*" ² In reply to his despatch of the 12th.

³ This must have been the 30th of January. The edict of Victor Amadeus, proscribing the Protestantism of the valleys, was issued on the 31st.

suffer the Huguenots of the valleys of Lucerna any longer in their religion, for it is to these valleys that they have almost all retired. The prince has not yet opened his mind distinctly to any of his ministers, following in this his usual manner of dealing with them; but I continue to proclaim so loudly here your fixed resolution not to suffer such a retreat so near your dominions—that notwithstanding all the bad grace¹ and slackness with which this enterprise is gone about, I cannot think that it will terminate otherwise than to the satisfaction of your majesty.”

The Propaganda and the nuncio, on their part also, urged the execution of this design. The Duke of Savoy had, perhaps, hoped to succeed in it by means less cruel—by bribes, which would have left to apostasies the appearance of voluntary acts; and with this view he had multiplied for some years all his means of operating upon the Vaudois,² and all his allurements of recompense;³ but, as his royal *suzerain* took for granted, who was already of long experience in persecution, *the Reformed Church could not be destroyed except by force.*⁴ Force, therefore, must needs be employed.

Janavel, in his exile, had foreseen this catastrophe. Before it took place he intimated it to his compatriots, telling them in what way they would be attacked, and in what way they ought to defend themselves. The accuracy of his opinions, which the events justified with so melancholy an exactness, gives a high value to the letter which contains them.⁵

“These few words,”⁶ says he to his brethren, “are to salute you

¹ This diplomatic correspondence places beyond a doubt the repugnance with which the Duke of Savoy consented to the expulsion of the Vaudois, on the exigencies of a policy whose grandeur we cannot unreservedly admit.

² In 1679 was founded at Pignerol, the *Opera del rifugio ed ospizio pe catholisati e catholizandi*—an establishment intended to receive, maintain, and provide with portions, those Protestants who had become, or wished to become, Catholics. Hither it was that—in the first instance, from this time forth—all the children were conveyed who were carried off from the Vaudois valleys. These children were sometimes purchased or given.

A few years before a similar establishment had been founded at Le Perrier, in the valley of St. Martin, under the name of the *Monte Dominicale*, but it continued only for a short time. That of Pignerol, on the contrary, subsists to this day. In 1634, a new Catholic mission was established at St. Barthélemy.

³ Exemption from taxes, and other favours, were granted to those Vaudois who became Catholics, 8th October, 1677; 28th January, 1678; 15th March, 1682, &c.

⁴ Louis XIV. to the Marquis D'Arcy. Despatches of 10th November, 1685, and 17th January, 1686.

⁵ It is not dated, but evidently belongs to 1685. It is to be found in the Archives of Turin, whither it found its way in consequence of the same incident which brought thither the journal of the return of the Vaudois in 1689. (See *Arnaud*, first edition, p. 175.)

⁶ I quote exactly. All that is between inverted commas is in the words of Janavel.

with my whole heart, and to testify to you the love which I bear you. You will not be unwilling to be informed what are my sentiments about a number of things which concern you. *If God should be pleased to put your faith to a trial*, as is said and believed, I pray you to take in good part the contents of this letter. Although I doubt not your prudence and conduct, *the first thing which you have to do is to be well united.* It is necessary that the pastors be required to follow their people day and night, that they may be honoured and respected by them, as the servants of God ought to be. They will not intermeddle with anything but the duties of their office—to console the dying, to provide for the safety of poor families, and to encourage the combatants by their prayers. Those who have sufficient zeal and capacity to enter the council of war may be received into it, provided that they do not dread the effusion of blood. Their first duty” (he adds) “will be to assemble all the people, great and small; and after having exhorted them from the word of God, *to make them, with hand lifted up to heaven, swear to be faithful to their church and country, even unto death.* And so doing you will see that the sword of the Lord will be on your side. In the event of war, the first thing which I have to say to you is, to address very humble supplications to your sovereign; but, in the meantime, already, do not omit to have two men in the level country—one to go, and the other to come, that you be not taken by surprise.

“In case they should proceed to quarter troops in the valleys,” he goes on to say, “the syndics of the communes should represent to his royal highness that the people take umbrage at it; and as apprehensive lest anything unpleasant should happen to the soldiers or officers, they should pray that it may be dispensed with, offering, however, to pay their share in money. You are entreated in the name of God to admit none, upon any pretext whatever, nor for any possible show of reason assigned—*otherwise it is your certain destruction.* Remember the massacres of 1655, and all the perfidiousness used even at the present time—all which ought to serve you as sufficient example. If, unfortunately, you are attacked, you must defend yourselves the first day without officers, and after that, you must labour day and night to establish amongst yourselves the military arrangements requisite.”

He then gives them instructions at great length on this last point. The companies are not to consist of more than eighteen or twenty men. There are to be no lieutenants, “in order not to copy the fashion of the great ones of the world.” They are to have a secret council, composed of one man of each valley, *faithful and*

fearing God, with one or two of the most resolute pastors, and a commandant-general over all the people of the valleys. "All these are to be nominated *by the voice of the people, and with good order*; and, if God give you time," he proceeds, "you will take care to purchase a little wheat, and to convey it to a retired place amongst the mountains, that it may serve for the relief of the most distressed, and to maintain the flying companies."

Then follow a number of details concerning the most important positions of the valleys—those which ought to be strengthened as points of defence—those which ought to be fortified as places of refuge—and concerning the intrenchments which ought to be made, and the posts which ought to be destroyed. "For Angrogna," says he, "*Revengier* must be strongly barricaded, because it is a place of great importance, which, if well guarded, secures Rocheplate, St. Germain, and Pramol, as well as Rioclaret and St. Martin." He gives up the idea of defending the commune of Rora, the people of which are recommended to retire to Bobi. "You will all be men of strength and of labour," he continues; "spare neither care nor pains to make barricades wherever you think them proper, cutting up the roads and felling trees, in order to impede the passage of the enemy."

After this he points out to the Vaudois the manner of fighting to the greatest advantage, the arms which they ought to use, and the order in which it is best for them to draw themselves up. He recommends them never to be the first to beat a retreat. "Because," says he, "this makes your own people to lose courage, and increases the courage of your enemies. When you pursue them, do it in two bands—the one by the flank, and the other pressing right on, to preserve you from ambuscades. All the captains must be warned that they do not expose their soldiers, *for in preserving them they provide for the safety of the church of God*. As for ammunition, give yourselves no concern about the want of it; I will tell you something on that subject on the first secure opportunity." It is probable that this great captain had placed some ammunition in reserve in some of the deep caverns which had been wont to serve him for places of refuge, magazines, and strongholds; and this, in anticipation of new calamities which the future might still be to bring upon his afflicted country.

Agreeably to his advice, the Vaudois began by sending a deputation to Turin; but it was not received.¹ The intendant, Marousse, had returned from a visit made to the valleys, in order to study their weak points, their means of resistance, and the dispositions

¹ The Marquis D'Arcy speaks of it in his despatch of 26th January, 1686.

of their inhabitants. His report was entirely in favour of the attempts of proselytism by arms, which were so urgently recommended by Louis XIV., and seconded by the Church. M. De La Roche had then been named governor of the province, and had gone to Lucerna to cause several posts in its neighbourhood to be fortified; amongst others, La Tour and Mirabouc. All the officers of the regiment of guards had also been recalled to their colours. All those of the regiment of the White Cross—who were, without exception, Knights of Malta—had received orders to provide themselves with horses. Both these and the officers of the guards were required to hold themselves in readiness for marching; so that everywhere the precursory signs of a new persecution began to appear.

To realize it, the Propaganda made more exertion than ever. It had councils organized in Turin, Pignerol, Grenoble, and Briançon. These councils combined their efforts; and it must be admitted that the intentions and the zeal of a real charity did, in many instances, animate the persons who composed them. The sacrifices which they made for the conversion of the heretics attest their generosity, but the means employed prove their ignorance.

The first pretext employed for disturbing the repose of the Vaudois was derived from the great number of French refugees who had retired into the valleys after the revocation of the edict of Nantes. Louis XIV., blinded by the pride which gave the ambitious and extravagant flatteries of the Catholic party such a hold over him that he became an instrument in their hands without a will of his own, made use of his power for the service of their low intrigues, and engaged more and more in a political course unworthy of the age to which his name has been given. Wishing at once to oppress the people in his own dominions, and to prevent them from leaving them, he had obtained from Victor Amadeus the barring of his frontiers against French fugitives. In the end of the year 1685, the Duke of Savoy had, therefore, at the urgency of his formidable ally, promulgated an edict by which the Vaudois were forbidden to receive any of their refugee brethren; and the latter were ordained to leave Piedmont, or to abjure within the space of eight days, under pain of incarceration.¹

In the meantime, the Propagandists proceeded with a perseverance and a fertility of invention as to means, which were worthy of a better cause, in the application of all the old measures of repression applicable to the Protestant religion. These measures affected the valleys of Lucerna and St. Martin, which belonged to

¹ This edict is of date 4th November, 1685. It is to be found in Dubois, II. 239. VOL. I.

Piedmont, whilst the royal council of Pignerol and the Parliament of Grenoble prosecuted the same work in the valleys of the Cluson and the Doire, which belonged to France. Such were the circumstances in which the year 1686 began; and the ambassador of France was able to write to his master on the 26th of January: "The Duke of Savoy has promised me that he will make known, on Wednesday next, the measures which he is about to adopt in order to enter into the views of your majesty."

We are now come to a decisive epoch in the history of the Vaudois; the catastrophe is imminent; the conflict will be terrible; but the most extraordinary wonders in the history of the Israel of the Alps were destined to arise out of the most disastrous calamities.

CHAPTER XIV.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE FOURTH GENERAL PERSECUTION IN THE VALLEYS.¹

(JANUARY TO THE END OF APRIL, 1686.)

Edict of 31st January, 1686—Consternation in the valleys—Delegates meet at Angrogna—Petition to the duke—Attempted intervention of the Protestant cantons of Switzerland—The valleys invaded by French troops—Organized resistance—Endeavours of the Swiss ambassadors—Proposal that the Vaudois should leave their native country—Division of opinion among them—They finally resolve to abide by and defend their valleys—Celebration of the Lord's Supper at Easter, 1686.

ON Thursday, the 31st of January, 1686, appeared the fatal edict which caused so much woe in the valleys, and was attended by such consequences, that for some years it was supposed that the

¹ AUTHORITIES.—"*Hist. de la perséc. des vallées de Piémont; contenant ce qui s'est passé dans la dissipation des Eglises et des habitants de ces vallées, arrivé en l'an 1686.* Rotterdam, MDCLXXXIX." 4to, pp. 36. There exists a German translation of this work, published in 1690—an 18mo volume of 155 pages, with the title, "*History of the Vaudois Persecution in Piedmont.*" (Library of Berne.)—Another work in German, on the same subject, is entitled, "*The Palm-tree of Christian Truth; or, The Persecutions of the Protestants and Vaudois.*" (Nuremberg, 1690).—"*Hist. de la négociation des ambassadeurs envoyés au duc de Savoie par les cantons évangéliques (of Switzerland) l'année, 1686.*" Published in 1690. One vol. 32mo, pp. 172.—"*Le feu de la reconnaissance et de la joie, pour la glorieuse victoire remportée sur les hérétiques vaudois, dans les vallées de Luserne, par S. A. R. Victor Amé II., duc de Savoie, prince de Piémont, roy de Chypre, donné dans la ville de Rumilly par le comte de Saint-Joyre, &c. . . . le 14 mai 1686, jour de la naissance de sadite A. R.*" (Chambery, 1686.) Not paged.—"*Rélation de la guerre contre les religionnaires nommés Barbeta.*" (Quoted in the first of the works here named, at the fifteenth page.) A little work upon which I have not been able to

Vaudois church had entirely disappeared. This document is so important, that its contents must be fully exhibited.¹

"The heresy," it is here said, "has found its way from the midst of the valley of Lucerna to the very heart of Piedmont. . . . Our ancestors have often attempted to extirpate it; but in consequence of the aid which the sectaries received from foreign countries, the sacred work of their restoration to the Church of Rome could not be accomplished; and as the principal reason which existed for tolerating them has recently disappeared—through the zeal and piety of the glorious monarch of France, who has brought back to the true faith the heretics bordering upon the Vaudois valleys—we think he would have cause to accuse us of ingratitude for his distinguished favours, which we still enjoy, if we were to allow the opportunity to escape of executing this important design, according to the intention which our glorious predecessors have always entertained." Such is a succinct but faithful abridgment of the preamble of the edict.

These words might be skilfully selected in a political point of view; but when we recal the haughty language which Louis XIV. had addressed to Victor Amadeus, to compel him to destroy his most faithful subjects, we cannot help noting in the latter a great want of dignity, in thus giving the name of *distinguished favours* to the shameful vassalage to which he was subjected by France. The following, however, is the enactive part of the edict which has so strange an introduction.

"For the preceding causes, and for other urgent reasons,² we

lay my hands; perhaps the title only refers to the following—"*Relation de la guerre de 1686, contre ceux des vallées,*" &c. 4to, pp. 8. No place of publication given. At the end appears, "*Suite de la relation de la défaite des sujets rebelles de S. A. R.,*" &c. —Amongst recent works there is one which specially relates to this subject—"*The Exiles of Lucerna; or, The Sufferings of the Waldenses during the Persecution of 1686.*" Edinburgh, 1841, 8vo, pp. 195, with wood engravings, of two tints, representing various places in the Vaudois valleys.

The Archives of the Court of Turin are very rich in documents connected with this period, as well as the Archives of the Court of Accounts. There exist, also, manuscripts and memoirs of individuals, amongst which notice ought to be taken of the "*Memorie di me, Bartolomeo Salvajot, di 1686 al 1688.*"—Also the Diplomatic Archives of France contain the correspondence of Louis XIV. with the Marquis D'Arcy, his ambassador at Turin. (Communicated by M. Guizot.) See the documents quoted in the preceding chapter.

¹ The substance of this edict has been published in the "*Hist. de la négociation de 1686*" (32mo, Geneva, 1690). It is to be found entire in the Archives of the Court of Accounts of Turin, *Regio controrollo, Finanze da 1678 in 1687*, No. 165, fol. 224, second page. I believe it is wanting in the great collections of Borelli and Duboin.

² The duke felt that those which he had just set forth were not sufficient; but how could he base measures so cruel on reasons which he does not state? Such, however, is the fatal dilemma of tyranny, always suspended betwixt the two terms—servility and oppression.

have, of our perfect authority, certain knowledge, good pleasure, and absolute power, decreed as follows:—

"I. The Vaudois shall cease immediately and for ever from all the exercises of their religion.

"II. They are prohibited from holding religious meetings, under pain of death and confiscation of goods.

"III. All their ancient privileges are abolished.¹

"IV. All their places of worship, places of prayer, and edifices set apart for their worship shall be razed.

"V. All the pastors and schoolmasters of the valleys shall be obliged to embrace Catholicism, or to quit the country within the space of fifteen days, under pain of death and confiscation of goods.

"VI. All the children born, and to be born of Protestant parents, shall be compulsorily educated as Catholics.

"Consequently, the parents to whom a child shall be born are required, within eight days from its birth, to present it to the priest of their parish, under pain, for the mother, of being publicly beaten with rods, and for the father, of five years of the galleys.

"VII. The Vaudois pastors who shall abjure the doctrine which they have hitherto preached, shall receive a pension one-third greater than they have previously enjoyed, with a reversion of one-half of this annuity to their widows.

"VIII. All foreign Protestants settled in Piedmont are ordained to become Catholics, or to leave the country within the space of fifteen days.

"IX. By a special act of his high and paternal clemency, the sovereign will permit them to sell, within that interval, the properties which they have acquired in Piedmont, on condition that the purchasers shall be Catholics only."

We would need to go back to that period, so widely different from our own, not to see in these pretences of clemency the language of insolent pride and cruelty, by which tyranny aggravated the revolting injustice of its acts. "The state! I am the state!" said sovereigns in those days. "The state! we are the state!" say the people now. May the hand of God aid them to the full attainment of their freedom! But the Bible tells us, that it is only if Christ make us free that we are free indeed; and so long as the spirit of Popery, striving against the Bible, shall cause its enervating yoke of superstition to press upon the degraded nations—so long as they consent to its tyranny over conscience and oppression of

¹ It ought to be recollected that Victor Amadeus had solemnly ratified these very privileges on the 4th of December, 1681; and Popery called it a *holy piety* to trifle in this way with the rights and the blood of human beings.

the mind, every pretence of liberty on their part will be a mockery. How can a man be free when his mind is enslaved? The Vaudois, who preserved the integrity of their religion at the expense of leaving their country, when it was trodden down by tyranny, carried with them more of independence than belongs to a people exempt from oppression, but destitute of moral energy and true liberty.

It is impossible to paint the profound consternation, the scenes of baseness and carnage, the tears of grief and anguish which filled the Vaudois valleys at this time. All the parishes were requested immediately to name delegates, who should meet at Angrogna, to consult for the defence of their common interests.

"Your first care," Janavel had said to his fellow-countrymen, "must be to address supplications to your sovereign." They recollected this advice. A petition was drawn up; but it remained unanswered. Three times they renewed their petition, which was lost in a silence as of death. With difficulty did they obtain a little delay in the execution of the edict of which they asked the revocation. At the same time, they wrote to Switzerland to solicit the advice, interposition, and sympathy of that generous nation, whose government had always been amongst the most active protectors of their people.

The first letter which the Helvetic government addressed to the court of Turin, in favour of the Vaudois, remained likewise unanswered. All the deputies of the Protestant cantons of that noble country then met in an extraordinary meeting at Baden.¹ They resolved to send commissioners to Piedmont without delay, with instructions actively to employ all means possible to save from complete ruin, the Israel of the Alps so cruelly menaced. These ambassadors extraordinary were Gaspard and Bernard De Murat, both of them councillors of state. They arrived in Turin in the beginning of the month of March, and immediately solicited an audience of Victor Amadeus, which was refused them.

But there was no time to be lost; the urgency of the French ambassador, the nuncio, and the Propaganda, allowed the duke no repose; the longer period which he had granted to the Vaudois was nearly expired. The persecuting zeal, which seemed at that time to have seized upon the public mind like some disease of the brain, had already hurried on some small bodies of Catholic volunteers to commence hostilities against the people of the valleys. The French troops, cantoned at Pignerol, waited with impatience for the signal. "There is nothing spoken of here but exterminating

¹ This meeting took place on the 26th of February, 1636.

and destroying everything, and hanging great and small," wrote a French officer from Pignerol a few days before that date.¹

In these partial encounters the mountaineers had had the advantage. But there were traitors among them; a French refugee, named Desmoulin, made known daily to the commandant of La Tour² the plans and arrangements of those who had sheltered him. "They are very impatient for battle," he wrote on the 4th of March. "The prisoners of Le Villar have been brought, part to Bobi and part to Angrogna.³ They reckon upon 3000 combatants, and expect many foreigners."

To increase their strength by a powerful military organization, the Vaudois embodied the instructions which Janavel had sent them, in a sort of code of discipline, of which the following were the principal articles⁴ :—

Article IV. Every one is prohibited, under severe penalties, from using offensive language to another, from blaspheming the holy name of God, and from insulting the enemy by abusive words or useless cries.

Art. V. Debauchery, robbery, and other similar actions contrary to the law of God are severely prohibited. (The council of war was to judge of the penalties incurred and of their infliction.)

Art. IX. Care shall be taken to keep watch over those who shall behave as cowards in battle, or who do not choose to obey their officers, that they may be punished according to their disobedience.

Art. XIII. No one shall fire a musket unnecessarily, in order to spare the ammunition.

Art. XIV. Soldiers amongst whom any subject of dispute shall arise, must present themselves before their officers and report it for their decision.

Art. XV. Each officer shall be held answerable to the council of war for his soldiers.

Art. XX. The women and girls shall attend at the places of

¹ The letter is dated on the 26th of January. (Archives of Berne, compartment D.)

² The commandant was Major Vercelli. The letters of the spy are in the Archives of Turin.

³ The fact that there were prisoners proves that there had already been fighting.

⁴ The exact title of this document is the following—"*Regulations to be observed by the watching party, and generally in all the exercises and services of the war waged against the people of the valleys of Piedmont on account of their religion.*" This expression, *the people of the valleys* [ceux des vallées], suggests the supposition that these regulations, which embody all the instructions of Janavel, were prepared out of the valleys, and probably by Janavel himself. The precise date cannot be stated.

battle to bear off the sick and wounded, as well as to roll down stones when there is need.

It is appointed, moreover, that signals shall be established, by which they are to give notice to one another of the approach of an enemy. Slings and scythes are numbered amongst the weapons recommended. All the soldiers are required to assemble an hour before daylight, to be present under arms at morning prayer.

The singular simplicity of these articles brings prominently into view the manly and religious character of this people of the Alps; the courageous fervour of the sentiments which they breathe accords well with that of the hero of Rora, Janavel, who knew how to combine the calm intrepidity of the warrior with the humility and sobriety of the Christian; a strict regard to duty in the first place, and a deep sense of the wants of man appear, especially in these few lines, placed at the head of the regulations :—

"As the war which is commenced against us arises from hatred against our religion, and our sins are its cause, it is necessary that each one amend his ways; and that the officers be careful to cause good books to be read in the watching parties by those who are not actively employed, and to cause prayer to be made evening and morning, as is set down at the end of these articles."

Is it not remarkable to see the reading of good books, prayer, reserve, and moderation, put in the order of the day for an army on the point of battle? The daily prayer appointed to be said morning and evening in the Vaudois camp is also full of a humble and courageous faith, suitable to persons whose surest reliance is on the arm of God. We shall lay it before our readers when the course of events shall have brought us into the heroic camps of the Israel of the Alps.

But, before entering into conflict, the Vaudois were anxious to exhaust all means of conciliation. Already surrounded by the ducal and French troops, they knew not that Switzerland had sent ambassadors to defend their cause. These ambassadors themselves, not having been able to gain an audience of Victor Amadeus, drew up a memorial in strong language, reminding that young prince of the edicts which guaranteed liberty of conscience to the Vaudois, and representing to him that the faithful observance of treaties is the strength of states, and can alone secure their repose—that if the word of kings were no longer to be counted on, Protestant princes might treat their Catholic subjects as he himself treated his Protestant subjects—and that his own glory, humanity, justice, and the prosperity of Piedmont, were interested in his not making himself the destroyer and executioner of his own people,

of whom he ought to be the protector, and to whom he had promised that he would be a father.

The Marquis of St. Thomas, one of the ministers of the Duke of Savoy, was charged with the duty of replying to this memorial. "The inhabitants of the valleys," he said to the ambassadors, "are guilty of having taken up arms against their sovereign, and can no longer be protected by the edicts to which you refer." "The Vaudois did not take up arms until they were attacked," replied the ambassadors, "and in this particular it is his highness himself who has been the first to break his engagements." "Other engagements by which we were strongly bound to the King of France have dictated our conduct," the minister went on to say. "Say not, then," replied the ambassadors, "that the Vaudois are guilty; and cease to persecute them." "Things are now too far advanced to leave any possibility of drawing back," said the Marquis of St. Thomas; "however," he added, "if the Vaudois choose to save appearances by conforming outwardly to the provisions of the edict of the 31st of January, things may perhaps be arranged."

These terms were too vague; and in accepting them the Vaudois would have placed themselves in a position as uncertain as their former one, and much less honourable. So thought the ambassadors, and rejected with dignity this proposal of temporizing and false appearances. Moreover, what assurance could have been entertained that this half promise, this hope held out without guarantee, would not have proved deceitful, when solemn edicts had been violated?

The ambassadors resolved to proceed in person to the valleys. A safe-conduct was granted them for this purpose. The Elector of Brandenburg, as well as Holland and England, addressed fresh representations to Victor Amadeus on the subject of the Vaudois. It might have been hoped that these things combined would have exercised a happy influence in their favour.

The Swiss commissioners arrived in the valleys on the 22d of March, and immediately asked the representatives of all the Vaudois communes to do them the favour of meeting with them on the morrow. This meeting took place at Le Chiabas. It was opened with a fervent prayer from the lips of Pastor Arnaud. Messrs. De Morat then stated all that they had done since their arrival at Turin, and inquired of the Vaudois what was their resolution. "Be so good as to give us your own advice," replied they. "Would you consent to quit your country," said the Swiss, "if we should obtain from Victor Amadeus permission for you to dispose of your properties and to leave his dominions with your

families?" It is impossible to describe the stupor which seized the meeting upon this proposal. The Vaudois sought assistance, expected a conflict, hoped for victory; and now, before they had fought at all, it was proposed that they should submit to all the consequences of defeat. Even a defeat could be repaired; but exile involved the loss of their country, the ruin of their church, and a complete termination of their existence as a people.

The ambassadors strongly represented the impossibility of their rendering assistance in any way but by negotiations. "Your valleys," said they, "are inclosed by the dominions of your enemies; all the passes are guarded; no nation is in circumstances to make war with France upon your single account; no army could even penetrate hither; and as for yourselves, you have scarcely 3000 combatants; nevertheless you have more than 12,000 mouths, which you must feed; all your doings are watched; the regular troops wait only for the signal of massacre; how can you resist?"

But the love of their native country still struggled in the breasts of the Vaudois against the sad conviction which these words brought to their minds. "It would be cowardly," they exclaimed, "to lose courage in the presence of God, who has so often delivered our fathers, and who saved the people of Israel from so many dangers."—"It would be folly," replied the prudent diplomats, "to count upon miraculous events now. It is impossible for you to contend against the greater force of your enemies; it is impossible for you to receive any assistance. Consider your situation. One way of escape from it remains for you. Would it not be better to transport to another place the lamp of the gospel, which has been intrusted to you, than to let it remain here to be extinguished in blood?" On these words the meeting was divided in opinion, and replied that it could not conclude any engagement on so grave a subject, without having consulted the whole people.¹

The ambassadors could not wait for this decision, and returned to Turin. They requested a safe-conduct for Vaudois deputies to bring them the reply of the people, but this was refused. Their secretary therefore went for it to the valleys. He arrived there

¹ Moser (*Geschichte der Waldenser* . . . § 25) pretends that at this conjuncture, Victor Amadeus sent to the valleys the *Chancellor Vercelli*, and that the Vaudois seized him and kept him as an hostage. Perhaps they would have done very properly. But I have found no proof of this fact anywhere; and I have met with only one bearing the name of Vercelli, the major of the fort of La Tour, and not a chancellor. Moser does not say on what authority he founds. The rest of his history is often incorrect, and always incomplete. I have not, therefore, thought it proper to regard his testimony in this instance.

on the 28th of March. The assembly of the communes was holding constant sittings at Angrogna, where he found a great agitation prevailing. "Your case," said he to them, "grows worse every day. Louis XIV., through his ambassadors, expresses a burning rage at the procrastinations of the Duke of Savoy. The nuncio promises the duke the investiture of Masseran so soon as he shall act in this business; the Propaganda labour amongst the army and the people: make you haste to quit this country whilst you still have it in your power." "Who shall assure us," replied the Vaudois, "that they will not seek to destroy us whilst in separate groups we are passing out of the country? They have not respected the edicts which guaranteed our residence in these valleys; will they show more respect for the engagement by which they permit us to leave them?"

A memorial setting forth all these objections was addressed by the assembly to the ambassadors. The Vaudois added, in a private letter, that they left the matter to their decision. This letter was signed by nine ministers and eight laymen. The ambassadors now reported to the Marquis of St. Thomas, minister of foreign affairs, that they hoped to bring the Vaudois to the decision of quitting their native country, provided that they received a guarantee of perfect safety on their journey of emigration. To this proposal Victor Amadeus replied, through the Count of Marsenas, that the Vaudois having already taken up arms against him, had merited the most rigorous treatment; but that if they chose to send deputies to ask pardon, in name of the whole people, he would see what could be done.

The Messrs. De Morat expressed their surprise, that after having hitherto so obstinately refused to receive the Vaudois at Turin, he should now require their presence in that capital. Was it not intended, by forcing them to come and ask pardon, to bring them to own themselves guilty, in order that they might therefore be treated accordingly? But there was no time for hesitation; and they advised the Vaudois to show deference to their sovereign by conforming to his desires, rather than to irritate him still more by a refusal.

A safe-conduct was thereupon granted for the deputies from the valleys. The secretary of the embassy himself carried it to them. But the assembly of the communes, which still continued its sittings, was not yet prepared to resolve upon such a course. The greater part of the pastors were in favour of submission; the people preferred to defend themselves. The debates were prolonged without any result for a whole day. Next day a part of the Vaudois

communes resolved to submit¹ and to send deputies to Turin; the rest persisted in their refusal.² These, however, also sent a deputy, but with instructions only to thank the Swiss embassy for their kind endeavours, declaring at the same time their resolution to defend themselves to their last breath.

The enemies of the Vaudois triumphed in this division; and to derive from it all possible advantage, they induced Victor Amadeus to sign an edict on the 9th of April, which treated the emigration of the Vaudois as a settled point.³ It was published in the valleys on the 11th of April, and at first had only the effect of increasing the agitation which already prevailed there.

Three days after, the delegates of the communes assembled at Rocheplate to deliberate upon it, and agreed that the conditions imposed by this edict were such as could not be consented to. Accordingly, they unanimously agreed to resist to the utmost, to commit themselves to the care of Providence, and valiantly to de-

¹ These were the communes of La Pérouse and St. Martin, Prarusting and Rocheplate, Rora, Le Villar and La Tour; the latter not adhering unanimously.

² Namely, the communes of Bobi, St. John, and Angrogna, with the dissentients of the commune of La Tour.

³ Meanwhile, the Swiss ambassadors had sent to the valleys the deputy of Bobi with a letter, in which they exhorted the party who were for resistance to unite in the submission of their brethren, rather than to create a division in what concerned their churches. Each of the three communes, resolved upon maintaining their rights by arms, appointed deputies commissioned to reply in their name.

This reply was drawn up on the 4th of April. It was signed by *John Muston* and *Michael Parise*, deputies of St. John; *Négrin Danne* and *Bertin*, deputies of Bobi; and *John Buffa*, deputy of Angrogna. They expressed their regret at being compelled to resist the mind of the ambassadors, and declared again their resolution of defending themselves to the utmost. During this time, the Marquis of St. Thomas strongly urged the five deputies from the submitting communes, who had remained at Turin, to make their submission. But they always put it off to wait for the deputy of Bobi. These delays excited the impatience of the court, and especially of the ambassador of France, who urged Victor Amadeus with his own edict in his hand, and almost with threats in his mouth, to proceed to put into execution the measures required by Louis XIV. In these circumstances news came that two Frenchmen had been killed; and this murder was imputed to the Vaudois. The Marquis De Grancy exhibited a violent irritation. It was upon this, that in order to avoid the massacre of the Vaudois, and with humane designs, Victor Amadeus issued the decree of the 9th of April, which laid down regulations for their departure from the country, as if it had been a thing already agreed upon. According to this decree, the people of the valley of Lucerna were to assemble at La Tour on the 21st of April; those of Angrogna, Prarusting, and Rocheplate were to assemble at St. Segont on the 22d, and those of the valley of St. Martin at Mirandol on the 23d, that they might thus remove in three detachments. Ten days were allowed them to sell their properties; they were to lay down their arms immediately, and to demolish their places of worship with their own hands before they went away. This edict, signed on the 9th, was registered on the 10th, and published in the valleys on the 11th. It contains also other provisions. It may be seen in *Duboin*, II. 243, and in the *Histoire des négociations de 1686*, p. 42.

send their homes and their altars as their fathers had done. And so this measure, which had been adopted in order to disunite them, produced a contrary effect. The pastors, however, did not approve of this decision; and they wrote to the Messrs. De Morat to deplore the infatuation of their people, who were going to engage in a resistance that was desperate; but at the same time to say, that they were resolved not to abandon them.

The ambassadors, afflicted to see all that they had accomplished with such difficulty undone in a moment, made a last effort, and addressed a last appeal to the Israel of the Alps by a letter, in the most urgent terms, which was read from the pulpit in all the Vaudois parishes.

"Undoubtedly," said they, "one's native country has great attractions; but the heavenly inheritance is preferable to those of earth. You still have it in your power to leave your country, which is at once so dear and so fatal to you; you have in your power to carry away your families, to retain your religion, to avoid bloodshed; in the name of Heaven, then, do not obstinately set yourselves upon a useless resistance! Do not close against yourselves the last remaining path of escape from a total destruction!"

We may imagine what sort of effect these words must have produced on an audience partly composed of timid persons, old men, women, and children! All the churches of our valleys were full of weeping and sobs. But presently the grave voice of prayer rose alone above these lamentations. They implored the assistance and direction of God. Their breasts were calmed, their souls were strengthened; and confidence was re-established in their agitated minds.

A solemn assembly of all the delegates of the valleys was held at Rocheplate on the 19th of April. It renewed the declaration of the 14th, by which, on the ground of the righteousness of their cause, the Vaudois bound themselves to defend their country and their religion unto death. The meeting was held on Good Friday. "O Lord Jesus," said the pastor Arnaud, "who hast suffered so much and died for us, grant us grace that we may be able also to suffer and to sacrifice our lives for thee! Those who persevere to the end shall be saved. Let each of us exclaim with the apostle, 'I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me!'" It was resolved that the people of the valleys should be universally exhorted to repentance and amendment, so that they might humbly submit to the trials to which they were to be subjected, and that the Divine hand might be pleased to moderate their severity. Moreover, it was appointed that on the following Sab-

bath, being Easter-day, there should be celebrated in each parish, a solemn communion of all the children of these mountains—heroic disciples of the gospel, resolved to defend themselves against their base oppressors!

In some communes the concourse of people to this solemnity was so great, that the Lord's Supper was celebrated in the open air—an august and affecting ceremony, a sublime and mournful communion! Thus feeding upon their Saviour's sacrifice, the Vaudois bound themselves to brave torture, and to shed their blood in defence of his religion. They united at the footstool of the Lord in the same devotedness, the same love, and the same prayers. Alas! to the most of them it was the sacrament of the dying which they received on that occasion. To all of them it was the last communion at which they were to have it in their power to be present before the terrible catastrophe which we are now to relate, and which brought on the total dispersion of this heroic people, whose existence then seemed entirely at an end. But—like the two witnesses of the Apocalypse, who are called the "candlesticks standing before the God of the earth," and of whom we are told, that after having been overthrown for three days and a half they are re-animated by the spirit of life¹—the Vaudois, these ancient depositaries of the Old and of the New Testament, these two heavenly witnesses, after three years of exile and apparent death, were to reconquer their native country, to re-appear on their mountains, and to set up again, no more to be removed, the symbolical candlestick of eternal truth on the bloody but blessed theatre of so many atrocious persecutions.

CHAPTER XV.

WAR AND MASSACRE IN THE VALLEYS.²

(APRIL TO MAY, 1686.)

The Swiss ambassadors endeavour to secure a place of refuge for the Vaudois in Brandenburg—The valleys invaded by the combined troops of France and Piedmont—Catinat, the French commander-in-chief—His treachery—Successes of the invaders—Cruelties and outrages—Gabriel of Savoy—His treachery towards the Vaudois—Fearful cruelties—Conflicts—Massacres—Prolonged sufferings and martyrdom of Leydet, pastor of Pral.

THE generous ambassadors of Switzerland—grieved to see that their most disinterested mediation could satisfy neither of the two parties,

¹ Rev. xi. 3, 4, 7, 9, 11, &c.

² AUTHORITIES.—The same as in the preceding chapter.

but was rejected at once by the Vaudois and by the Duke of Savoy, and that there was no hope of any benefit from any new attempt at accommodation—resolved, with hearts full of affliction and sorrow, to depart from Piedmont. But foreseeing the inevitable and approaching destruction of that Vaudois church, which they loved so much, they wrote to the Elector of Brandenburg, Frederic William the Great, to learn from him if there were in his dominions any lands which could be set apart for the reception of a colony of Vaudois in the event of their expatriation. The elector replied with the most generous warmth that nothing could be more agreeable to him than to give them an asylum. All these documents show the universal apprehension which the precarious state of the Israel of the Alps then inspired. These mournful and increasing fears were but too well justified by the result.

The united forces of France and Piedmont already approached in good order to the Vaudois valleys. Victor Amadeus II. reviewed his troops in the plain of St. Segont. His army consisted of 2586 men, drawn from the various regiments¹ of the militia of Mondovi, Barges, and Bagnol, one corps of Piedmontese infantry, and one corps of cavalry. It was followed by fifty mules laden with warlike stores, and eighty-five carrying provisions;² besides which there were sixteen mules carrying shovels, and hatchets, and empty sacks, intended to be filled with earth upon the spot, to secure the soldiers from the bullets of the enemy; and others which carried various engines fit to be used in fortifications and intrenchments. These precautions had been dictated by the ancient reputation of bravery of the Vaudois mountaineers. The French troops were composed of a number of regiments of cavalry and dragoons, seven or eight battalions of infantry which had been brought from Dauphiny, and part of the garrisons of Pignerol and Casal. Volunteers and plunderers thronged together for booty, like birds of prey, in the train of the two armies.

A new *Piedmontese Easter* was in preparation. The Vaudois came from the communion, the Catholics gathered for carnage. The signal was to be given on Easter Monday, the 22d of April, by three cannon shots, *fired at the first break of day*,³ from the summit

¹ The regiments of Nice and Montferrat were quartered at Bubiano; those of Savoy and of La Croix Blanche at La Tour; those of Aosta and of Saluces at Lucerna; that of the sea-coast at Fenil; that of the *gendarmerie* at Garsiliano; and the body-guards, the regiment of guards, and the cavalry were at Briqueras.

² Seventy mules were laden with wine; fifteen carried 150 *rups* of provisions daily.

³ These are the terms of the order, written according to a plan agreed upon in a council of war.

of the hill of Briqueras. A general attack on the two valleys was immediately to follow, the Duke of Savoy assailing that of Lucerna, and Catinat, commander-in-chief of the French troops, invading that of St. Martin. This general set out from Pignerol at midnight, between Easter Sunday and Easter Monday, 1686. He marched for two hours by the light of torches and flambeaux, before which the dark and gigantic masses of our mountains seemed to recede. By and by a more pleasant light fell from heaven on their loftiest peaks; the snow of the glaciers blushed in the first ray of the morning. The murderers extinguished their torches; they had now arrived opposite to the village of St. Germain.

Thither Catinat sent a detachment of infantry,¹ commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Villeveille, who took possession of the village, and drove the Vaudois from their first intrenchments; but they, having retired to higher ground, and finding themselves still pursued, wheeled about, and in turn repulsed their assailants. Catinat then sent a detachment of cavalry and dragoons to support his infantry. Battle was joined along the whole line, and the firing continued for six consecutive hours.

The French infantry began to be exhausted, the cavalry could not manœuvre on the slopes covered with brushwood, where our brave mountaineers made so vigorous a resistance; and they, seeing the fire of the assailing army slacken, suddenly made a rush so impetuous, that the French, surprised and overthrown, were cast into confusion, and driven from the territory of St. Germain, even to the left bank of the Cluson. In this affair more than 500 of the French were killed or wounded, whilst only two of the Vaudois lost their lives.² The village of St. Germain was then cleared, except, however, of a small body of troops which, along with the gallant Lieutenant-Colonel Villeveille, had thrown themselves into the Vaudois place of worship, where they maintained their position until evening.³

¹ *Relatione del succeduto al primo attacco fatto dai Francesi nella valle di San Martino.* (Turin, *Archives of the Court, Valdesi*, No. of the series, 300.) This paper is written in French, although the inscription on the back is in Italian. It begins thus, "Yesterday morning, the 22d, M. De Catinat detached the regiment *Limosin and Du Plessis*. . . . This regiment drove the Barbets a little too far, and came to a stand almost at the base of the fort of these Huguenots. The dragoons of La Lande advanced on the right, and got entangled amongst the rocks, where they lost a number of men. The captain who commanded was wounded in the arm," &c. Farther on we read, "The Major De Provence was mortally wounded; M. De Brienne was wounded in the head, M. De Gontaudau in the arm," &c.

² *Dissipation des Eglises Vaudoises en 1686*, p. 15.

³ The following is the account given of this affair in the bulletin above quoted: "The Chevalier De Villeveille was attacked by a numerous troop, which was concealed in a ravine on his left, and by those in the fort, who at the same time rushed out to charge him. He lost a number of men as he retired, . . . and all that

Henry Arnaud, a native of the neighbourhood of Die in Dauphiny, had quitted that province with the Protestant refugees who fled to the valleys of Piedmont, to escape from the iniquitous persecutions of Louis XIV. From being a French pastor he became a Vaudois pastor, and from a pastor he became a captain, by reason of the horrid assaults to which the valleys were now subjected. Learning that Lieutenant-Colonel Villevieille had made a redoubt of the church of St. Germain, he hastened thither with a small detachment of men, determined to make themselves masters of it. But a formidable fire of musketry, directed on all points from the door of the church, along the esplanade which stretched in front of it, swept the approaches to that extemporary fortress, with a power too murderous for those who attacked, and too advantageous for those who defended it. It was necessary to give up the attack on this side. Arnaud commanded his men to come upon the church behind,¹ to scale the walls, to cut the timber of the roof, and to crush the enemy under the weight of the heavy slates with which it was covered, whilst another party of his men digged canals around the walls, to fill the church with water, and to drown Villevieille in it if he refused to surrender. But night came on to interrupt these operations; the governor of Pignerol sent fresh troops, and Villevieille was freed from the dangerous position into which his bravery had brought him.

Without turning back upon St. Germain, Catinat pursued his way towards La Pérouse. There he parted his forces into two divisions; the first, commanded by Mélaç, turned the heights of Le Pomaret, penetrating into the valley of Pragela by Salvage; the second, led by Catinat himself, was moved in the direction of Les Clots; and next day, the 23d of April, that general attacked Rioclaret, situated opposite to the position which he had taken up.

The inhabitants of the whole valley of St. Martin had declared their desire, four days before, to avail themselves of the provisions of the edict of the 9th of April, and not to take up arms. But their resolution was not known to Victor Amadeus till the evening before the attack; and he refused to accept it, declaring that it was too late. His troops already occupied the approaches to the valleys; the commissioner sent by that of St. Martin could not get back to it again; the inhabitants of that region were ignorant

he could do was to gain a house, with only thirty men, in which he was attacked for more than four hours by 500 men, who proposed to give him good terms to cause him to surrender, but to whom he only replied by discharges of musketry. . . ."

¹ Arnaud, in his *Glorieuse Rentrée*, records this fact in p. 49 of the preface. The bulletins make no mention of it.

of the response of the duke; they trusted to the provisions of the edict, and not counting upon being attacked, they had made no preparation for defence. The army of Catinat, therefore, took them by surprise, and cut them in pieces. They had broken the union sworn by all the Vaudois; and this cowardly baseness cost them more dear than all the most desperate efforts of a generous courage would have done.

The enemy's troops spread themselves without resistance over the valley, plundering, killing, and ravaging to the utmost. Six families, taken prisoners and sent to La Pérouse, were there massacred in cold blood. Two young girls of Ville Sèche were killed for resisting the outrages of the soldiers, who satiated on their corpses the savage brutality of which they had not been able to make them victims whilst they lived. John Ribet, of Macel, had all his members burned one after another, upon the successive refusals with which he met the threats and representations addressed to him during the intervals of his tortures, to bring him to an abjuration. At the hamlet of Les Fontaines, near Rodoret, four women were seized as they fled, carrying along with them their children. These innocents were butchered before the eyes of their mothers, and the mothers were then slaughtered over the bodies of their babes.

The horrors of 1655 were renewed everywhere over this unfortunate country; and as if the sword and the burning pile had not been enough for the martyrdom of the Vaudois, the most cruel punishments were also employed. Some were fastened to their ploughs and buried piecemeal in the earth, which was laid open as if to receive the grain for supply of food. Others were flung down rocks, or torn by horses. The trees on the wayside served as gibbets for other victims, and these new martyrs were subjected to abominable mutilations.

After having thus ravaged the valley of St. Martin, Catinat left a few troops there, and marched upon Pramol, where he was ere long joined by Mélaç, who had perpetrated the same atrocities at Le Pomaret. He had even gone farther in barbarity and indecency. Not knowing the paths which he must follow on the mountain, he caused some Vaudois women and girls, whom he had seized, to act for some time as his guides, compelling them by the sword to walk entirely naked at the head of his columns.

The united troops of Mélaç and Catinat encamped in the vale of Pramol, at the hamlet of La Rua, situated opposite to that of Poemian. The Vaudois had retired into the latter village to the number of more than 1500. They were joined by their brethren

of St. Germain, who had repulsed with so much success the first attack of the enemy; they were therefore still in a condition to resist, and probably might have done it with similar advantage. But their enemies formed a plan to vanquish them by treachery. These inheritors of the primitive church were always vulnerable on this side, for they trusted in the good faith of their enemies.

Catinat caused them to be told that the inhabitants of the valley of Lucerna had laid down their arms, and surrendered to Victor Amadeus, who had pardoned them. He exhorted them to follow this example, that they might enjoy the same benefits. The Vaudois sent two deputies to the French general, to receive from his own mouth the confirmation of this news, and of his promises. In the breast of this warrior soldierly honour did not revolt against the course which he pursued, and he certified the lie, giving his word for its truth. "Lay down your arms," he added, "and all is pardoned." "But, general," said the deputies, "whilst we by no means doubt your word, we dread the excesses of these same soldiers who have just shed so much blood in the valley of St. Martin." Catinat replied with an oath, that all his army should pass through their houses without touching so much as a fowl. Was it possible to suspect, in the hero of so many battles, the low perfidy so familiar to the genius of the Papal system? No: the Vaudois entertained no doubts; and they left one of their deputies with him as an hostage, whilst the others went to get their brethren to lay down their arms, and to re-assemble their dispersed families.

Catinat already triumphed in the success of his artifice. These mountaineers were, in his eyes, only heretics, people devoted to hell and to carnage, the killing of whom, without resistance, spared the blood of his brave and loyal companions in arms, who might have perished in the combat. Such is the genius of Popery; pride and tyranny for itself, disdain and cruelty for others.

On the evening of the same day, Catinat sent a courier to Gabriel of Savoy, the uncle of Victor Amadeus, who had invaded the valley of Lucerna, and was encamped at La Vachère. This courier passed by Poemian, and told the Vaudois that he went to apprise the prince of the proposed peace. Next day he came back, and said that the peace was concluded. The Vaudois, therefore, believed themselves assured of peace for the future. It was their destruction which had been resolved upon.

The French troops entered Poemian. They were received without arms and without distrust. The officer who commanded them¹ renewed to the Vaudois the assurances of his general, caused the

¹ Captain St. Pierre.

heads of families to be brought before him, separated the men from the women, and told the former that he was going to cause them to be conducted to the Duke of Savoy, that they might make their submission to himself.

Having thus deprived these unfortunate families of all their defenders—having none before them but women, children, and aged men—the soldiers of Catinat rushed like savage beasts on that inoffensive multitude, so basely deceived; massacred some, tortured others, stripped them of everything valuable; seized the women and girls, to subject them to the most brutal treatment; satiated upon them the most infamous passions, and subjected them to all the horrors of rape and assassination. There were some of them who resisted with so much courage that their destroyers could not succeed in their vile endeavours till they mutilated them in all their four members, nothing but a bloody torso being thus left for the prey of these demons. Others were only vanquished when they were pinned to the ground by a sword through the chest. There were some who could not be forced, and who were buried alive; others, more fortunate, were killed fleeing into the woods, and brought down like timid deer by the bullets of their persecutors. As for the children, they were carried off and dispersed in Piedmont, either in convents or in various Catholic families. What a Christian education they must have received there! Their fathers, who had been sent to the camp of Victor Amadeus, to make their submission to that monarch, were cast into the prisons of Lucerna, Cavour, and Villefranche, where a number of them died of disease and of sorrow.

But Popery triumphed; treachery had served its cause; a half of the people of the valleys were massacred or captive; carnage had done its work; and what remained of the Israel of the Alps could not subsist long. The Te Deums of St. Bartholomew's Day were again to be heard!

Victor Amadeus had remained encamped on the plain which forms the opening of the valley of Lucerna on the side of La Tour and Rora. It was here that, at a later period, after the marvellous return of the Vaudois to their native land, this very prince, himself vanquished and a fugitive, sought an asylum from these same mountaineers whom he now endeavoured to destroy or to disperse.

His uncle, Gabriel of Savoy, commander-in-chief of the ducal troops, had bent his course towards the heights of Angrogna. His line of operations extended from Briqueras to Saint John. The Vaudois occupied, on the summit of the hills of La Costière, a series of little posts situated in an upper zone, parallel, however,

to his front of battle. On the 22d of April, Don Gabriel caused these posts to be attacked upon all points at once. The Vaudois fought all day; and, faithful to the tactics of Janavel, concentrated their forces as they drew up their front of resistance to the higher retreats of the mountain, thus drawing themselves together in a line between points less numerous, and nearer and nearer to each other.

Night having come, bivouac fires were kindled on both sides. This luminous girdle crossed the mountain at about a third of its elevation. Les Serres and Castelluz belonged to the enemy; Rochemanant and the *Gates* of Angrogna were in the hands of the Vaudois. In the Piedmontese camp the preposterous worship of relics was mingled with the gross jokes of the soldiers, and the invocation of the Virgin with indecent tales of the atrocities already perpetrated in the valleys. In the camp of the persecuted evening prayer was offered with fervour and humility, amidst religious quiet, grief, and resignation. It will be recollected that this prayer had been placed on the order of the day for all the Vaudois companies, and that it was set down at the end of their military regulations, which have been preserved to our times. It was as follows:—

"O Lord! our great God, and the Father of mercy, we humble ourselves before thy face, to implore of thee the pardon of all our sins, in the name of Jesus Christ our Saviour, that by his merits thine ire¹ may be appeased against us, who have offended thee so much by our perverse and corrupt life. We render unto thee also our most humble thanksgivings, that it hath pleased thee to preserve us until now from all sorts of dangers and calamities: and we humbly entreat thee to continue to us in future thy holy protection and good safeguard against all our enemies, from whose hand we pray thee also to deliver and preserve us. And seeing that they attack the truth and fight against it, bless thou our arms to maintain and defend it! Be thou thyself our strength and our skill in all our combats, that we may come out of them victorious. And if any of us shall die in this cause, receive him, O Lord, in thy grace, pardoning all his sins, and let his soul find admission into thine eternal paradise! O Lord, hear! O Lord, forgive! for the sake of thy well-beloved Son, Jesus Christ, our Saviour, in whose name we pray unto thee, saying, *Our Father which art in heaven* (to the end of the Lord's Prayer). O Lord, increase our faith, and grant us grace to make with heart and

¹ ["*Ton ire.*" Explained by Dr. Muston in a foot note, "*Ta colère.*"]

mouth a sincere confession unto thee, to the end of our lives. *I believe in God* (and so on to the end of the Apostles' Creed.) May the holy peace and blessing of God our Father, the love and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the guidance, consolation, and help of the Holy Spirit, be given and multiplied to us, from henceforth and for evermore! So let it be!"

These last words were pronounced in name of all who were present, by the pastor or officer who had presided at this simple service. Such is the prayer, which we have not thought it proper to exclude even from a historic abridgment, and which was offered evening and morning in the camp of the Vaudois.

On the 23d of April, the attack upon them was recommenced. They still fell back towards the higher parts of the mountain, but in good order, and without ceasing to fight throughout the whole day. Towards evening they assembled in a single camp at the foot of the Vachère, and fortified that advantageous position by intrenchments of earth and large stones, promptly raised by their intrepid vigour and hands long accustomed to work.

Next morning, Gabriel of Savoy had information of the surrender of the Vaudois of Pramol, who had trusted their enemies and delivered themselves into their hands, and whose families had been thereafter massacred without resistance. He resolved to employ the same means against his own opponents, and caused them likewise to be told that their brethren of the Val St. Martin having laid down their arms and obtained pardon, he would advise them to follow that example, in order to avoid great calamities; for, if they did not surrender, the French troops, which occupied the valley of St. Martin and the little vale of Pramol, would come upon their rear, and then they would infallibly be destroyed.

The Vaudois of the Val Lucerna, intrenched at the foot of the Vachère, could not believe this news. Janavel, in the advice which he had addressed to them, had given the first prominence to the necessity of all the people of the valleys remaining constantly united; how, then, could one-half of them have treated with the enemy, without having communicated their intention to their brethren? However, they likewise adopted the course of sending commissioners to Gabriel of Savoy, who confirmed this news, and sent them a note, signed with his own hand, in which he said to them, "Do not hesitate to lay down your arms; and be assured that if you cast yourselves upon the clemency of his royal highness, he will pardon you, and that neither your persons nor those of your wives or children shall be touched."

After a promise so express, signed by a royal hand, there could

be no hesitation. But that august hand was a Catholic hand, taught to sign the most wicked treacheries without shaking. I would fain, indeed, think that the uncle of the sovereign was sincere in his promises; but he was aware of the perfidy of Catinat; he himself had taken part the day before in faithlessly making the Vaudois of Pramol captives, and yet he could venture to say that pardon would be granted. His bad faith appears evident; and if the judgment of history ought to be severe against all that is degrading to the dignity of human nature, it cannot pronounce too stern a reprobation of actions so base on the part of one so exalted.

Moreover, we may judge of the character of this engagement by the fruits which it so speedily produced. The Vaudois of the Vachère opened their intrenchments to Gabriel of Savoy, and came forth themselves without arms and without distrust before his troops. These mingled with them under the most pacific guise, surrounded them, and then seizing them and binding them like felons, carried them prisoners to Lucerna, where they were cast into the dungeons, already in part filled with their brethren, who had also been betrayed. How forcibly must the advices of Janavel have then presented themselves to their minds! But it was too late. The enemy had possessed themselves, almost without striking a blow, of those formidable valleys, where the Vaudois "*had posts so advantageous*," says a contemporary, "*and intrenchments so strong, that they might have kept their ground in them for ten years.*"¹

The defenders of this ancient sanctuary of the church were loaded with irons; their children were carried off and scattered through the Catholic districts; their wives and daughters were violated, massacred, or made captives. As for those that still remained, all whom the enemy could seize became a prey devoted to carnage, spoliation, fire, excesses which cannot be told, and outrages which it would be impossible to describe. Joseph David, being wounded, was carried by the soldiers into a neighbouring house, where they burned him alive. The mother of Daniel Fourneron, a woman eighty years of age, was rolled down a precipice because she did not walk quickly enough. Susanna Olviette and Margaret Baline, having endeavoured to defend their honour, lost their lives in the struggle, and yielded only their corpses to the unbridled lust of the soldiery. Mary Romain, who had been betrothed only a few days before, allowed herself to be slaughtered rather than submit to their desire.

Whilst these things were taking place in Angrogna, Victor

¹ Letter written from Pignerol, 26th April, 1686. Archives of Berne, C. II., 2.

Amadeus had continued to advance in the valley of Lucerna. There the Vaudois still occupied two important posts; the one at the hamlet of Les Geymets, and the other at Champ-la-Rama. Thus they covered the entrance to the Pra-du-Tour on the one side, and the road to Le Villar on the other. These two posts, being attacked at once, were firmly held during a whole day. The enemy could not gain an inch of ground, and lost many men, amongst others the commander of the militia of Mondovi. The Vaudois had only six killed, and as many wounded. Towards evening, the assailants, whose ammunition was exhausted, seemed to think of retreating; but in the fear of being pursued, they resolved at all hazards to deceive their adversaries by some illusory promise, and, under the name of a stratagem of war, to make them the victims of some such perfidy as had already proved so successful at the Vachère and at Poemian.

A number of Piedmontese officers, having laid their arms and their hats upon the ground, approached the fortifications which the Vaudois had erected at Champ-la-Rama, waving a white handkerchief on the end of a stick, and saying that they were the bringers of peace. They were allowed to advance. They exhibited a paper, saying that it was a letter of Victor Amadeus, who had granted pardon to all his subjects, and that he ordained his troops to retire, and requested the Vaudois to do the same. The podestat of Lucerna, whose name was Prat, a magistrate well known to the Vaudois, accompanied these officers, and attested the truth of their declaration, assuring the poor mountaineers that they would have life and liberty, on condition of their immediately ceasing from hostilities.

The Vaudois might, by a vigorous sortie, have routed these exhausted troops, or at least have seized their officers. But trusting in their word, they fired no more, allowing the enemy to draw back in peace, and themselves going to seek some repose. Scarcely had they retired, when the Catholic soldiers retraced their steps with new reinforcements, and took possession of the abandoned post. Those who still defended themselves at the hamlet of Les Geymets, less elevated than the Champ-la-Rama, finding their position commanded by the enemy, abandoned it likewise, and retired to Le Villar.

It might seem that so many reiterated acts of perfidy must have exhausted the amount of Catholic dishonesty, and of the too easy confidence of the Vaudois; but such was not the case. The troops of the enemy, after having pursued the mountaineers, who fell back on the *combe* of Le Villar, halted at the hamlet of Les Bonnets,

and remained there for two days without venturing to give battle. But during this time they sent to the Vaudois several successive emissaries, to assure them, in the name of all that was sacred, that those who would surrender would obtain pardon, whilst the severest chastisements would await those who stood out. Many surrendered themselves, and were cast into prison. Thus the number of the Vaudois diminished daily. They might still be about 500 or 600 men. This troop would have sufficed Janavel to perform prodigies; but that illustrious outlaw, having been banished for thirty years from his native country, could no longer serve it except by his advice, and his advice had not been followed. The intrepid captain had lost nothing of his courage; but the infirmities of age had deprived him of his strength, without bending his noble spirit.

After some time, the Vaudois of Le Villar, finding themselves decimated by perfidy or by treachery, and weakened by the intrigues of an enemy destitute alike of honesty and of courage, abandoned also the post which they occupied, and fell back upon Bobi, the last important village of the valley.

Thus passed the month of April. On the 4th of May, Gabriel of Savoy marched all his troops against them. This attack was repulsed. The Vaudois, intrenched on the heights of Subiase, killed some of his officers and many of his soldiers.

On the 12th of May, the French army, having united itself with that of Victor Amadeus, renewed the attack, which was again repulsed by the Vaudois with great success. But next day the Marquis de Parelles, who had ascended the valley of St. Martin with a detachment of Catinat's troops, passed over the Col Julian, and attacked the gallant defenders of Bobi in the rear. Finding themselves thus placed between two fires, the Vaudois abandoned a position which it was impossible to maintain, and dispersed themselves on the lateral mountains of La Sarcena and Garin.

New emissaries were presently sent after them, to promise them liberty if they would surrender themselves to their sovereign. A number did surrender themselves, and, like the former, were cast into prison. The mind revolts at the thought of a continued rascality always successful and always disastrous! The triumph of what is shameful is a dishonour to human nature.

However, the bloodiest horrors did not cease to be enacted everywhere over this desolated land. Two sisters, Anne and Madeleine Vittoria, were burned alive in the straw of the shed where they had been ravished. Daniel Pellenc was flayed alive, and as the soldiers could not succeed in making the skin of his body pass up

over his shoulders, they laid him on the ground, threw a large stone on his mangled but still breathing body, and left him to expire in that condition. Twenty-two persons were flung into the ravines of Le Cruel, from the heights of Bariound and Garneyreugna. A number of them, suspended on ledges of the rocks, with their bones broken and their flesh torn, still remained alive for some days. A young mother, who fled carrying her child in her arms, and who carried another also within her, was overtaken by the murderers. They took her babe from her, seized it by the feet, and dashed its head against the rocks; then falling, sword in hand, upon the fainting mother, they committed two murders more by a single stroke. Another woman was placed naked, with her infant in her arms, amongst the soldiers, and they amused themselves by standing at a distance and throwing their daggers, some at the mother and some at the child. The name of this ill-fated woman was Margaret Salvajot. Another woman had retired into a cavern with her child and a she-goat. The goat, browsing on the herbage amongst the brushwood, nourished the poor mother with its milk, and she gave suck to her child. The soldiers came upon them by surprise. The infant was flung into a hole, as the redundant progeny of beasts are flung upon the dunghill when we want to be quit of them. The mother was conducted into the presence of the Marquis of Bénil, colonel of the regiment of Savoy. They wished to learn from her the hiding-place of her Protestant brethren who had disappeared. She knew nothing of the matter. To make her speak, they crushed her fingers between bars of iron; but it was in vain. Then these defenders, heroes, and pillars of the Catholic faith, broke her legs, and having tied her head to her feet, they rolled her down into the same chasm into which they had cast her child.

"Why relate such atrocities?" more than one voice will exclaim with emotion. To inspire a horror of the odious principles which have produced them. Do you suppose that an account of the blood which was shed will never be called for? Nay; these vile oppressors of mankind, tyrannizing by the sword, tyrannizing by deceit, tyrannizing by cupidity—these heroes of superstition and intolerance, who would have put an end to Christianity a thousand times over, if it could have been destroyed—these authors of so many wounds still bleeding in the world—must endure history to the last; their works are their condemnation.

The Marquis De Parelles himself was moved with indignation on meeting bands of his soldiers bearing on their hats the hideous trophies of the various mutilations to which they had subjected the unfortunate Vaudois.

Daniel Mondon, one of the elders of the parish of Rora, was the agonized and helpless witness of the murder of his two sons, who were beheaded with the sabre, and then of his daughter-in-law, whose body was ripped open the whole length of the belly. The four little children of this ill-fated woman were also butchered before the eyes of their mother. The old man was reserved, that he might be compelled to bear upon his shoulders the heads of his two sons, and the bloody relics of his slaughtered family. In this manner he was obliged to march from Rora to Lucerna. On his arrival in the latter town, he was hanged on a gallows.

"All the valleys are exterminated, the people killed, hanged, or massacred," wrote a French officer, announcing to foreign parts the result of this fratricidal contest, by a letter of date the 26th of May, 1686. On the same day Victor Amadeus issued a decree, by which all the Vaudois, without exception, were declared guilty of the crime of high treason,¹ because they had not laid down their arms on the first summons, and all their property was confiscated, to the increase of the royal domains.² The few Vaudois who escaped carnage and the prisons, wandered miserably on the mountains. Those who still remained in their lonely dwellings, received orders not to leave them.³

Thus the destruction of these Vaudois churches, so long exposed to trial, appeared now inevitable; their overthrow seemed to be complete. A number of their sons still maintained the struggle even in this extremity, some by their courage, others by their martyrdom. The pastor of Pral, named Leydet, had retired to a cavern to escape the murderers. After the lapse of two days, he supposed that the troops had retired, and rendered thanks to God, by singing in a low voice a song of deliverance. But these pious accents, issuing through the clefts of the rock, betrayed his retreat. The soldiers heard him, rushed into the cavern, seized the pastor, and conducted him to Lucerna, where he was brought before Victor Amadeus as a prisoner of importance. He was promised his liberty and a pension of 2000 livres, if he would consent to change his religion. He refused. He was then imprisoned in a tower, his legs being made fast betwixt two beams united by a screw. Here he remained for a long time, receiving only bread and water, and unable to lie down, because of the stocks in which his legs were painfully held. In

¹ [Fr. *L'èsc-majesté*.] What *majesty* is there in an unjust power?

² Turin, *Archives of the Court of Accounts*. *Ordini*, 1685-1686, No. 103, fol. 33, and 104, fol. 6. It is to be found also in the *Archives of the Court*, portfolio of the Edicts of His Royal Highness from 1686 to 1693.

³ On the 23th of April. (Dubois, II. 243.)

this afflictive situation he had to sustain long theological discussions every day, with the priests and monks who were sent to convert him.

Like some kind of vermin always engendered around torture, this brood of death is everywhere to be found, from the dungeons of the Spanish Inquisition, to those of the Holy Office of Rome and of Turin. Their *holy office* is well enough known; but what had it ever to do with the gospel?

At last, not being able to convince the prisoner, the priests told him that he must presently die. "The will of God be done!" he tranquilly replied. "You may save your life by becoming a Catholic," said they. "That would not be the will of God," was his answer. New discussions were then again commenced, and as a last argument, they were concluded once more by a new announcement of death. But nothing shook the constancy of the prisoner. Thereupon he was condemned to death, and as a pretext for his condemnation, the sentence bore that he had been taken with arms in his hands.

The day before his execution, and that day itself, the monks assailed him again, to make him abjure; they hoped that the emotion always inseparable from these last moments would have broken his resolution, or discomposed his mind. But he remained calm, serene, firm in his faith, and resigned. As he left the prison to go to execution, he said to the executioners, "This is for me a double deliverance, in which both my soul and my body ought to rejoice." Then having mounted the scaffold, he uttered, without ostentation, only these words, "O my God! I commit my soul into thy hands."

CHAPTER XVI.

TERMINATION OF THE CONTEST; MEMOIRS OF A PRISONER;
CAPTIVITY AND DISPERSION OF THE VAUDOIS IN VARIOUS
TOWNS.¹

(A.D. 1686—MAY TO SEPTEMBER.)

The last body of defenders of the valleys—Further treachery practised against them—The valleys, after great massacres and devastations, seem entirely reduced—The invaders depart—New bands of Vaudois appear in arms in the valleys of Lucerna and St. Martin—It is at last stipulated that all the surviving Vaudois shall be permitted to go into exile—Journal of a prisoner—Sufferings of the prisoners.

Of the whole number of their courageous but too credulous defenders, there now remained in the Vaudois valleys only a little troop of combatants, who still continued the contest on the mountain of Vandalin. The last hope of their prostrated country, the last ray of expiring liberty depended on their noble efforts. But a spirit of destruction seemed to have breathed over all these countries. A fatal vertigo threw men of the most undaunted courage into the gross snare of those deceitful promises of which such base use had already been made.

The governor of the province, M. De La Roche, after having caused some unsuccessful attacks to be made upon this small but heroic band, had recourse to treachery, in order to take from their valiant hands that glorious banner of liberty which they still made to float over the valleys. He wrote to them to promise, as a magistrate, as a citizen, and as a man of honour, pardon for their families, and their own liberty, if, according to the terms of the edict of the 28th of May, they would consent to retire to their respective dwellings. The Vaudois had too much forgotten that to the simplicity of the dove they ought to have joined the prudence of the serpent. They believed these perfidious promises, and retired to their dwellings; whereupon the faithful governor immediately took possession of the intrenched post which they had just abandoned, tore from their hands the note which he had written to them, and flung them into the prisons already filled with their brethren.

"In the valley of St. Martin," says Brez,² "a few men, having

¹ AUTHORITIES.—The same as in Chapter XIV. To which add the introductory part and the preface of the *Glorious Return of the Vaudois*, by HENRY ARNAUD.

² The published portion of the *History of the Vaudois*, by Brez (although it does not bear his name), comes down only to the events of 1655. The remainder of this

still rallied, had resolved to defend their natal soil to the last extremity. The persecutors could not be indifferent to these feeble relics, whom it was less easy to subdue by force than by stratagem; and, as there were amongst the prisoners many Vaudois who enjoyed the confidence of their compatriots, the Marquis De Parelles caused them to march at the head of his army, that he might make some progress against their brethren, and then forced them, with a pistol at their breast, to write a number of notes, exhorting their compatriots to lay down their arms, and cast themselves upon the clemency of the sovereign, who had offered pardon, they said, to all who chose to profit by it. On seeing these well-known persons, the Vaudois, wasted by fatigue, hunger, and hardships, almost all surrendered; and, instead of obtaining their pardon, were added to the number of the captives."

Thus, after more than 1000 persons had been massacred, more than 6000 prisoners taken by fraud, and 2000 Protestant children dispersed in all directions—after all the Vaudois who still remained in the valleys had been declared guilty of high treason, and an universal confiscation of their property had been pronounced—it seemed as if there was nothing more to be done with this unfortunate country but to abandon to its own silence the tomb of the Vaudois churches, and to leave solitude and desolation to spread over them for ever.

But, on the contrary—strange as it may seem—it was just then that the Vaudois took fresh courage, and found a new source of energy in the excess of their despair. The spirit of might blows where it will: they had neither places of worship, nor homes, nor country; no vision of clemency could deceive them again; they could have no hope of safety, but in themselves and in God; and now it was that they appeared again, animated with a confidence more invincible than before.

The French troops had retired. The militia of Mondovi had returned to their homes. Thus the principal adversaries of the Vaudois had disappeared—the former being so reckoned on account of their number, the latter on account of their ferocity; for, in 1681, the rebels of Mondovi had been vanquished by the Vaudois militia, and the spirit of revenge was combined in them with the

work is unpublished. My venerable friend, M. Appia, a native of the Vaudois valleys, and pastor at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, had the goodness to procure me a copy. It is from the eighth chapter of this second part of the work of Brez that the sentences are extracted which I here quote, not as an authority, but as a narration; for, in a scientific point of view, this work contains no new fact and no profound research. A few bombastic or incorrect expressions have been modified, even in this quotation.

excitements of fanaticism and of war, to augment, in 1686, the cruelty of the reprisals which they took upon us. The Piedmontese army began also to abandon this impoverished, blood-stained, and depopulated land. Wealthy Savoyards already came to examine the properties which they proposed to purchase in these devastated regions. The Duke of Savoy wished to repopulate them, as if to prevent even a desert from preserving there the recollection of a people who had disappeared.

Then, from the depths of the woods, from the recesses of the ravines, from the clefts of the rocks, from the summits of steep peaks, came forth emaciated men, half-naked patriots, outlaws battered by the storm, inured to danger, familiar with fatigue and hunger, who, to escape persecution, had maintained their lives for whole months on the herbs of the mountains and the flesh of the chamois, or even on the savage brood of wolves that wandered about to devour the corpses left unburied. By degrees these rude mountaineers drew together, united, organized themselves, and, having taken an account of their numbers in the valley of Lucerna, on the umbrageous heights of Le Becès, they found themselves in all forty-two men, with a few women and a few children. An almost equal number made their appearance from the valley of St. Martin.

What were their names? Who was their leader? What acts of extraordinary heroism and valour did they thereafter perform to set free, unaided, their oppressed country, to release from prison their compatriots who had been betrayed, to regain all their confiscated properties, and to obtain, for themselves and their people, a glorious retreat with arms and baggage to a foreign country? All this is unknown. No one has written the annals of these, the forlorn hope, but victorious, of the Vaudois mountains. Their expeditions must be judged of by their results. Ah! what might these have been if all the force of such a people had been found, from the first, well united and well directed—if Javanel had been listened to,—if he had been there!

But his spirit, at least, appears to have animated these last defenders of the valleys. Urged on by the hand of God, they fell like a thunderbolt on the persecutors, who supposed them destroyed—defeated in succession the garrisons of Le Villar, La Tour, Lucerna, and St. Segont—intercepted convoys proceeding to revictual Pignerol, and thus refitted their own equipment, and provided themselves with ammunition and provisions. Then retiring again to those unconquered mountains, of which they alone knew the paths, they multiplied their number by their activity,

their strength by their valour, their power by the fear which they inspired, and their chances of safety by the repeated losses which they made their enemies to experience. Unexpected in attack, and not to be overtaken in flight, they fell suddenly upon some neglected post, or on soldiers sleeping in their quarters, gave all to fire and sword, and retired as quickly as they came. At other times, in the middle of the night, they surprised some one of the villages of the plain, setting it on fire at both ends, and threatening to burn it entirely if it refused to pay a heavy contribution.

The Marquis De Parelles put himself in motion again on the side of Rocheplate and the Vachère; Gabriel of Savoy ascended again towards Lucerna and Rora; for it was never by the bottom of the valleys, but by the projecting lateral ridges of the inter-jacent mountains, that these bold freebooters made their incursions. Like pirates of the Alps, treated as enemies by all their neighbours, these desperate mountaineers caused a terror which increased with their victories. The troops which marched against them were twice repulsed. The Marquis De Parelles occupied the heights of St. Germain and Angrogna, which separate the valley of Lucerna from that of St. Martin, in order to prevent the junction of the two small bodies of flying troops which occupied these valleys.

Offers were made to both of safe-conducts, that they might be enabled to retire freely to a foreign country; but they insisted that the same liberty should be granted to all their compatriots who were in prison. There seemed to be a disposition to enter into negotiations with them upon this basis; but they would not capitulate unless hostages were given them. The negotiation went on favourably for themselves; but reservations were made regarding the prisoners. They broke it off sharply, saying that they would all die in the valleys, which they would not leave unless accompanied by their compatriots. At last the retreat of all the surviving Vaudois was granted. The mountaineers stipulated that an officer of the royal guard should accompany each division of the exiles in the capacity of an hostage. They demanded, moreover, and with success, that their journey to the frontiers of the dominions of Savoy should be made at the expense of Victor Amadeus.

They were to set out in two brigades, after which all the other prisoners were to depart in succession in the same manner. Each of them was free to dispose as he pleased of his property. But alas! all had been the prey of pillage or of fire; and from those frightful prisons into which their brethren had been crowded, how many of them never came out! A greater number died at that time within

a few days, through the long sufferings of captivity, than had fallen in battle, during three centuries, in all the persecutions.¹ Courage is always attended with less danger than weakness.

A journal, written in Italian by one of these afflicted people, enables us to acquaint the reader with a part of their sufferings. "On the 23d of April," says he,² "commenced the desolation of our valleys. On the 26th I retired to the mountains of Rora, for nowhere else could one sleep, and all appeared so ravaged that nothing could be found to eat. Ere long I knew not what way to turn; but I thought that God would not forsake me if I remained faithful to him;³ and accordingly he sent a man to me on whom I could depend.⁴ He resided at Lucernette, and said to me, that if I would go with him I should have nothing to fear. We descended the mountain, and as night approached, we having arrived at the hamlet of Les Bonnets, where my house was, he asked me if there was any wine in it, that we might refresh ourselves. I showed him some of an inferior quality, but told him that I had also some of another quality, which was the best which was produced in the Giovanèra of St. John."⁵ On their arrival at Lucernette, Salvajot

¹ "There died," says Arnaud, "as many as eleven thousand." (*Return*, first edition, fol. 25). We read also in a letter written from Geneva to the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Turin (the Marquis of St. Thomas), "*The Vaudois are arrived in Switzerland to the number of 2600, a miserable remnant of the 15,000 who existed a year ago.*" Dated 19th March, 1687. *Archives of Berne*, compartment C. (Communicated by M. Monastier.)

² The following is the title of this manuscript:—"Memorie di me Bartolomeo Salvajot, nell'anni 1686, 1687, e 1688." The author was one of those Vaudois of whom ERMAN and RECLAM speak (t. vi.), who went to Brandenburg in 1688 and returned in 1690; for in these *Memoirs* we find his itinerary as far as Stendal, and we meet with him again present at the Synod of La Tour, as the lay deputy of Rora, on the 15th of September, 1693.

His manuscript, which has long remained unnoticed, begins with the 23d of April, 1686, and ends with the month of August, 1688. It contains 64 pages. M. Torn, a tutor belonging to the Vaudois valleys, was so kind as to transmit me a copy. Salvajot was an old captain of the Vaudois troops; he was born at Les Bonnets, resided at Rora, and married a woman from La Baudeina, near Bobi, in 1678.

³ The following are the words of the manuscript:—"Di modo che non sapeva is che divenire; e diceva, con il profeta, che megli mi sarebbe la morte che la vita. Ma Iddio, per la sua grande misericordia, non lascia cadere un solo capello della nostra testa, senza la sua volontà: perchè se li siano veramente fidele, mi salvera miracolosamente."

⁴ And this man—this friend—was a Catholic. His name was Martina. It is refreshing to see, amidst so many crimes committed in name of religion, one poor man remaining faithful to sacred humanity. The Protestant confided in the Catholic, as at a former time the Catholics had confided in the Protestants, committing their daughters to their charge. The people are always better than their directors.

⁵ The reader will pardon the quotation of these particulars. They show life as

gave up his arms to his friend, who hid them, and who then made the fugitive lie down in a loft, that the neighbours might not remark his presence; for it was forbidden, under very severe penalties, to give asylum to any Vaudois. He remained in this garret three days and three nights, after which he asked Martina to go and seek the seigneur of Rora, whose vassal he was, and who dwelt at Campillon, to entreat him to give him some employment.

"I wrote a note to him with my own hand," says he; "but when he saw it he commenced swearing, and tore it, saying that he could do nothing for me. I knew not what to do, and hesitated about returning to the mountains, when Martina went, without saying anything to me, to Lucerna, to speak to the prefect of La Tour, who immediately went to his royal highness, to obtain my pardon. I spent all that day in great uneasiness. My friend did not arrive till 10 o'clock in the evening, and greatly rejoiced my heart, by telling me that I might return home without danger of my life. I gave thanks to God, and next day, the 4th of May, I went to Lucerna in company with the priest of Lucernette and with Martina. They escorted me as far as the convent of Le Pin, where they bade me farewell with much affection (*grande carezze*), thinking that I would change my religion. But I told the monks that, for the present, my mind was occupied with very different matters—that my wife and my little daughter were still in the mountains, and that I entreated them to aid me in getting them out, lest the soldiers should kill them. They immediately went to speak to the President Palavicino, who kindly (*della sua grazia*) went to his royal highness, and caused me to be informed that as many of our people as chose to surrender themselves to the prince, might have opportunity of doing so."

Salvajot was still ignorant of the fate of those who had already surrendered themselves; for the defenders of Poemian, betrayed by Catinat, were already in prison. He himself was ere long imprisoned also, in the cellars of that very convent, as soon as the impossibility had been discovered of getting him to apostatize. He thus continues his narrative:—

"I therefore sent two children to bring my wife; for I did not choose to write a note, which might make our people think that I had forsaken them. These children were accompanied as far as Le Villar by their own fathers, who carried to the Count De Massel the note of Palavicino, requiring that they should be allowed

it is, with its vulgar wants and cares (without which, however, there is no subsisting); and the abstract character of historic events cannot always supply their place. "*E poi*," says Salvajot, "*tiremo fuori un di quei bottali e bevemo bene.*"

to pass and to return with my family. Thereafter, these children went on alone to seek my wife, as far as *La Baudeina*, where they found her making bread. Before descending, she wished to go to seek her daughter, who was in the forest; but the enemy came up, and they were all obliged to conceal themselves for ten days.¹ . . . At last my wife arrived at Lucerna with our child; they urged her to become a Catholic, but she said that she could do nothing without speaking with her husband. The father president² conducted her to my prison, and told me to make her believe that I had already become a Catholic;³ but that was what I could not. She was going to enter the prison with my daughter, whom she held by the hand, but the father said to them, 'Take care, poor women, for if you go in there you will never come out.' But I was so glad to see them again, and they were so happy to be near me, that we could not make up our minds to part. They came in, and passed that night by my side amongst the other prisoners. They slept upon the ground, without straw, or covering, or supper; for happy was he who could get a stone to lay his head upon—the ministers as well as the rest.⁴ Every one snatched for himself as much food as he was able, and some who had been friends became enemies." Such a cruel demon is hunger! "Next day my wife wished to go out, to go to seek something at Lucerna, at the house of our friend Martina; but it was necessary to apply to the major, and to pay two *crossasi* to the captain of the guards, in order to get out. I then directed my wife to a place where I had dropped a large copper vessel into the torrent of Laigha, and told her to carry it to Martina's house; for it had cost me an Italian *doppia*,⁵ and it was almost new. She was also to put into his hands a sum of 100 francs, which I had in crowns and small money; as well as twenty pounds of salt and eighteen pounds of bacon, which still remained

¹ *Si riscararono in Barma d'Hant, e così scamparono la loro vita. Ma molti altri, che il nemico ricontrava, gli amazzavano, e gli impicavano agli alberi; violavano le donne; saccheggiarono tutto, e bruciavano in molti luoghi, talmente che . . . da tutte le parte, non si sentiva altro che grida, spavento . . . che faceva orrore!* I do not quote these words to increase the horror of the scenes which I have described, but to show that they have not been exaggerated; and if I had chosen to multiply frightful particulars, the documents were not exhausted.

² The superior of the mission established at the convent of Le Pin.

³ Which proves that they had affirmed to his wife that he had become a Catholic. What can we think of a system which pretends to conduct to the truth, and which employs lying as an instrument?

⁴ *E beato era colui che poteva aver una pietra sotto il capo; gli ministri, come gli altri.*

⁵ The *doppia* or double ducaal livre was worth, before 1755, 41 francs 7 cents; after that time, in accordance with an edict on the subject, the *doppia* was worth only 30 francs 2 cents.

to us. Martina promised to her that he would take good care of all these things, and restore them to me when I came to reclaim them."

These details may seem too minute; but the ordinary cares of life can never cease to force themselves upon attention, even amidst the gravest events. They are not without their value, moreover, as making known the spirit of order, economy, and equity which animated our poor mountaineers. Many other details of the same kind are to be found in the memoir from which these are copied.

"During the first days of my captivity I saw 400 persons arrive from Pral—women, children, and aged men—and all in a state so deplorable and wretched, that the prisoners themselves were afflicted to behold it. These poor people had brought with them a few asses and mules; but the soldiers caught hold of the beasts, and flung down the poor women and children with such violence, that it was really pitiful to see it. Two of them, being pregnant, gave birth to children on the spot, and they took them to another dungeon.

"One day the President Palavicino called me into the garden of the convent, and asked me if I knew the road by the Col Julian and Barma d'Hant; but I told him that I had never been in these quarters. Then the Signor Glaudi Brianza, taking me apart, said to me, 'Now, Salvajot, you must manage so that the rest of the people of the valleys surrender themselves, and thereupon you shall be set at liberty.' 'Ah, Sir!' said I, 'I positively can do nothing of the kind.' 'Take heed,' said he; 'if you are obstinate, you will find cause to repent of it.'

"Two days after, the president came to ask me if I would like to see our ministers. 'Very much,' said I. 'Well!' said he, 'come with me.'—He took me from the convent of the missionaries; we passed before the marquis's palace, where I saw the Duke of Savoy at a window, and presently we arrived at the prison of the ministers. On entering, I saluted them; and seeing their miserable condition, I asked if they had nothing to sleep on, for there was nothing but the paved floor. They replied that they had not. Then the major of Lucerna, who had come in, said to me jeeringly, 'Well, Mr. Captain Salvajot, what think you of this? But we are not at the end, and you shall see, you shall see how we shall do with all these!' He even spoke of hanging me if I would not abjure, and vomited out¹ this sort of stuff for a good while. I wished to return with him, but he told me to remain there till evening, and I was left there for two weeks. Every day new

¹ *Fece grandissima goulà.*

bands of prisoners were brought in. Sometimes entire families were brought; but the soldiers tore the little children with such violence from the arms of their mothers, that numbers of these feeble creatures were strangled in the act, and remained dead in their hands. There is no humanity in these folks!" observes Salvajot, with laconic simplicity. "We remained so long without straw," he adds, "that the vermin covered the walls; and no one could go out of the apartment, because a watch was at the door. Nor could we get water to wash with, or even to drink; and we had likewise very little to eat. At last we were conveyed to a new dungeon, under the vaults of a house which anciently belonged to Signor Bastero. But there we were still worse! Fortunately we were not allowed to remain there for more than two or three days.

"One evening the Chevalier Morosa came to see us, and said to the ministers, 'It is you that have caused this rebellion! you would have done better to have obeyed.' 'You know,' they replied, 'that we have done all in our power to prevent it; for it was our desire that our people should take advantage of the orders of his highness, and leave the country; but we could never make them listen to reason.' 'You say that to excuse yourselves,' rejoined he; 'but I know well what took place in your meetings.' However, he did not insist upon this, and as he went away, he said to them, 'Good evening, gentlemen;' and the ministers replied, 'Good evening to your lordship.'

"It was on the 16th of May that the order arrived for our removal. I took my daughter by the hand; my wife went to deposit with various persons the things which we could not carry with us.¹ We were about 160 persons. The men were bound together two and two; there were twenty-seven couples, bound also to one another by a long cord. As we went out of Lucerna, there were a great number of people assembled, and they addressed to us many bad words—'Satanical heretics, your end will soon be seen,' &c. And when we took the road to Turin, they cried, 'Take another look of your mountains, for you will never see them more!' There were some amongst us who wept. Our chained line was flanked by soldiers on the right and left, and in this way we went as far as Briqueras. There we paused for a little under the roof of the market-place, and those who had money purchased some bread. Then we resumed our journey, and that night we slept at Osasco. Those who had their hands tied, and who were besides fastened to one another, were much incommoded, for when it was necessary to

¹ Here I suppress some unnecessary particulars.

cross streams on narrow planks, if one of them made a false step, they were all in danger of falling; and when they were thirsty, they could not drink unless some one gave them water.

"At an early hour next day we arrived in Turin. At the entry of the town we halted, to wait for the carts, which were still behind, laden with the sick, and with women and children. Scarcely had we entered Turin when we found it necessary to keep a sharp watch, lest our children should be taken from us. They had already seized my little daughter, and were bearing her off in haste, when the wife of Bartholomew Ruetto, perceiving it, ran after the ravisher, and brought her back to me. But the crowd was so dense, and the dust so thick, that it was scarcely possible to see. We reached the citadel about ten o'clock in the evening. The prisoners were called over, and the ministers sent into a place by themselves; then those who were bound together were thrust into a chamber so narrow that they could not move about in it, and were choked with the heat. I remained with those of Rora.¹ They put us in a tower where there were mattresses, and we were much better treated than at Lucerna. From time to time we received some alms; soup and linen were given us, and a little wine, which did much good to all, but especially to the sick and those who had no money. There were also persons belonging to the city who showed us great kindness.² At intervals we were allowed to go out and walk on the bastions. But this did not take place till after the return of the Royal Guards;³ for, until then, the citadel was intrusted to the keeping of the citizens of Turin, and we were not so well treated by them as by the soldiers. With the latter we could at least go to seek water to wash our linen, and enjoy some degree of liberty. This state of things continued to the 26th of July, when there arrived an order from his royal highness for our removal to Verceil, for it was necessary that we should make room for others.

"Signor Blaygna, who kept watch over us when the Count Santus was compelled to be absent, appointed Bastie and me to watch over the rest.⁴

"I entreated him to allow me a little private apartment for my

¹ Here again I suppress details. Salvajot gives the names of all his fellow-prisoners, fifteen in number. The prisoners detained in Turin at this time amounted to 222. But there were prisoners also in many other towns; and the multiplied sufferings to which they were subjected, are attested by the enormous mortality among them. Seven-tenths of the Vaudois died in prison.

² . . . *E vi erano ancora molte persone che facevano carità grande.* I dwell with pleasure upon these particulars, omitting no fact which can soften the picture of the cruelties which I am compelled to relate.

³ A regiment which had been sent against the valleys.

⁴ *Il signor Bastia ne aveva 60 da tener conta, ed io 43.*

wife, who was on the point of her confinement. 'Do you not know,' said he, 'that you are to leave this place to-morrow?' And accordingly, next morning, all who were in the tower were brought out of it, except the ministers.¹ Many were sick, and groaned with pain, but it was necessary to have patience, since such was the command of his highness.² Scarcely were we out of doors, when M. Blaygna said to me, 'Salvajot, come hither.' And taking me aside, he added, 'Take your wife and your little girl, and go back.' We did so, and he sent back also M. Paul Gonin and his son.³

"Then those were placed together who would not change their religion, and those who had abjured. The latter were treated a little better; they were conducted to mass, and the priests came every day to instruct them in their new doctrines. At first they received much more alms than we; but afterwards, whatever was given us was equally divided amongst all. Those who had abjured were offended at this, and alleged that we were the cause of their being still detained in prison, because we would not abjure.

"Eight days after my wife gave birth to a daughter, and the Count Santus came and said to me, 'She must be baptized.' I was very much astonished at this, because I supposed that he had not yet known of her birth. 'The child is healthy,' said I, 'and can be baptized after a while.' 'Any way,' replied he, 'this must be done without loss of time. Here are M. De Rocheneuve and the Baroness of Palavicino, who will act as her godfather and godmother, and who will make your fortune.' Then I durst not say anything more, and they carried the newly-born child into the chapel of the fort, whither I followed in the train with Mademoiselle Jahier of Rocheplate, who had almost fallen down in a swoon when she saw all the ceremonies which they performed.⁴ They gave my child the names of Louisa Caroline, which were those of the godfather

¹ They were nine in number, each with his family. Four other families were joined to theirs, namely, those of Messrs. Moudon, Malanot, Goante, and Gauthier.

² *E vi era gran pianto e lamento: ma bisognò aver pazienza, perchè così era l'ordine di S.A.R.*

³ The rest set out, and were sent to . . . (the name is illegible in the manuscript), where they all died, with the exception of one only, named Daniel Rivoire.

⁴ I would not have copied these details, nor many others, if I had had to extract them from a variety of documents placed at the disposal of the historian, to draw from them, on his own responsibility and at his own discretion, the equally assorted materials of a portion of his work; but as we have here to do with an original work, I have thought it right to preserve, as much as possible, its traits and characteristics, even when these were not of general interest, because the particular character of this narrative brings out in strong relief the general features of the whole scene of which it is an episode, and, so to speak, a sample the more valuable the less it is interfered with.

and godmother. Next day there were brought to the mother a shift and two white woollen sheets, which Father Valfrédo, the confessor of his royal highness, had sent, and an offer was made us that we should go to dwell in a separate room; but my wife refused, fearing lest it might be for the purpose of drawing us into apostasy.

"The governor of the fort said to me an hour after, 'Why would you not leave this tower?' I replied that my wife was still too feeble for that. 'You are a genuine rascal!' he exclaimed; 'but you shall pay for it.' And addressing himself to the ministers, he said, 'It is you who are the cause of their not becoming Catholics, but take care of yourselves!'"

The author of the unpublished memoirs which we have quoted, relates further that his wife died after a few days, and that he made use of one of those sheets which had been given them to bury her in. A month after, the infant which she had brought forth in the prison expired likewise. Salvajot was left alone with his little Mary, then aged five years and a half.

Many other pregnant women, who were delivered in the prisons, lost their children, and almost all of them died themselves. "At last," adds the captive, "there was perhaps not one of us who did not suffer from some malady. By the grace of God I was spared amidst these trials; but we were also better treated than the other prisoners. The sick being attended by physicians, the necessary medicines were furnished them, and Father Valfrédo, and also Father Morand, visited them diligently. If there was any of them who had no money, they gave him a little, distributed soups amongst the weakest, and generally furnished us with everything that we required."

It is with satisfaction that I copy these details. In proportion to the indignation caused by bad faith and inhumanity, is the Christian approbation merited by these considerate attentions.

"And what is rather remarkable," adds Salvajot, in speaking of his benefactors, "is that they made no difference between those who had become Catholics and those who remained faithful to their religion. They even seemed to have more regard and respect for the latter."

I would willingly have concluded this chapter with the circumstance just mentioned, in which we see homage paid to the dignity of conviction. But a few words are still necessary to remind the reader that the Vaudois prisoners had not all been transported to Turin, and that they perished in great numbers by the famine, diseases, and distress which they endured in the ditches, prisons,

citadels, and dungeons of Queyrasque, Mondovi, Rével, Asti, Carmagnole, Fossan, Villefranche, and Saluces.¹

"At last," says our narrator, "they began to speak of our speedy departure from the country. Already some of our wives had been allowed to pass through the gates of the citadel, and to go into the town to market; then some of the men were also permitted to go out, provided that they were accompanied by two sergeants; afterwards they were allowed to go alone; and thus," he observes, "*things made progress towards our liberty*;" that is to say, towards their exile!

CHAPTER XVII.

TOTAL EXPULSION OF THE VAUDOIS, WHO ARE CARRIED AWAY TO VERCEIL, OR CONDUCTED INTO EXILE.²

(SEPTEMBER, 1686, TO SEPTEMBER, 1687.)

Sympathy manifested by Swiss and other Protestants—Vaudois refugees begin to arrive at Geneva—Vaudois children detained as proselytes—Sufferings of Vaudois who, to escape persecution, had apostatized—Sufferings of those who went into exile—Arrival of successive bands of exiles at Geneva—Their kind reception there—Continued detention of most of the Vaudois pastors by the Duke of Savoy.

DURING the course of the events which have just been narrated, a great number of letters had been written to Switzerland, Holland, and Prussia (then Brandenburg), as well as to Wurtemberg, in

¹ There were some of them in other prisons also. I have seen a letter written by the pastors Jahier and Malanot, from the castle of Nice, on the 1st of May, 1686, and another written by the pastors Giraud, Chauvie, and Jahier (cousin of the former), from the castle of Miolens (near Montmellian, in Savoy), on the 20th of June in the same year. Both these letters attest the profound distress of their authors, and have for their object to ask some assistance. The *History of the Persecution* of 1686, published at Rotterdam in 1689, says that the Vaudois prisoners were divided amongst fourteen prisons or fortified residences in Piedmont.

² AUTHORITIES.—The latter part of the authorities given in Chapter XIV.—Also, Moser, "*History of the Vaudois, and of their Admission into the Duchy of Wurtemberg, derived from the most authentic documents*." Zurich, 1798, one vol. small 8vo, pp. 558. (In German.)—Dieterici, "*History of the Introduction of the Vaudois into Brandenburg*." Berlin, 1831, one vol., 8vo, of xx. and 414 pages. (In German.)—Various Memoirs, by Erman and Reclam (vol. vi.), Lamberty, Keller, &c. (all German authors).—"Extracts from the Registers of the Council of State of Geneva, from February, 1637, to December, 1690, concerning all which relates to the Vaudois during that period." A 4to MS. transmitted by M. Le Fort.—Various extracts from the Ar-

order to awaken an interest in favour of the Vaudois in Protestant powers who might be able to assist them by their intercession, their contributions, or their hospitality. In answer to this appeal the most generous sympathy was expressed. At the commencement of the persecution, the avoyer of Berne had addressed to all the parishes of that canton, and probably also of the other Protestant cantons of Switzerland,¹ a pressing circular, to recommend the celebration of a public fast, accompanied with a general collection on behalf of the Vaudois. This circular commenced in these words: "As in these sad times our brethren of Piedmont, pursued with fire and sword, killed, made prisoners, and banished from their country, are fugitives, and in the most deplorable condition," &c.,² . . . from which it appears that at this time a number of the Vaudois had been already *banished from their country*, and were *fugitives*. Even at the beginning of the year, it would seem that the idea of an inevitable and speedy exile had been prevalent in the valleys, since means were already adopted to secure beforehand an asylum for their people in foreign countries.³

We have seen how they were decimated by the massacres and the prisons. The heroic resistance of the last defenders of these depopulated mountains was the means of procuring the deliverance of the captives who had surrendered themselves. These combatants did not consent to terminate their warfare, except on condition of their being permitted to retire freely, and along with them their brethren who were prisoners; and they hastened to give intimation of this to the evangelical cantons. Victor Amadeus, without seeming to come to any terms with *his rebellious subjects*, as they were styled, ratified this condition by implication, saying of his prisoners, in a letter to the evangelical cantons of Switzerland, "I hope that the resolution which I shall adopt with regard to them will prove

chives of Berne, communicated by M. Monastier.—Extracts from the Archives of Stutgard, Zurich, and Darmstadt.—Also, the journals of the time; Gazettes of France, Leyden, England, &c.—And for what relates to the condition of the Vaudois in Piedmont, the *Archives of State* and of the *Court of Accounts* at Turin.

¹ This would seem to be a fair inference, from the following terms of this circular—"All the confederate and allied countries are invited," &c.

² This circular is dated May 14, 1686, and the fast which it recommends was to be held on the 24th of the same month. *Archives of Berne*. Communicated by M. Monastier.

³ Letters written with this object, in January, 1686, by the Vaudois deputies: 1. To the Elector of Brandenburg, Frederic William the Great. 2. To the Duke of Wurtemberg. 3. To the Elector of the Palatinate. 4. To the Count of Waldeck. Favourable reply of the Elector of Brandenburg, January 31; and a letter by him to the Swiss Cantons, on March 12, to recommend the Vaudois to their care; and on the 3d of June, to request information as to their number, their circumstances, their trades, &c. (Cited by Dieterici).

agreeable to you."¹ Eight days after the reception of this letter, the Protestant cantons named deputies, who met at Arau,² to confer regarding the projected emigration of the Vaudois, and the asylum which could be offered them. Having taken into consideration all the documents bearing on this subject, this meeting nominated two commissioners, to whom it was intrusted to communicate concerning it with the Count Gavon, the Piedmontese representative to the Swiss government. They repaired to Lucerne, where he resided, and their negotiations simply gave an official character to the terms of agreement on which the last combatants of the valleys had laid down their arms.

As to the route by which the Vaudois were to pass out of the dominions of Savoy, Victor Amadeus had at first intended that they should go by way of St. Bernard and the Valais, but as they could not pass through the latter country without the previous consent of the Bishop of Sion, the delegates of the Protestant cantons, who remained beside the Piedmontese ambassador at Lucerne, demanded that the banished Vaudois should be sent into Switzerland by the pass of Mount Cenis. Count Gavon wrote to Turin accordingly, and this route was agreed upon.

Now, likewise, the two detachments of Vaudois began to arrive in Geneva, who had combated with so much courage in the valleys of Lucerna and St. Martin, and whose glorious capitulation had brought about the deliverance of their brethren. They were the first to enjoy the benefit of it, as they had been the last to surrender; and not having passed through the prisons, they had also suffered least, for the diseases of jails are more destructive than the wounds of battle. The magistrates of Geneva had not yet even been made acquainted with their departure from the valleys, when they entered that city with their arms and baggage, on the 25th of November, 1686. They were eighty persons in all, men, women, and children. The council of state decided that their arms should be deposited under the market-sheds, to be restored to them on their departure from the city.³

Intelligence was soon received that the Duke of Savoy had set at liberty a party of prisoners.⁴ They were those of Turin. Salvajot, known to us by his memoirs, was one of this first party; but the liberation of the prisoners had not yet become general. The

¹ Letter to the evangelical cantons, August 17, 1686. (Archives of the Court, Turin.)

² In September, 1686. Introduction to the *Return*, by Arnaud.

³ Registers of the Council of State of Geneva, sitting of November 26, 1686.

⁴ Id. Sitting of December 3.

Swiss commissioners again renewed their application, and on the 3d of January, 1687, there appeared at last an edict, by which it was granted to the Vaudois who had not become Catholics, that they should be set at liberty, whatever might have been the ground of their detention, on condition that they should immediately leave the territories of Savoy, without deviating, under pain of death, from the route which should be pointed out to them.

But they did not get away without new sufferings. The Propaganda saw with regret so great a number of heretics escape, even by exile, from their endeavours of conversion. It will be borne in mind how many eminent persons and great families were engaged in their work, with a fervour very unenlightened, no doubt, but perhaps sincere. Their proselytizing had at first proceeded from zeal, afterwards it came to be instigated by ambition. The favour of the court and of the clergy had recompensed the devotion of the first persons who had generously charged themselves with the maintenance and education of a few Vaudois children. It was found to be a way of obtaining such favour; everybody, therefore, wished to have his *convert*. This zeal became quite the fashion in the fashionable world, and a letter written from Turin says, "You will seldom see a coach pass which has not its *barbet*¹ behind it, and sometimes there are two of them, distinguished by the dragoon's cap which they wear."² But like everything else which is a mere fashion, this fancy quickly passed away, and these poor children were forgotten, and often sunk into wretchedness, sometimes into degradation. On the departure of their families attempts were still made to seize upon some of them. "The prisoners of my division," writes the conductor of one of them, "have informed me that as they left the citadel of Turin the major took from them a number of children by force."³

The Vaudois who had abjured in the valleys, or in the prisons, were also very numerous.⁴ It may be imagined what effect an excitement, amounting almost to madness, must have produced upon weak minds, and how very readily such persons might forget themselves amidst the terrors of persecution. Moreover, many of the *converted* had abandoned their church only in the hope of remaining in their native land; but for this they were severely

¹ A term of contempt by which the Vaudois were designated, from the name of *Barbas*, which they anciently gave to their pastors.

² Letter of the Swiss commissioners to their lords of Berne, March 24, 1687. (Archives of Berne, compartment C.)

³ Letter to M. Panchaud, March 12. (Archives of Berne, C.)

⁴ The enumeration of them gives the number 2226. (Archives of State, Turin, various documents.)

punished. To prevent them from joining those who went into Switzerland, they were not allowed to leave the prisons until the departure of the last of their brethren. The fashionable rage for converts was then over; the faithful Vaudois had won for themselves respect and admiration, even from their enemies; the apostates continued suspected, even by their new brethren in religion; and, to crown all, instead of being permitted to return to their native Alps, they were sent to the swampy plains of Verceil,¹ and prohibited from leaving them under penalty of ten years of the galleys. Their life there was very miserable, and many of them died of the typhoid fevers which they contracted in these climates, so different from their own.

Their compatriots, who had preferred exile to apostasy, were free to choose an asylum for themselves in a foreign land, whilst, like the descendants of Jacob in Egypt, these unhappy people were detained in slavery in the mephitic rice-grounds of Verceil, to which they had been carried. A penalty of ten years of the galleys was denounced against any inhabitant of any part of the country, out of that province, who should receive into his house one of the catholicized Vaudois. They were not permitted to leave the province, even for the briefest time, without formal leave obtained from the government; being bound, moreover, to produce, on their return, attestations of their regular attendance on the rites of the Church of Rome, signed by the priests of all the parishes in which they had sojourned. May it not well be said, that in place of the dignity of exile they had chosen the degradation of servitude?

Finally, they were prohibited, in the strictest manner, from ever setting foot again in the Vaudois valleys, upon any account whatever,² or in virtue of any permission. Any one who should be taken there was to be punished with death; and a reward of 2000 francs³ was promised to the person who should apprehend any one transgressing this order.

¹ The order for sending them thither arrived on the 3d of March, 1687. A first departure of 650 persons, all from the valley of St. Martin, took place on the 8th. They were embarked on the Po. A second convoy set out on the 15th. According to an enumeration made at Cigliano on the 17th, it consisted of 792 men, 260 women, 501 infirm persons, and 23 children. The small number of children is explained by the consideration of the numbers who had been carried off. The preceding numbers are taken from a paper entitled *Distribuzione delle cattolizzati delle valli di Luzerna, nella città e terre della provincia di Vercelli*. (Archives of the Court). Another table, in which the Vaudois people are grouped in families, gives 1973 as the number of families existing in the valleys before 1686, and 424 as the number that became Catholic. (Archives of the Court; *Ristretto degli abitanti delle Valli*, &c.)

² *E promesso, e sarà realmento sborzato* (language of assurance, which was then added to promises, and which shows how little reliance was placed in them, even

³ *Sotto qualsivoglio pretesto imaginabile.*

It is evident that the unhappy persons thus carried to Verceil, who had hoped for some mitigation of their sufferings by their apostasy, were, on the contrary, less favourably treated than their faithful and proscribed fellow-countrymen. The latter, after having left the dominions of Savoy without degradation, were received with esteem, affection, and universal sympathy in foreign countries, and at last effected a return to their own land, which they quitted no more; whilst the miserable converts to Catholicism, distrusted and despised by all, and having lost their self-respect, and pined in a region remote from their mountains, and, without a prospect of ever returning to them, dragged out the miserable remainder of their days, forgotten, afflicted, and scorned. What important lessons may be learned from their profound degradation!

Before the arrival of this unhappy colony, Verceil had already a number of Vaudois within its walls; but as they were prisoners, and not converts to Catholicism, they were summoned to go out of the country with their faithful brethren, and commenced their journey at the same time with the prisoners of Turin.

This was in the winter of 1686-7. These mountaineers, once so vigorous, were now pallid, feeble, ill-clothed, without shoes, and afflicted with fevers and dysenteries.¹ Death had thinned their ranks during their long confinement;² the severity of winter now threatened to put an end to the enfeebled lives which had scarcely escaped from the hardships of the dungeon.³

They arrived at Turin; and there still sadder scenes awaited them. On account of the bad weather, of course, orders had been given that no children under twelve years of age should be allowed to go away; but their parents were promised that they would be sent to them on the return of a better season.⁴ These poor people, already so often deceived, saw in this only a stratagem intended to deprive them of their children, that they might be kept away from their parents, *made Catholics*, and taken from them for ever. All

when most authentic—a characteristic which appears wherever Catholicism has been triumphant); *il premio di doppie cinquanta*, &c. The exact sum is 2053 francs 57 cents [£81, 5s. 8½d.]

¹ Reports as to the approaching arrival of the first bands of Vaudois outlaws, drawn up by the commissioners who had been sent to meet them. (Registers of the Council of State of Geneva, sittings of the 14th, 15th, 24th, and 31st of January, 1687.)

² . . . *Quei di Torino e di Vercelli erano pochi; il motivo è, che erano quasi tutti morti.* (Memoirs of Salvajot.)

³ A number died on the road. (Letters and Reports of the Commissioners.)

⁴ “*Si era ordine di non lasciar andare nessun figliuoli minori di dodici anni; e dicevano che gli manderebbero nel bel tempo; e che i signori che ne vorrebbe ne pigliassero.*” (Memoirs of Salvajot.)

the prisons were filled with cries, tears, and groans;¹ the mothers especially were in the utmost distress; many of them would rather have seen their children dead than given up to their persecutors.² On the first attempt to carry off a child in consequence of this order, blood began to flow;³ the resistance was so energetic that the execution of the order was relinquished.⁴ It was one, the execution of which humanity would have approved, if the recollection of former perfidies had not given too good reason for suspecting its design. Not only were the children which these emigrating families retained then left to them, but likewise a number of those who had been previously taken away, learning that their parents were about to leave the country, quitted the great houses in which they had been placed, and fled to join the company of exiles.⁵ However, the greater part of these poor children were pursued, seized, and again dragged from the arms of their proscribed families to the palaces which were their prisons. On the way through Savoy, some of those who had actually set out on the journey were still carried off—some by the monks,⁶ some by the gentry,⁷ and some by the soldiers.⁸ It must, however, be added, that the greater part of these children were afterwards restored.⁹

But thus distress of every kind was added to the sufferings of their parents. "These poor people," says Arnaud,¹⁰ "were worn out with infirmity and languor; some were devoured by vermin, and others exhausted by their wounds; covered with sores and rags, they resembled ghosts rather than human beings." Such was the condition in which the first detachments of this expatriated people appeared under the walls of Geneva.

"At last these brave people arrive—these generous confessors of our Lord Jesus Christ!" exclaims an eye-witness of their entry into that city. "We have, as yet, only the first division, composed

¹ "Era un gran pianto in quel giorno, fra i padri e le madre. (Memoirs of Salvajot.)

² Molte madre erano risolte, se venivano per pigliar i loro fanciulli, di tirarli un cotello nel ventre. (Id.)

³ "Cominciarono a pigliar una figlia di Davide Gonino di San Giovanni, e la batevano, e gli fece molto sangue. Il padre volendo defenderla lo misse in prigione, per qualche giorni." (Id.)

⁴ "Ma, per la volontà di Dio, quel ordine ne durò che quel giorno." (Id.)

⁵ Dissipation des Eglises Vaudoises, p. 29.

⁶ At Suza, at St. Jean de Maurienne, and at Annecy.

⁷ At Frangy and at St. Julien.

⁸ "All those who were carried off after passing Mount Cenis have been restored, although after much difficulty, except one young girl, whom a gentleman of St. Jean de Maurienne, named M. Galaffre, refused to give up, notwithstanding my applications, and those of the commissioner of his royal highness." (Letter of March 1; Archives of Berne, C. D.)

¹⁰ Return, p. 4.

of seventy persons, of every sex and age, who have arrived amidst a cold which has frozen the Rhone to its bottom. They are all that remain of more than a thousand, who were imprisoned in two different places, and they have left twenty of their number on the roads, where they have died of cold, famine, and wretchedness. These their conductors would not permit them to succour. Perhaps it was a father who left his child, a mother who left her daughter, or children who left their parents."¹

They arrived at different times, and in several divisions, to the number of about 3000 persons.² But they were almost all in such a state of destitution, that the greater part of them could not have reached the frontiers of Savoy without frequently receiving assistance. Some, bent down with age and sickness, had nothing with which to clothe themselves; others, pierced with wounds, which had become more serious and malignant in the neglect of the jails, had scarcely linen to dress them; numbers of them had lost the use of their limbs, which had been frostbitten on the way, and could not employ their hands even to receive or to convey to their mouths the food which was offered them; there were some whose stomachs were so disordered that they could not digest the least nourishment without severe pain. Those whose illness was greatest had been flung into carts or set upon beasts; there were some

¹ Jurieu, *Lettres pastorales*; Rotterdam, edition of 1688, I. 287.

² The following are the data from which this number is calculated:—

There arrived, on the 25th of November, 1686, 80 persons. (On the 10th of December in the same year, the Council of State of Geneva was apprised that there would presently arrive four divisions more, of one thousand persons each.) More of the proscribed arrived on the 14th of January, 1687, to the number of 70. On the 24th of the same month, 208; on the 26th, *idem*, 340. After this date I find no precise enumeration, till the 31st of August, 1687, when there arrived at Geneva new troops of exiles, to the number of 800 persons, the most of them from the valley of Pragela. All these numbers together amount to 1498. But the bands to which they relate were certainly not the only ones; there must also have been larger and more numerous companies. We learn from the *Memoirs of Salvajot*, that he was one of a company which arrived in Geneva on the 10th of February, 1687, and he adds that they were among the first. From February to the month of August, a number of other caravans of exiles must have come to Geneva after them. A great number of documents prove this. In the Registers of the Council of State of that city, under date the 13th of August (and consequently before the arrival of the greatest division mentioned in this list), we find the following distribution of the Vaudois already expatriated:—In Brandenburg, 700; in Wurtemberg, 700; in the Palatinate, 800; in the cantons of Zurich and Berne, 150; at Geneva (according to a note mentioned in the minutes of the sitting of the 1st of June, 1687), 150: total, 2500; and adding the number of the division of August 31, we have the number 3300. The memoir presented in June, 1687, to the Elector of Brandenburg by the Swiss delegate, David Holzhalt of Zurich, also gives the number of the Vaudois received at that time in the Helvetic Confederation, 1001 men, 891 women, and 764 children under fifteen years; total, 2656 persons.

who staggered from the burden of extreme debility; others were so far gone that they had not strength left to speak; others were so overwhelmed with mental distresses that they would have preferred death. Some breathed their last on the frontier, as if they could not survive the loss of their unnatural country; others died as they arrived at Geneva, between the two gates of the city, finding thus the termination of their woes at the moment when they might have found some solace of them. All these particulars are derived from the relations of the time: there is not one of them which does not depend upon contemporary testimony.

The people of Geneva displayed an admirable devotedness of generosity, and the most delicate and ardent sympathy in relieving these great sufferings. They welcomed the proscribed Vaudois with a sort of enthusiasm. One-half of the population went out to meet them as far as the banks of the Arve, which formed the boundary of their noble country, so small upon the map, but so great in the world. "The Genevese contended with one another," says a contemporary, "as to the reception of the most miserable of these poor Vaudois, which of them should first conduct them to his dwelling. Some there were who bore them in their arms from the frontiers to the city." This eagerness to give them a kind reception was so great, that in order to prevent the roads from being inconveniently crowded, and houses from being over-filled, the council of state of Geneva was under the necessity of passing a decree, by which it was enjoined that each citizen should wait, before receiving any of the newly arrived exiles into his house, the distribution of their billets of lodging.¹

But what a distress it was for them all when, on seeking for one another in the crowd, the members of the same family could not find one another! The Vaudois who had arrived first, and to whom the generous hospitality of that Christian city had restored some measure of strength, ran in their turn to meet the new divisions, whose arrival was announced, to inquire after relatives and friends whom they missed. "A father sought his son, and a son his father; a husband sought his wife, and a wife her husband."² These searches were often followed only by the saddest disappointments. "This produced a spectacle so melancholy and distressful, that all the beholders wept, whilst these poor sufferers, oppressed and overwhelmed with the excess of their woe, had no strength either to weep or to lament."³

Janavel was one of the first to go out from Geneva to meet his countrymen. His sad anticipations were realized; his counsels

¹ Sitting of 2d February, 1687. ² Boyer, p. 281. ³ *Dissipation*, &c., p. 34.

had failed to prevent this great catastrophe; and he—who having for thirty-two years eaten the bread of exile, would so much the more have sought to save the children of the Vaudois mountains from its bitterness—may sometimes have felt the pleasure of seeing again those from whom it had been so painful to be separated—those families whose recollection he had cherished, and the people whom he had defended—contending against the grief which this new proscription caused to his patriotic heart. But at the distressful spectacle of so many miserable beings, wanderers without a country—as each portion of this great wreck was cast beneath the walls of Geneva, the sad remains of an entire people expatriated—this generous city, as great in charity as Janavel had been in battle, showed itself ready to give new assistance to the exiles.

Moreover, there were still among these exiles courageous bands, who had comparatively escaped, and privileged families, who excited admiration as well as pity. The Vaudois speak of one of their Barbas, ninety years of age, who brought with him a tribe of seventy-two children and grandchildren.¹ These worthy portions of the wreck of the Vaudois Church seemed to revive amongst the people of modern times the imposing images of the patriarchal emigrations, of which the Bible has made the memory familiar to all Protestants.

The exiles arrived in Geneva, singing, with a grave and sad voice, that psalm of fugitive Israel which Theodore Beza had translated into the language of Calvin—

"Faut-il, Grand Dieu, que nous soyons epars!"²

and in which, speaking of the enemies of the people of God, the psalmist has introduced particulars which so exactly accord with the excesses committed in the valleys by the persecutors of the *Israel of the Alps*:—

"They fired have thy sanctuary,
And have defiled the same,
By casting down unto the ground
The place where dwelt thy name.
Thus said they in their hearts, Let us
Destroy them out of hand;
They burnt up all the synagogues
Of God within the land."

¹ This family formed part of the third band of exiles. There is mention of them in a manuscript of the time, which has been communicated to me by M. Lombard Odier of Geneva. This MS. says that the Vaudois were already *under the leadership of Arnaud, a pastor of their nation*. But these latter words are not sufficient to establish that Arnaud was a Vaudois by birth, especially when opposed to the proofs which exhibit him as a French refugee to the valleys.

² The 74th Psalm, from the collection in use in the Reformed Churches. ["O God, why hast thou cast us off?"]

But the miseries of war had been merely the prelude to the longer and more grievous sufferings which the Vaudois had undergone in the prisons. They had entered them in number about 12,000, and there came out only 3500¹. In some of these places of captivity they got only foul water to drink; in others they had nothing to eat but insufficient and bad food. At Queyrasque and Asti they were crowded into the ditches of the town, exposed to all the inclemencies of the seasons; elsewhere, lying on the pavement or on the naked earth; and sometimes so closely packed in a small place, that they had difficulty in moving. The heat of the summer in 1686, say the accounts of the time, engendered such a quantity of lice, that the captives were not able to sleep; there were even great maggots, which bit through the skin;² and numbers of these poor people who were sick, were so devoured that their flesh was falling in pieces. As many as seventy-five sick have been numbered in a single chamber, and when they left it in the middle of winter, passing by a sudden transition from their captivity to their journey, without strength, and without clothing,³ many of them marched only to their death.

At Mondovi, the order to allow the Vaudois to depart was not communicated to them until the day before Christmas, at five o'clock in the evening;⁴ and the prisoners were at the same time told, that if they did not profit by it forthwith, they would not have it in their power to go next day. The prisons were immediately empty; all these unfortunate people rushed, notwithstanding the night and the snow, to the middle of the frozen highroads; they went on five leagues without halting; but *one hundred and fifty* of them died on the way. What barbarity on the part of those who had deceived them, and who celebrated, next day, the festival of Christmas without annoyance in their church!

At Fossan they were caused to set out for Mount Cenis in the midst of a violent storm. Eighty-six of these unfortunate outlaws perished in the snows, and many others had their feet or their hands frostbitten.⁵

¹ This number is an approximation, but I think I can give it as exact almost to a few units. It had been said in the sitting of 10th December, 1686, in the council of Geneva, "*There must come first a thousand of them, and then three other bands, each as numerous.*" There was a greater number of bands, but each of them was composed of a smaller number of emigrants.

² Probably the larvæ of various insects.

³ "Most of these poor people of the valleys are very ill-clad or naked." (Registers of the Council of State of Geneva, sitting of 2d January, 1687).

⁴ At Lucerna the order was at first posted up in the streets, without being communicated to the prisoners, whom it exclusively concerned.

⁵ *Notice of a Great Misfortune which has befallen the Vaudois on Mount Cenis.*

The next division, who passed over Mount Cenis about the end of February,¹ were still able to recognize, lying upon the snow, the corpses of those who had perished in January. But the complaints addressed by the Swiss government to the court of Turin, on the little attention shown to the Vaudois, and the destitution in which they were left, notwithstanding the article of the stipulations by which Victor Amadeus undertook to provide for their wants until they reached the frontiers of Savoy—the indignation which arose on the spectacle of so many woes, and the voice of humanity itself, led the Duke of Savoy to adopt more efficacious measures for the preservation of their lives. He caused fifteen bales of thick black woollen greatcoats to be carried to Novalèse, at the foot of Mount Cenis, intended for the succeeding convoys. That which passed over this mountain a month after the catastrophe which had covered it with mourning, was composed of two bands of prisoners—the one brought from Lucerna, and the other from Turin, but united at St. Ambroise, and amounting to 202 persons. Forty of these woollen cloaks, sent by Victor Amadeus, were distributed to them. The Chevalier De Parelles had accompanied them as far as the bridge of Frêlerive, and his brother, Captain Carrel, conducted them from thence to the frontiers of Geneva. They were greatly satisfied with the care with which they were treated on the journey, and gave an attestation to this effect to the captain, who demanded it of them. This last circumstance shows that the Duke of Savoy had at last begun to be in earnest, and was sincerely desirous that the unhappy outlaws should be cared for.²

A note addressed to the Council of State of Geneva, by the Swiss commissioners sent to meet the exiles. It is dated the 3d of February.—A letter of M. Truchet, written from Annecy to Colonel Perdriol at Geneva, and dated on the 14th, gives the particulars of this catastrophe. (Archives of Berne, C and D.)—The Vaudois troop consisted of 320 persons; it was reduced to 230, not only by this accident, but also by a number of children being carried off as they passed through Savoy. Thus, Mary Sarrette of Prarusting, Mary Cardon of Angrogna, John Pasquet, James Pascal, Paul and John Cardon, were carried off at St. Jean de Maurienne. The three daughters of John Pasquet had previously been carried off at Rivoli, &c. If the limits of this work would have permitted it, I could have given, on this point and on many others, far more particulars.

¹ They arrived in Geneva on the 1st of March. (Letter of M. Paschaud, Councillor of State, to their Excellencies of Berne).

² In all which took place most afflictive to the Vaudois, it is not so much the intentions of their sovereign that are to be blamed, as the intrigues of their enemies. There are even things which prove that the latter were jealous of the good dispositions of Victor Amadeus in regard to the Vaudois. Salvajot relates in his *Memoirs*, that this prince came often to hold reviews in the citadel of Turin; but that the Vaudois prisoners were then prohibited from leaving the buildings in which they were shut up, and even from showing themselves at the windows; and

They did not yet, however, cease to have great privations to endure. "They are in a pitiable state," wrote one of the Swiss commissioners sent to meet them.¹ "Almost all of them are sick, and without our assistance half of them would have been dead on the road. I have succeeded in recovering the girl who was carried off at Lanslebourg, and a fine boy whom the Master of La Ramassa had detained at Mount Cenis. I wrote to the commissioner of his royal highness to cause the children to be given up who were detained at St. John and Aiguebelles; four of them have been sent, there still remain five, whom it is promised that I shall receive along with the thirteen sick persons who were left on the way." "These people have suffered much. *Yet they are patient and contented, and thank God with tears*, blessing you continually as they behold the care which is taken to succour them." These last words are quoted exactly from the letter of the commissioner.

Let us now look at some of the particulars which Salvajot gives of the march of the convoy to which he belonged.

"After having made many promises to us to get us to embrace Catholicism, they allowed us to depart on the 27th of February, 1687.² We set out in good order. The children and persons who could not walk were put in carts. When the road was too bad for vehicles, they gave us mules, asses, and horses. We passed through nearly the whole of Savoy on horseback; and when the Savoyards did not do their duty, the sergeant gave them blows with his stick." It appears that the manners of the time were scarcely more mild in regard to Catholic subjects than in regard to proscribed Protestants. Both the one and the other, in the estimation of the attendants of sovereigns, were clowns, to be taxed and made to work for them at their pleasure.

"Our sergeants were very good," adds Salvajot. "They were careful that no harm should be done to us." (For fear, no doubt, of the corporal chastisements which would have awaited themselves, in consequence of the new feelings towards the proscribed Vaudois, which had been called forth by the accidents arising from the harshness of the first conductors.)

At Geneva, says the relation of 1689, "the Vaudois were received, that any one who made the least attempt to ask grace from his royal highness was imprisoned in *un crottone*."

¹ Letter of Commissioner Cornillet, dated from Annecy, March, 1687. (Archives of Berne, compartment D.) I abridge it by leaving out some expressions.

² The following were their stages from Turin to Geneva:—1, St. Ambroise; 2, Bussolino; 3, La Novalèze, where they arrived on the 1st of March; 4, Lanslebourg; 5, Modane; 6, St. Jean de Maurienne; 7, Aiguebelles; 8, Grisy; 9, Favergie; 10, Annecy; 11, Crusiglia; and after marching for twelve days, they arrived on the 10th of March at Geneva, where they remained till the 24th.

not only as brethren, but as persons who brought with them peace, and a blessing to families."¹ Reserved places were prepared for them in the church of St. Peter, behind those of the syndics of the town.² The hospital of Plain-Palais had been put in order for them;³ but almost all of them, even those who were sick, were lodged and provided for by the inhabitants of Geneva.

The other Protestant towns of Switzerland hastened to concur in this generous welcome. That of Berne offered to the magistrates of Geneva, to clothe the Vaudois at its own expense,⁴ but this had been already done.⁵

However, all these successive bands of emigrants could not be accumulated in a single town. Frequent couriers passed and re-passed among all the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, to accomplish the division amongst them in the most advantageous manner possible, of so great a number of exiles. Part of them were sent on to Wurtemberg and Brandenburg in the course of the year 1687; but the greater part spent the winter in Switzerland, waiting till a station should be definitively assigned them. Some went to Holland, and thence to America; the greater number, however, were totally unwilling to remove far from the Vaudois valleys. The poor exiles hoped to be able to return to them again in a short time, and deferred as much as possible the fixing of an establishment which would have bound them to a foreign land.

Janavel cherished these sentiments of patriotism in their hearts. They had, moreover, left part of their brethren in Piedmont; for independently of those who were at Vercell, all the Vaudois who, during the war of 1686, had been taken with arms in their hands, far from being released with the other prisoners, were condemned to the galleys, and subsequently were employed on the works of fortifications.⁶ Moreover, all the Vaudois pastors, with the exception of Arnaud and Montoux, were retained, notwithstanding the frequent and pressing representations of Switzerland, to which it was replied that Victor Amadeus reserved his decision on their fate till his return from a journey which he had just made to Venice.⁷

"Two days before our departure from Turin," Salvajot says, "all

¹ *Dissipation*, p. 34.

² Council of State of Geneva, sitting of February 5, 1687.

³ Registers of the Council of State, sitting of January 15.

⁴ *Ibid.*, sitting of February 2.

⁵ For this purpose the supply was drawn from many sources:—1, The government (sitting of the Council of State of February 2); 2, *The Italian Fund* (sitting of February 8); 3, Private persons (sittings of February 19 and of March 12).

⁶ Letter of the Count De Gavon to M. De Murat, read to the Council of State of Geneva, sitting of February 7, 1687. (See the Registers of the Council.)

⁷ The same Registers.

our ministers, with their families, were put in a separate chamber; guards were placed at the door that no one might go out of it; and thus our poor ministers remained in prison, who thought they should have been the first to have left it.¹ But Victor Amadeus was in no haste to resolve upon their fate; for we read in a work published in 1690 — "The Vaudois pastors are still prisoners; promises and threats have been tried, time about, to make them abjure; and at this very time they still pine, dispersed and confined, in three castles, where they are exposed to much discomfort and misery, without any apparent prospect of their deliverance."² They were not set at liberty till June, 1690, when the victorious Vaudois had regained possession of their valleys, and when Victor Amadeus found it his interest to attach them once more to himself, in consequence of the political rupture which had taken place between Piedmont and France.³

The secret of the power of kings is in knowing how to make men oppress one another; their armies are formed of the people, and directed against the people. The wars which arise amongst nations are never for the interests of nations; it is the ambition of dynasties which produces them and profits by them. Thus every oppressed people is the accomplice of the tyrant whose oppression it endures; for if he were left alone no tyrant could prevail against an entire people. But God has permitted this severe tutelage of communities of men, in order that they may know the value of emancipation; and, in order to have liberty, it is necessary to be worthy of it. An independent mind is more free, even in oppression, even in martyrdom, than a servile one when its masters are taken away.

Let me conclude with these words of the gospel, "If Christ make you free, you shall be free indeed."

¹ Gli fecero mettere tutti con le loro famiglie in una camera. . . . E gli dissero che prima era per il saluto dell'anima sua; e poi che S. A. R. gli darebbe qualche intretene; ma che per le valli non pensassero più ad andargli! E i nostri poveri ministri restarono in prigione, e credevano d'essere i primi a partire.

² *Hist. de la dissipation des Egl. Vaudois*, p. 35. These pastors were nine in number. — (Memoir of David Holzhalb to the great Elector of Brandenburg, on the condition of the Vaudois, June, 1687. Archives of Berlin.) Six others, to wit, MM. Arnaud, Montoux, Bayle (father and son), Dumas, and Javel, had succeeded in getting out of the country. Only one had abjured, J. P. Danne. A pun was made upon his name, by saying that it wanted only an acute accent on the last letter to indicate what he had become. This man, whom it is easier to suppose misled than convinced, wrote some works in favour of the Church of Rome.

³ *Mercure Historique*, vii. 667.



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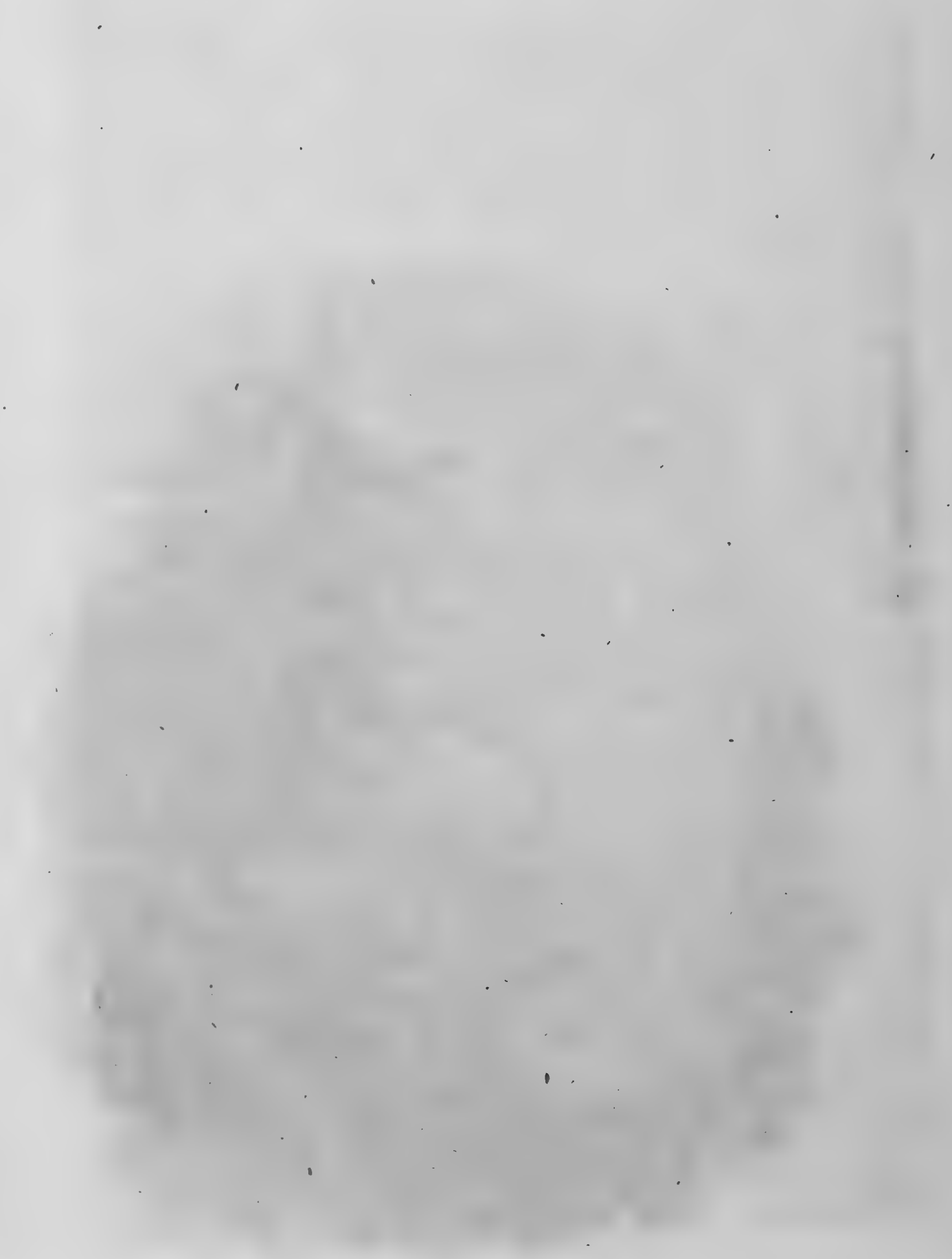
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THE FISHING BOAT



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A COMPLETE
HISTORY OF THE WALDENSES
OF PIEDMONT,

AND THEIR COLONIES;

PREPARED IN GREAT PART FROM UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS.

By ALEXIS MUSTON, D.D.,

PASTOR OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCH AT BOURDEAUX, DRÔME, FRANCE.

TRANSLATED

By THE REV. JOHN MONTGOMERY, A.M.

WITH NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS.

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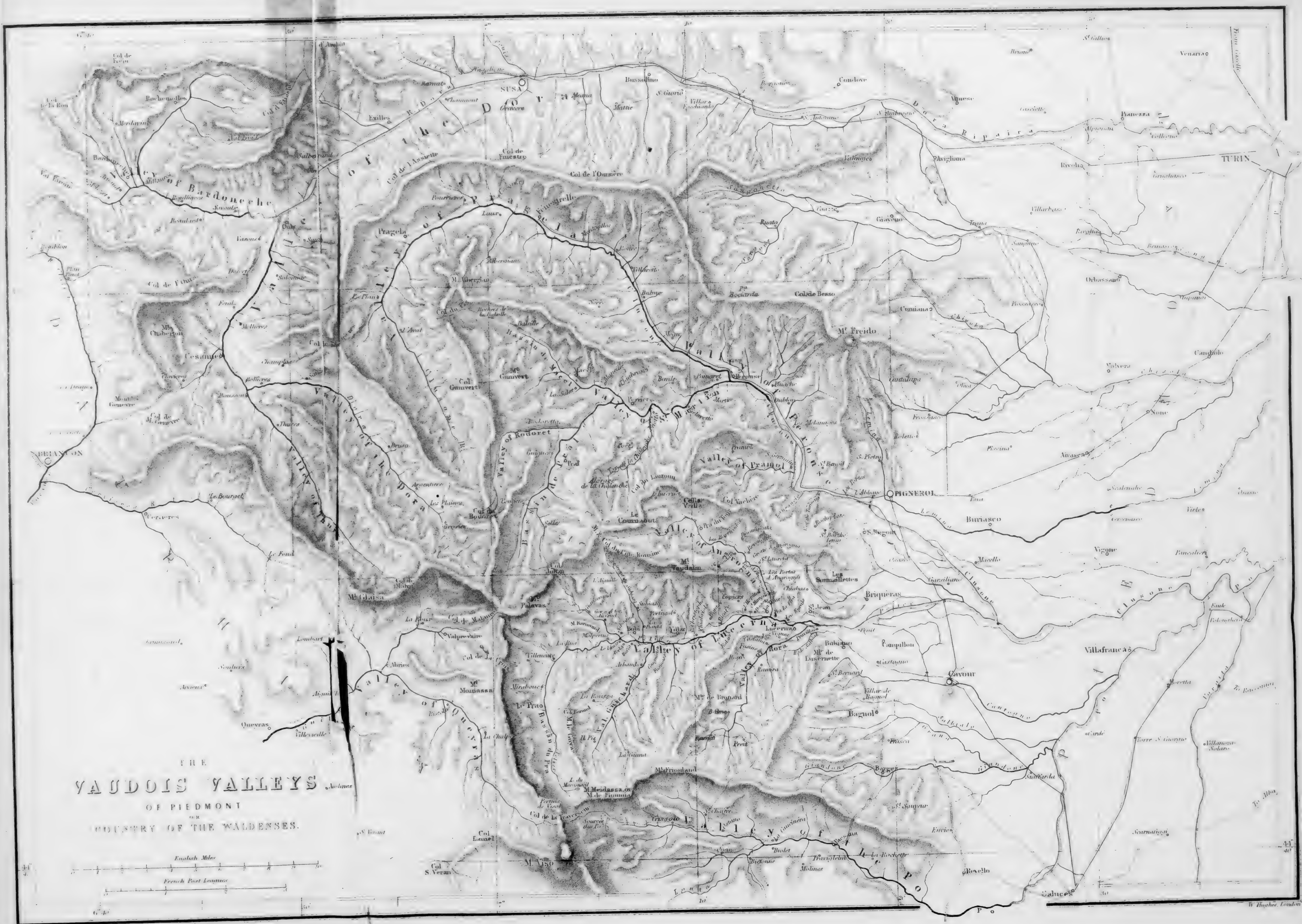
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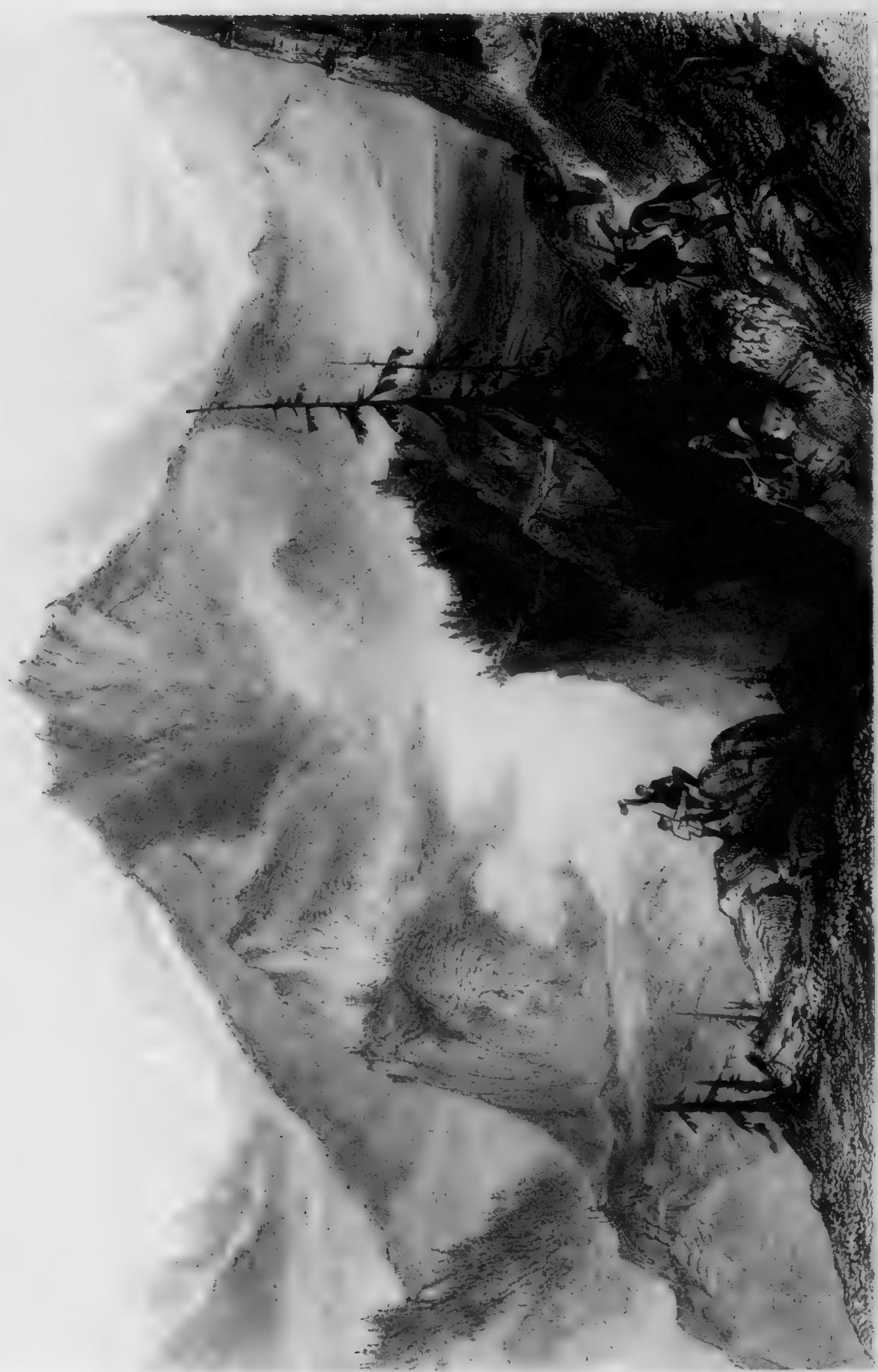
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THE
ISRAEL OF THE ALPS.

PART THIRD.

FROM THE RETURN OF THE VAUDOIS INTO THEIR OWN
COUNTRY, TO THEIR CIVIL AND POLITICAL EMANCIPA-
TION IN PIEDMONT.

CHAPTER I.

CONDITION OF THE EXILED VAUDOIS IN SWITZERLAND, BRAN-
DENBURG, WURTEMBERG, AND THE PALATINATE¹

(A.D. 1687 TO A.D. 1688.)

Frederic William the Great, Elector of Brandenburg, gives an asylum to Vaudois exiles—His generosity towards them—Their arrival in Brandenburg—Refugees of Pragela—Negotiations: the Swiss Cantons and the Elector—Refugees of the Piedmontese valleys—Their progress to Brandenburg—Hardships and difficulties—Settlement of a portion of the Vaudois at Stendal—Settlements at Burg and Spandau—Difficulties created by the people of Stendal and Burg—Uncharitableness of bigoted Lutheran ministers in Wurtemberg towards the Vaudois—Greater liberality of the laity and of the duke—Further difficulties and trials—A number of the Vaudois compelled to return from Wurtemberg to Switzerland.

THE Vaudois had been completely expelled from their native valleys. The limits of this work do not permit us to follow out, in all their details, the protracted and numerous negotiations which at this period took place amongst the different European powers, to

¹ AUTHORITIES.—In general, the works which treat of the Vaudois colonies in Germany (see the *Authorities* of Chap. VIII. of this Third Part);—in particular, Dieterici, "*Die Waldenser und ihre Verhältnisse zu dem brandenburgisch-preussischen Staate*," Berlin, 1831; a work of xx and 415 pages, specially devoted to the subject of a part of this chapter (the arrival of the Vaudois at Stendal);—also, the sixth volume of the "*Contributions to the History of the French Refugees in Brandenburg*," by Erman and Reclam (a German work, Berlin, 1786, seven vols. 8vo), and the "*Memorie di me Bartolomeo Salvajot*," the author of which was of the number of

provide either aid or an asylum for the proscribed people. Frederic William of Brandenburg granted them both.

This excellent old man¹ possessed all the qualities which make men great—magnanimous, persevering, simple and kind; he was the true founder of the power of Brandenburg, which was so rapidly to increase under the tutelary shade of his glorious memory. He was at once his own minister and his own general, and succeeded in rendering the state a flourishing one, though he had found it buried in ruins.² His virtues made him an arbiter among his equals: the talents of his son exchanged the electoral scarf for a royal crown. But the greatness of the son³ and the virtues of the father did more than found a state, they created a nation.

Already, since the year 1685, twenty thousand French, driven from their native country by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, had repaired, at the invitation of Frederic William, to districts of Brandenburg, which had been depopulated by previous wars; and they soon restored to new life these languishing and impoverished provinces. The numerous sacrifices which the illustrious elector imposed upon himself, in order to favour their settlement, were amply compensated in the course of a few years by the rapid advance of learning, commerce, and industry in that country.

It was not so, however, in the case of the Vaudois. When all the expenses of their settlement had been paid, and all difficulties overcome—even before these new colonists had gathered the first crops which they had sown, the news came that the Vaudois valleys were opened again to their banished children. Then it was that the elector gave evidence of a rare generosity. Far from seeking forcibly to retain the Vaudois, or demanding from them the repayment of the advances which he had made for them, he still

the exiles who took part in that exploring visit of two years made by the Vaudois to the banks of the Elbe.—Hahn, "*Geschichte der Ketzer im Mittelalter*," vol. ii. "*History of the Vaudois*:" the notes are interesting.—Mayerhoff, "*Inquiry into the Origin of the Vaudois in the Church of Mecklenburg*," Berlin, 1834 (a small volume).—Particulars given in the Introduction of Arnaud's "*Glorieuse rentrée*" (reprinted at Neuchâtel in 1845); and in Acland, "*The Glorious Recovery*," &c. (London, 1827, 8vo, with engravings).—Besides documents derived from the Archives of Geneva, Berne, Zurich, Darmstadt, and Stuttgart, and various memoranda collected in the places to which the narrative relates.

¹ The Elector Frederic William II., surnamed the Great, the grandfather of Frederic the Great, was then 67 years of age. He died in the following year, April 22, 1688.

² *Memoires de Brandebourg. Art de vérifier les dates*, &c.

³ Frederic III., at first elector, afterwards king (crowned 18th January, 1701), had not the true greatness of a statesman, like his father. He made his court a very splendid one, lived in magnificence, and adorned Berlin, but impoverished his people. (From *L'Art de vérifier les dates*.)

imposed upon himself additional personal sacrifices, to enable these unproductive colonists, the poor emigrants of the valleys, the more easily to abandon his lands, of which they had scarcely broken the soil, and to return from so far to the country which their daring brethren had re-conquered.

They arrived in Brandenburg, to the number of 700 persons, divided into three small caravans. The first, to which Salvajot belonged, after having sojourned at Geneva fourteen days, left that city again on the 24th of March, 1687, and on the same day proceeded as far as Nyon,—the place where, three years afterwards, the Vaudois were to assemble in secret, to commence their marvellous expedition for the conquest of their native valleys. "The next day," says the exile above named, in his memoirs, "we came to Morges, where they kept us two days. On the 27th of March we slept at Lausanne, on the 28th at Moudon, and on the 29th at Payerne. This was a Saturday, and we remained there next day, and there we had the privilege of being present at the distribution of the Lord's Supper, which was a great consolation for our souls. On Monday we went to Morat, where they had the courtesy to accommodate all of us in lodging-houses." From the 1st to the 5th of April they journeyed on to Alberfeld, and next day, which also was a Sabbath, they rested; but on the Wednesday following they arrived at St. Gall.¹ "The inhabitants of this town," adds the exile, "always most generously supplied us with food, clothing, and shoes; they took great care of our sick, and bestowed upon each of us three crowns on our departure."²

But the Vaudois did not all depart; it being proposed that they should go to Brandenburg, many of them refused to undertake so long a journey, preferring to remain in Switzerland, in order that they might be ready to return to their own country if an opportunity should present itself. Of 200 persons who arrived at St. Gall with Salvajot, there were not more than fifty who consented to this new emigration. Embarking on the Lake of Constance, on the second of August, 1688, they arrived at Basle nine days after,³ and united

¹ For greater exactness, I subjoin the names and precise dates of these different stages:—31st March, Morat; 1st and 2d April, at Arberg; 3d, Wanighe; 4th, Brugli; 5th and 6th, at Alberfeld; 7th, Wintherthour; 8th, Reichbach; 9th, St. Gall.

² "I Signori Singalesi hanno sempre noi nutriti, vestiti, calzatti; e hanno datti ogni cosa agli anunalatti, per la buona assistenza. . . . E quando partiremo . . . hanno datti a noi per limosina la somma di tre scudi caduno." The author of these lines was not aware that the collections which had come from England, Holland, and Hesse, had enabled the Swiss to supply more liberally the wants of the Vaudois.

³ The following is the order of their stages:—From St. Gall to the Lake of Constance, 2d August, 1688. Traversed the lake, and arrived at Stein on the 3d. Were at Schaffhausen from the 4th to the 9th, and entered Basle on the 11th.

themselves to other Vaudois who were already assembled in that city, with the intention of proceeding to the electorate of Brandenburg.

The total number of these various bands of emigrants did not amount to more than 365. It might have been expected, certainly, that these poor emigrants would have shown more eagerness to profit by the favourable dispositions of the elector towards them; for many of their compatriots were already settled in his dominions, and they themselves had made application to him to secure an asylum in case of proscription. So long before as the year 1685, the Vaudois of Pragela, affected by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, had sent three deputies to Germany for this purpose.¹ In January, 1686, there were already nearly 600 refugees in Switzerland, and an almost equal number shortly afterwards to arrive. Their commissioners, fully empowered to treat concerning their settlement, and bearing a certificate from the magistrates of Zurich, presented themselves before Mr. Mendelshobe, the representative of Brandenburg in the Palatinate. Their request was transmitted to Berlin by that diplomatic agent, in the following terms:²—"These worthy people desire above all things that a district should be given them in which they might remain united, and that they should be the immediate vassals of the sovereign, and not, as in France, of the nobles. There are few artisans or manufacturing operatives among them; they therefore need nothing but lands to cultivate, and especially pastures. They would particularly like a territory proper for the culture of the mulberry, because they have long been accustomed to the rearing of silk-worms, and by this means could more easily provide for their own subsistence. His electoral highness may be assured of finding them obedient subjects, and of inflexible fidelity. They are a simple and laborious people; but they have ways of their own, and their manners and habits have much resemblance to those of the Swiss; for which reason they would not like to be intermixed with the other French refugees, whose lively and brisk humour would not perhaps accord with their tranquil disposition and their quite patriarchal mode of life."³ The elector

¹ The pastor *Jaques Papon*, and two laymen, *Jaques Pastre* and *Jean Pastre*, country merchants.

² From 15th to 25th January, 1686. (*Archives of Berlin*.)

³ *Erman and Reclam*, tom. vi. These authors have ascribed to the Vaudois of the Piedmontese valleys, who were expelled towards the end of 1686, the steps which are here mentioned as having been taken by the Vaudois of Pragela, and of the other valleys under the dominion of France, who, in 1685, had already taken refuge in Switzerland, to the number of 600 persons, whilst those of the Piedmontese valleys did not leave their native country till a year after. *Moser and Dietrich* have fallen into the same error.

immediately replied that they would be made very welcome in his dominions;¹ and they repaired thither, whilst the other Vaudois valleys were still hotly engaged in the contest by which they were to be depopulated in their turn.

The Protestant cantons of Switzerland soon addressed to Frederic William a new request, in favour of new refugees desiring to settle in his dominions;² and the elector expressed himself as willing to receive another colony of 300 or 400 honest and industrious persons, on condition that their other friends should bear the expense of bringing them to his frontiers, and provide for their subsistence until their settlement on the lands assigned to them.³ The abundant collections which Switzerland then received from foreign countries⁴ for the relief of the persecuted, enabled it to undertake this on their behalf; and an ambassador⁵ was accordingly sent to Berlin to bring this affair to a conclusion; but the negotiations being protracted, the Vaudois meanwhile became more confirmed in the idea of soon returning to their native land.

In the beginning of the year 1688, the Swiss cantons wrote to the elector:⁶ "Our projects have been in some measure interfered with by the difficulty of obtaining passports from the Duke of Savoy, and by the more and more decided repugnance of the Vaudois to remove so far from their own country.⁷ However, we hope to be able to overcome these difficulties, and shortly to embark on the Rhine a certain number of Vaudois families, in order to conduct them to Frankfort-on-the-Maine, and to Gerneshelm in the electorate of Mayence." At the same time, they requested Frederic William to send commissioners to meet them. That prince sent M. De Bondely, one of his privy councillors, who wrote from Zurich, "In place of 1500 Vaudois, we will not have more than 700 or 800 of them, the rest are *Libertins*" (patriots jealous of their

¹ Rescript of 31st January, 1686. (*Archives of Berlin*.)

² September 18, 1686. The elector replied on 29th October, 1686.

³ The patent which authorizes the settlement of this colony, is dated 12th March, 1687.

⁴ Switzerland itself had already furnished more than 4000 crowns to the Vaudois; and having made an appeal for assistance to the other Protestant nations, met with a refusal from none. Holland furnished 17,000 crowns. The free city of Bremen nobly replied, on the 9th of July, 1687, that it knew its duties; that it was not enough to contemplate and deplore the misfortunes of our oppressed brethren, but that they must be relieved, and that a general collection would accordingly be made within its walls on the 14th of July, 1687. This collection produced 407 crowns.

⁵ 21st February, 1688.

⁶ *David Holzhalt*, of Zurich.

⁷ The electoral resident at Frankfort (*Remigius Merian*) wrote:—"These poor people are very undecided; sometimes they would go, and sometimes they would remain; and, meanwhile, time is passing away," &c.

liberty), "who allow themselves to be blinded by an incredible love for their native country, and who are determined at all hazards to return to it."¹ The elector was not the less disposed to receive generously those who came to him: but that excellent prince was not to enjoy the fruits of his own good deeds. He died a few days after the departure of his envoy.

His successor² prosecuted the work which he had commenced. Frederic III. furnished the arms, money, and passports necessary for the transport of the Vaudois, who set out from Basle on the 1st of August, 1688, according to the Old Style, the 11th, according to the New.³ They were embarked in eight merchant boats, containing each fifty passengers. M. De Bondely had been careful to exhibit the safe-conducts beforehand to the governors of provinces and commandants of fortresses by which the exiles must pass;⁴ but the commandant of the French garrison of Brissac, "animated probably by a blind zeal for religion," say the *Memoirs concerning the Introduction of the Refugees into Brandenburg*, "caused thirty cannon shots to be fired at the boats when they were about half-a-league from the town." This last circumstance proves that he cannot have intended any act of serious hostility. No ball struck the boats, but the terror of the unfortunate Vaudois was so great, that a number of pregnant women were taken with the pains of childbirth, and were delivered in the boats. M. Charles, afterwards pastor at Berlin, baptized their children not far from the town. The commandant of Brissac being reproached, as he deserved, for his cruelty, made a poor enough excuse for himself, by saying that he had no other object in view than to try his cannons.

At Strasburg the Vaudois received another alarm. The king's lieutenant having been apprised of their arrival, took them for French refugees from Dauphiny, who had fled contrary to the rigorous edicts of Louis XIV., and resolved to arrest them. The

¹ Letters of 11th and 15th May, 1688.

² Frederic William, surnamed *the Great*, who died Elector of Brandenburg in 1688, was succeeded by Frederic III., Elector, afterwards King of Prussia, who died in 1713. Frederic William II., second King of Prussia, died in 1740, and Frederic II., called *Frederic the Great*, third King of Prussia, died in 1786. This chronology must be kept in view, in order to understand how Frederic III. could reign before Frederic II.—"I am resolved," wrote Frederic III. to Bondely, "to prosecute the work commenced by my venerable father." (Despatch of 12th June, 1688.)

³ These diversities in the dates have sometimes led to the supposition of different events or documents, causing obscurities which it is necessary to clear up.

⁴ The elector had himself written for this purpose to the Landgrave of Hesse, and to the Elector of Pfalz.

passengers had already been compelled to disembark upon French ground, and little respect had been shown to the authority of the Elector of Brandenburg, or the reclamations of his officer, when, recourse having been had to the commandant of the place, he came and inquired into the business, and did not hesitate to take a decided part, by saying to the Vaudois, "Go, poor people! return to your boats, and may God be your guide!" Nay, having remarked among them many sick and feeble persons, he sent them woollen cloaks, which were distributed among those who suffered most. Such traits of humanity, amidst the many cruelties to which the Reformed Church was then subjected, are pleasant to the mind, as flowers which bloom among ruins.

From the 7th to the 17th of August, the Vaudois disembarked at Gernesheim, in the electorate of Mayence. Waggoners were hired to convey them to Frankfort, where they were waited for by the Brandenburg commissioners appointed to receive them. The hospitable inhabitants of the banks of the Maine received the exiles with the most affectionate welcome. They were lodged for some days in the village of Bockenheim, situated half a league from Frankfort. The magistrates of that city sent them supplies of bread, wine, and meat. The Princess of Tarentum,¹ who had quitted France in order to remain faithful to the reformed religion, then resided at Frankfort. She sent additional assistance in linen and eatables, and invited the Vaudois to come to a large garden, where a numerous meeting was assembled, when her chaplain, M. Roy, delivered so pathetic a discourse with reference to the exiles, that a collection which was made for them upon the spot produced the sum of fifty crowns. To this the German and French reformed churches of the place added twice as much more, so that, through this assistance, the Vaudois were enabled to entertain the hope of reaching their destination, with a little in hand to aid them in establishing themselves.

They travelled in waggoners to the frontiers of Hesse,² where the commissioner of the landgrave waited for them, who provided them with all that was necessary for the prosecution of their journey. From thence they proceeded to Marbourg, Cassel, and Sondershausen.

¹ Daughter of William IV., Count of Hesse-Cassel, born 12th February, 1626, married in 1648 to Charles de la Trémouille, Prince of Tarentum. (Her grandfather's sister had married the Prince of Condé.) The Prince of Tarentum died in 1672; his widow, Emilia, then retired to Frankfort, where she died, in 1693.

² In passing through the electorate of Mayence, they were detained at Voelpel, the sheriff of that place refusing to permit their waggoners to pass, on the pretext that the waggoners belonged to Frankfort, and had no passports. The commissioner Maillette was under the necessity of returning to procure them.

sen, and so to Alberstadt, where they rested for a day; after which they set out again, passed through Vauzeleben and Mardebourg, and on the 31st of August, 1688, arrived at Stendal. This town was almost entirely depopulated. A terrible fire had ravaged it in 1687; it had several times been subjected to the disasters of war; and having been previously the scene of a great conflagration in 1680, it had not been able to recover from this rapid succession of calamities, which had driven away from it its wealthy inhabitants, imbibed the spirit of the poor, and rendered the whole population miserable.¹ The Vaudois were ushered into a large forsaken house, where bread and beer were distributed to them. Some of them were afterwards lodged with private families; the rest were left in this great edifice, where they continued to receive the same nourishment. "But," says one of them, "the brewers made such bad beer for us, that many of us could not bear to use it."²

The winter now approached, and the exiles still had no fixed abodes; the establishment of the colony was obstructed by a multitude of difficulties, caused chiefly by the inhabitants of the country. The local authorities were unwilling to permit the newcomers to take wood for building purposes from the public forests. Upon this the Vaudois sent a deputation to Berlin,³ to entreat the elector to interpose on their behalf, and not to restrict the terms of their settlement in the territory of Stendal.

Their petition asked, in substance⁴—

I. Full and entire liberty of conscience, places of worship with bells, a college and schools, and the maintenance of their pastors and schoolmasters by the state.

II. Authority to have their councils and magistrates elected by universal suffrage among the members of the colony.

III. A grant of lands proper for the cultivation of the vine; and that flocks and instruments of husbandry, to be afterwards repaid, should be provided for them to begin with.

IV. Habitations, with gardens, exempt from taxes for a number of years, to be granted to them in absolute property, and separate from the German houses.

¹ The population at that time amounted to no more than 1600 souls. (*Dieterici*, § vii. G.) In 1819, Stendal reckoned 906 houses, and 5252 inhabitants.

² These details are still taken from the Memoirs of Salvajot.

³ The deputies were *Jacques Baile*, pastor; *Paul Blachon*, *Jean Turin*, *Daniel Pasquet*, *Jean Tron*, and *Jean Rambaud*. Their mandate is dated 4th September, 1688, and was drawn up as a public deed by *DANIEL FORNERON*, Piedmontese notary, in presence of twenty-nine witnesses, among whom appears *Barthélemy Salvajot*.

⁴ This document never having been published, I think it right to give a complete analysis of it.

V. Beds, bed-clothes, garments, and stoves; *because, the petition says, the poor suppliants, coming from a southern country, are more sensible of the cold and storms.*

VI. "May it also please your electoral highness to give us some other food besides bread and beer, which are our sole nourishment, or some money in proportion to our families, and likewise some furniture, of which we are absolutely devoid." They ask also for medicines, and the attendance of a physician upon the sick.

VII. That the Vaudois might be permitted to exercise freely all sorts of trades or professions, without being obliged to pay for any authorization.

VIII. That they should have the rights of fishing and hunting.

IX. That his electoral highness would be pleased to found some bursaries for the education of the young Vaudois who should devote themselves to the holy ministry.

X. That he would be pleased to solicit a statement of the collections made in Holland, that they might be able to avail themselves of them in their first settlement.

XI. That the elector would be pleased to employ his powerful mediation to obtain from the Duke of Savoy the liberation of all their pastors who were still detained prisoners, and the restitution of all their children who had been taken from them.

This petition remained some time unanswered, after which the elector sent commissioners to the spot, to do what was requisite in the most pressing matters to which it referred. These commissioners informed the Vaudois that the sum of six batzen¹ a-day would be allowed to each of them for their support. "But," observes Salvajot, "two weeks passed, during which we received no more beer, and as yet no money had come. The six batzen did not begin to be paid us till the commencement of December. On this we could live, and those who ate little could even save something."

A second division of Vaudois emigrants had arrived at Stendal on the 5th of September, under the conduct of Messieurs De Gremma and Charles Ancillon.² It was in much worse condition than the first, not having received the same assistance by the way, whether it was that charity had cooled, or that the means were exhausted.

The Vaudois at Stendal now amounted to 1300 persons.³ The

¹ Not quite 19 sous [or about 9d. sterling]. The batz is worth 16 centimes [or about 1½d. sterling]. Adult persons alone were to receive six batzen, children were only to receive two. This small allowance was continued to them till the month of August, 1689.

² The first had been conducted by Messieurs *Maillette De Buy* and *Jacob Sandoz*.

³ Viz., 52 who came from St. Gall, 313 who were joined with the first troop at

commissioners¹ sent by the elector to settle them on the same footing with the French colonies, represented that it would be impossible to place at Stendal alone so great a number of colonists. The elector consented that some of them should be sent also to Burg, to Spandau, and to Magdeburg.² Four hundred and six of them remained at Stendal, where the church of St. Catherine was given them for their religious services, to be used by them alternately with the Germans. They had Mr. Peter Bayle for their pastor, Jacob Sandon was their governor, and their justice of the peace was Blanchon, all of whom were exiles like themselves.³ All these civil and ecclesiastical functionaries were paid by the state, which likewise provided for the maintenance of their schoolmasters; and the elector even caused houses to be built for the new settlers, and granted them the advances necessary to procure for them the implements of labour. At the same time, he opened the ranks of his army to young Vaudois capable of bearing arms; and a small Vaudois legion was soon admitted into it,⁴ which distinguished itself at the siege of Bonn, in 1689.⁵

The colonization movement began to assume a more regular character. Only 205 Vaudois had at first been sent to Burg; the commissioner Willmann proposed to augment the number, and having obtained authority for so doing, he proceeded to the town, to have accommodations prepared for the new-comers.⁶ "It is my opinion," he wrote to Berlin, "that more resources will be found here than at Stendal; the markets are better supplied, the lands permit the culture of the vine, and many branches of manufacture are in a flourishing state. The Vaudois will be able to employ themselves in the manufacture of woollen cloths and of pottery."

They found means also of turning their industry to good account in a silk thread manufactory established at Spandau.⁷ Not more

Basle, 335 who arrived on 5th September, 1688, and 600 who had left Pragela in 1685, remained in Switzerland in 1686, and came to Brandenburg in 1687.

¹ These were Messieurs *Merian* and *Willmann*.

² Some of them were also planted at *Templin* and at *Angermünde*. The numbers of the colonists having undergone frequent changes in the earlier periods of these settlements, I will no longer give precise numbers.

³ At Burg, they had for pastors Messieurs *Dumas* and *Javel*, and for director *Moses Cornuël*.—*Peter Bayle*, the son of the pastor at Stendal, was pastor at Spandau.

⁴ It was composed of 150 men.

⁵ In the month of September there returned from the siege 143 men.

⁶ They were to the number of 303, viz., 80 families, comprising 232 persons, besides 49 unmarried operatives, and 22 old men.

⁷ According to a report of the commissioners, dated 23th January, 1689, the Vau-

than fifty-two families remained at Stendal. Of all these different groups of settlers, those who were occupied in the dressing of silk seem to have enjoyed the greatest share of prosperity.¹ At Stendal, where the exiles had no other abode than an old castle, and the houses of the town's-people, their condition became daily more and more painful. They were sent from one to another, as persons who were felt to be troublesome. In many cases they were not permitted to enter the family apartment, which alone was warmed; and when it was proposed that houses should be built for them, the sheriff of the village opposed their taking the necessary timber from the forests belonging to the community, as the elector had hoped that they might. After protracted negotiations, the elector ordered the timber to be delivered to them free of expense. The commissioner Willmann put the country people under requisition to transport it; but the nobles and farmers refused; and it was found necessary to float it on the Elbe to the point nearest to Stendal, and to go thither for it with carts.

At Burg the state of matters was still worse; the inhabitants refused to admit any of the strangers into their houses. There was in this town a street of which the houses were almost all falling into ruin: the elector offered, on the recommendation of the commissioners, to purchase this street, and to have it rebuilt for dwellings for the Vaudois. It was a proposal in every point of view favourable to the town; but the proprietors of these untenable shops put a multitude of difficulties in the way; and when these were removed, the same opposition arose as at Stendal, on the subject of timber for building.

To complete this picture, it remains only to be stated that the Vaudois who had remained in the electorate of Kurpfalz² and in Wurtemberg, in the hope of being able to devote themselves to the cultivation of the vine, were obliged to leave these countries again on account of similar obstacles. They returned to Switzerland; and Switzerland, unable to accommodate them, wrote to the elector, asking him to receive them also into his territories.³ The elector

dois were thus distributed:—At Burg, 303; at Spandau (or Spandou), 155; at Stendal, 136. To this must be added 100 persons settled at Magdeburg, and the 150 men who had put on the Prussian uniform.

¹ The great manufactory for spinning and working silks, which made the fortune of Spandau, was established in that town, about 1570, by Count Leynau. His heirs abandoned it to Frederic William in 1637. The workers received eight great sous weekly (but they were also lodged and fed). The Vaudois were installed here on 27th October, 1688, and upon this occasion the elector caused a gratuity of 200 crowns to be distributed among them. At Burg, the sum of 2170 crowns was paid in 1689 for the regular wages of the Vaudois workers.

² [The Palatinate.]

³ Despatch of 22d October, 1688.

replied¹ that his dominions were already encumbered with refugees of every description, the greater part of them destitute of resources; but that, nevertheless, he would do all that was in his power to receive these unfortunate exiles. He only requested the evangelical cantons to keep them for a short time, till he should be able to provide a suitable place for their abode. Swiss hospitality consented to maintain them till the spring of 1689, the very time when the heroic expedition took place by which they recovered possession of their own valleys. A small number of them had remained in the Palatinate, where the Elector Philip William of Neuburg had offered them an asylum, which they were compelled to abandon in 1689, on the invasion of that country by the devastating troops of Louvois. Some of them retired to the Grisons, and some to the country of Hesse-Darmstadt, where they found themselves in circumstances equally remote from tranquillity.

Finally, in Wurtemberg they were cruelly repulsed by the very parties who ought to have been the first to welcome them. The ministers of the gospel belonging to the confession of Augsburg treated the Vaudois as heterodox, because ever since the Reformation they had been followers of rigid Calvinistic doctrine; and instead of exercising charity, plunged into theological discussions. On the 25th of April, 1687, the protectors of the Vaudois in Switzerland had requested an asylum for them from the Duke of Wurtemberg,² who nominated a commission to examine into this application;³ but the commission, grievously embarrassed with a multitude of questions, of which, at the present day, we would think the grave discussion puerile, could not venture to decide anything without taking the advice of the faculties of theology. Two days after, a new meeting took place, no longer composed of theological doctors, but of laymen, and they did not hesitate to say that the Vaudois ought to be received. The Swiss envoy departed from Stuttgart the bearer of this good news; but during his absence, a theologian of Tübingen, named Osiander, wrote to the duke a letter full of intolerance against the Vaudois,⁴ whom he called *Crypto-Calvinists*, resolving in the negative the questions *an* and *quomodo*, which had been raised on the subject of their admission. It seems as if in this case the language of theology was as barba-

¹ On 11th November, 1688.

² *Frederic Charles*. He was not reigning duke, but administrator of the duchy, being uncle and tutor of *Eberhard Louis*, who received the Vaudois in 1699. The conditions on which their admission was proposed in 1687 are mentioned by *Moser*, § 29.

³ The commission met on 4th May, 1687. *Moser* has published the minute of this meeting, § 30.

⁴ This letter is dated 3d June, 1687.

rous as its sentiments, and we are the more surprised to find such expressions in the mouth of Osiander, as his family belonged to the Jewish race, so long oppressed, and his father, although a Lutheran, was, however, merely a Jew who had adopted the religion of the state.

The Duke of Wurtemberg would not decide without consulting the faculty of law of Tübingen. Like the laymen, it concluded in favour of the admission of the Vaudois, adding, in order to satisfy the theologians, that it would be proper to ask these refugees themselves for a statement of their doctrines. Meanwhile the Swiss delegate, Wertmüller, wrote¹ that 100 of the Vaudois were ready to set out, and wished to arrive in Wurtemberg before the approaching harvest, in order to be able to get employment as reapers. To this it was replied² that they might come, and the bailiwick of Kirchheim-under-Teck was assigned them for their residence. It was even proposed to purchase for them the old castle of Salzburg, but the proposal was not carried into effect.³ In the beginning of July, 1687, fifty Piedmontese exiles set out for Wurtemberg, taking with them religious books in which the doctrine of their church was exhibited.

Particular reports were required from the bailiffs of the different villages⁴ situated in the country to which the immigrants were to proceed, concerning the means which existed for receiving them. It appeared from these reports that the Vaudois might easily procure uncultivated lands at a cheap rate, or even gratis, but that it would be necessary for them to have the means of building houses. As the exiles were destitute of means for this, the duke proposed to receive them on his own private domain of Freudenthal, but this project remained unexecuted. The principle of their admission was, however, recognized by the decree of 29th August, 1687,⁵ the basis upon which they were subsequently established.⁶ A decree of the 31st referred to the synod of Wurtemberg the question relative to the Vaudois doctrines.⁷ The synod concluded that they ought to be admitted under certain reservations, tending to restrain their religious influence, and provisionally recommended the con-

¹ On the 24th of May.

² On the 10th of June. The reply is signed by M. De Rüe.

³ Because of the high price which was demanded. To this castle there appertained a great extent of very ill-cultivated lands. Six thousand florins were offered for it.

⁴ Kirchheim, Urach, Guglingen, Maulbronn, Derdingen, Brackenheim, Boeblingen, Pfaffenhofen, Gingdelingen, &c.

⁵ *Moser*, § 36.

⁶ In 1700.

⁷ The long and wearisome deliberation of this synod is to be seen in *Moser*, § 38.

sultation of the faculty of theology of Tübingen. The opinion of this faculty was known beforehand; as intolerant at that period as Catholicism in its palmy days had ever been, but with less advantage of logic; for the intolerance of the Holy See is based upon the denial of individual liberty, whilst the intolerance of Protestantism exhibits this monstrous anomaly, that it starts from the ground of free examination. The faculty, therefore, was not consulted, which, like every body interested in the maintenance of a legal belief, had become a focus of resistance to the very progress of Christianity. The superior council, united with the consistory, supplied the want of the faculty's deliberation, by resolutions set forth with the reasons for them, and decided absolutely in favour of the immediate admission of the exiles.¹

But it was desired that Switzerland should guarantee to the new-comers the means of providing themselves with dwellings, and with the necessaries of life in the country into which they should be received, under reservations which will shortly appear. On the part of Switzerland, it was replied² that no such engagements could be entered into, the more especially as the amount of the collections promised from foreign countries was not yet known. The Vaudois likewise refused to accept the conditions which were proposed to them, and of which a statement is contained in the original manuscript of the *Return*, by Arnaud, but on a page deleted by two strokes of a pen, and suppressed in the printed work.³ The following is this unpublished page:—"God, who knew for what he had reserved them, permitted the clergy of Vitemberg,⁴ who are entirely Lutheran, . . . to make use of an artifice which eluded the good-will of the prince towards them. They⁵ gave him to understand that they were delighted to have the opportunity of welcoming among them the remains of that poor people; and in order so much the more to testify the care which they were disposed to take of them, they added that each pastor of their body should take a certain number of them, proportionate to the extent of his parish, and this throughout the whole duchy. . . . The Vaudois, whose object was to remain always united, were at no loss to understand that in this way they were really refused; and the duke

¹ Moser gives a long statement of the reasons upon which this decision is rested, § 39.

² On 22d November, 1687. This reply was made by M. Wertmüller.

³ The original is now at Berlin. This manuscript was found in 1782, in the pastor's house of Gros Villar, a Vaudois colony, of which the son of Arnaud was pastor till 1750, at a short distance from Schoenberg, where his father died. It was put into my hands in 1833.

⁴ According to the orthography of the manuscript.

⁵ The clergy.

administrator, who had only the authority of a regent, liable to be one day called to account, did not choose to do violence to the wishes of these ecclesiastics. Thus the Vaudois, not well knowing whither to go, and seeing their projects in this direction frustrated, entreated the authorities of Zurich and of Schaffhausen to permit them to spend the winter in their country."¹

This request was granted. But after the abortive expedition shortly to be mentioned, and which took place in June, 1688, the Swiss cantons themselves, on political grounds, felt a necessity for the removal of these unfortunate refugees from their country, which they might involve in danger by their presence; and it was upon this that a part of them consented to retire to Brandenburg. The Swiss authorities urged them the more at that time to adopt this resolution, because, ever since the beginning of the year, complaints had begun to arise concerning the heavy charges which this multitude, destitute of resources, entailed upon the state.² Ere long they went so far as to signify to the Vaudois, that if they persisted in rejecting all the proposals which were made to them of settlement in other countries, they would be under the necessity of removing them by force.³

Hereupon some of the exiles consented to make yet another effort towards settling in Wurtemberg, where they would be less remote from their native country than on the banks of the Spree. M. Wertmüller undertook to obtain for them the requisite permission.⁴ In the month of May the Vaudois sent delegates,⁵ commissioned to visit the bailiwicks of Maulbronn and Freudenthal, which were assigned them. Afterwards they arrived there to the number of 100. Shortly after, the produce of the collections made for them was sent from Holland.⁶ A few small troops of exiles

¹ "MM. de Zurich et de Chaffouse."

² As long as Switzerland took the charge of them, it did not suffer them to want for anything. "At Arnberg," says a traveller, "there are 250 of them. They give them very good ammunition bread. Wine is drawn for them from the cellars of the town's house; it is carried to them in pails. They have each a half pot, and this is filled with soup, and half a pound of beef or mutton given to each on a little plate, and half a pound of cheese. Such is their daily allowance." *Relation de Voyage* (Archives of Turin).

³ I would hesitate to admit the mention of this severe measure on the authority of Moser; but in the original manuscript of Arnaud occurs this sentence, which has been suppressed in the published work:—"They caused those who were in their canton to be informed that they must leave it by a fixed time, and that if they did not, they would be under the necessity of compelling them." The words which I have put in italics are erased in the manuscript (p. 17).

⁴ In March, 1688. See the details in Moser.

⁵ They were three in number; the pastor, Audibert Daud D'Olympies (such is the name as given by Moser), and two laymen.

⁶ In July, 1688.

subsequently arrived; but now the difficulties began. A number of bailiwicks absolutely refused to receive them within their borders. "Why should we receive these wretched creatures?" said they. "They will be a burden upon the community. They will embarrass the hospitals and pious foundations. They will cause provisions to become dear, by purchasing them in great quantities in the markets. They will prove a mere multitude of marauders." Such were the reasons for which they were repelled. However, the bailiff of Maulbronn, who had distributed in different villages the seventy-eight Vaudois whom he was required to provide with lodgings, said in his report: "They are laborious and decent people, working diligently, and doing their utmost honourably to maintain themselves. Nobody has any complaint of them. They receive, through the pastor D'Olympies,¹ four kreutzers and a half a-day for every man above the age of fifteen years, three kreutzers for every woman, and two kreutzers for the children."² This money was paid every ten days, and was taken from the collections sent from Holland.

In the month of September, 1688, the bailiwick of Stuttgard, which had manifested the greatest hostility to the introduction of the Vaudois, made new complaints, on the ground that these pretended French people had been a burden upon it for eight weeks, and declared an absolute resolution to be quit of them before winter. These complaints were communicated to the pastor, who requested a delay of two weeks, to conclude a definite treaty of colonization, or to renounce the idea of that settlement, and proceed elsewhere. This period having passed without any change in the position of the Vaudois, they received orders to quit the country within the space of eight days.³

It is necessary, in order to explain the harshness of this measure, to call to mind that the Vaudois were confounded in Germany with the other victims of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and were therefore considered as French. But the diet of Ratisbon had just declared France and the Cardinal of Furstemberg to be enemies of the empire, as they were contending for the archbishopric of Cologne with the Prince of Bavaria, whom the emperor supported. To this provocation France replied by a declaration of war, the consequence of which was the savage devastation of the Palatinate by Louvois.⁴ The duchy of Wurtemberg was afraid

¹ Arnaud calls him M. Daude, refugee pastor of Languedoc, better known by the name of *Olympe*. (First edition, p. 31.)

² Moser, § 44. The kreutzer is worth about four centimes [about 1½ farthing].

³ This order was addressed, on 28th September, 1688, to the bailiff of Stuttgard, who intimated it to the refugees.

⁴ In February and March, 1689.

of drawing on itself the like wrath of the French king, by giving refuge to those whom he had proscribed. Hence the new exile of the Vaudois, who returned to Switzerland, that land of inexhaustible and generous hospitality. They returned to it more wretched than they had been before, but more resolute than ever to brave everything in order to regain possession of their native valleys, out of which there was no country for them upon earth.

In permitting them thus to be driven out of Wurtemberg, where at a later period they were to find a permanent asylum, Providence was preparing, in its mysterious designs, to bring about that heroic expedition in which they were to engage, in order to return victorious to the Vaudois Alps. Let us now see what had taken place in these mountains after their departure, and what was now the condition of that land of martyrs, which was soon to become the prize of heroes.

CHAPTER II.

THE STATE OF THE VALLEYS IN THE ABSENCE OF THEIR INHABITANTS; AND FIRST ATTEMPTS OF THE EXILED VAUDOIS TO RETURN TO THEIR OWN COUNTRY.¹

(A.D. 1686 TO 1689.)

The Vaudois who had become Catholics—The faithful witnesses in the prisons of Piedmont—Sale of the forfeited lands—Tabular view—The new purchasers—Neglect and desolation—The exiled Vaudois conceive the project of returning to their valleys—The first attempt of a small number frustrated by the Bernese government—Three persons sent by the Vaudois to explore the route to the valleys—Secret consultations in Janavel's house—Plan of a new expedition agreed upon—The secret having transpired, the expedition is relinquished—The situation of the Vaudois in Switzerland becomes more uncomfortable in consequence of this abortive project—State of feeling amongst them—They receive encouragement from the Prince of Orange and others—Janavel, foreseeing a rupture between France and Savoy, recommends the time as a favourable one for their enterprise—Captain Bourgeois—Janavel's instructions to his compatriots.

The documents which exist on the subject of this chapter,² particularly on the state of the Vaudois valleys during the absence

¹ AUTHORITIES.—The first pages of ARNAUD: *La glorieuse rentrée*; and, more especially, the *Archives of the Court of Accounts* at Turin, which contain matter for a number of volumes on this subject; also the *Archives of the State*, called *Archives of the Court*, which contain thirty documents. Something has also been found in the *Archives of the Valleys*; amongst others, in those of Lucerna and Le Villar.

² The greater part of these documents are at Turin, in the ARCHIVES OF THE VOL. II.

of their exiled inhabitants, would of themselves afford materials for a considerable volume; but according to the proportion of other parts of the present work, this subject can have only a very limited space assigned to it here. It must suffice to treat of it by general statements, cursory, though exact, and by noticing a few of the principal facts.

Whilst the Vaudois still pined in the prisons of the Duke of Savoy, new inhabitants were already invited to settle in their valleys. It had been at first proposed to establish upon these deserted lands the exiled Irish, who led a wandering life in the district of Montferrat; but two reasons prevailed against this proposal; 1st, the unlaborious habits of these islanders, through whose carelessness the regions, recently so flourishing, would soon have become waste and sterile; 2d, the greater advantage which there would be in selling the lands than in giving them away. It was therefore resolved that they should be offered for sale, and that those which were not sold should be let. The richest domains were united to the private domain of Victor Amadeus, and some others given to his officers or to pious foundations. The Vaudois who had become Catholics were permitted to remain for a few months longer on their lands, in order to dispose of them as they best could, after which they were to be transferred to the province of Verceil.¹ This period was prolonged, in the case of most of them, to almost a year; and when the difficulty of repeopling the Vaudois territory was discovered, the few families still there were permitted to remain.

COURT OF ACCOUNTS: *Ordini*, No. 103, fol. 33, and 104, fol. 6. *Mazzo*, No. 563. —*Inventarii*, from No. 566 to No. 573 inclusive. —Also, the *Registri di sottomissioni passate da diverse communita particolari delle valli di Luserna*. *Ordini*, No. 97, fol. 91, and No. 105, fol. 3. Contracts of sale and inventories, No. 559, 1st Reg. Nos. 560, 561, 562. —*Stati di particolari compratori*, &c. . . . No. 564. Other documents, Nos. 567, 563, &c. In the ARCHIVES OF THE STATE, called ARCHIVES OF THE COURT, are, amongst others—“*Memorie concernenti li religionarii resi, e beni loro*.”—“*Parere degli delegati sovra gl'occorrenti delle Valli*.”—“*Ordine delli delegati da S. A. R. per la consegna de beni, redditi, vestiarii, etc., delli religionarii, devoluti a S. A. R. per la rebellione d'essi*.”—Memoir, entitled “*Stato presente delle Valli*.”—Another, “*Progetto per l'alienatione de beni che sono nelle Valli di Luserna*.” Statistical, &c.

¹ This appears from an order of 15th June, 1689, which enjoined all the Vaudois who had become Catholics to remove to a distance of ten miles from the valleys, under pain of five years of the galleys. (*Archives of the Court of Accounts*, No. 185. *Reg. contr. Gen.*, fol. 64, right-hand page.) The reason assigned for this order was the return of the exiled Vaudois, who set out from Switzerland two months after. This date also proves that the design of these latter was known, or at least suspected, beforehand. Other documents concur to establish this fact. See, for example, the *Records of the Council of State of Geneva*, sittings of 10th and 28th May, 1689.

But their faithful compatriots were martyrs in the prisons, and scarcely had they passed beyond the confines of their valleys, when the following proclamation was published throughout all the dominions of the Duke of Savoy:—

“Be it known to all men, that by the notorious rebellion² of the religionaries of the valleys,³ all the properties which they possessed have absolutely fallen to the royal domain. Accordingly, those who desire possession of them are apprised that the foresaid properties, with the fruits hanging on the trees, and the crops which happen to be in the fields, will be exposed to sale at Lucerna, from the 15th to the 24th of the current month, in presence of the procurator of his royal highness,⁴ who will receive all proposals for the purchase of them, in large or small lots, collectively or individually, in order to repeople the said valleys as soon as possible, and all to the greatest advantage of his royal highness.”

At the bottom of this placard, which was widely circulated, and was pasted up on all the public pillars of the towns of Piedmont, was annexed a list of the properties offered for sale in the different Vaudois communes—if the name can be applied to a vast solitude, in which there were now only a few dwellings to be seen, inhabited by Catholics, recently unobserved amidst the more numerous Vaudois, and now themselves forming the whole population.

In this state of things the municipal councils had to be everywhere formed anew. In more than one commune, the whole of the families remaining could scarcely furnish materials for a council. The commune of St. Jean, not being able to make out an independent organization, was incorporated with that of Lucerna, and ceased to exist until the return of the Vaudois.

The Catholics of the district were the first to seek after the confiscated lands; but as they could not of themselves supply in any measure the place of the population which had disappeared, the condition was imposed upon the highest bidders of bringing a certain number of families from other districts to be occupied in the cultivation of the soil, and to be settled upon the properties so purchased, otherwise the sale to be held null. Then came speculators of every description, seeking to turn to account for their own gain that vast forfeiture of the properties of a whole people. Some of these were themselves possessed of wealth; others, acting on behalf of anonymous societies, owed to the associations which they represented the means of becoming bidders. They mostly belonged

¹ It is dated 1st July, 1686. ² *Per la notoria rebellione*. The document is printed.

³ Here follow their names.

⁴ Signor Conte, auditore e patrimoniale generale *Fecia di Cossato*.

to Suza, Chambéry, and Saluces, and the largest lots were purchased by them. All the lands of Angrogna, for example, were sold in a single lot. Those of Bobi were adjudged to bidders from Suza, for the sum total of 44,000 livres. Those of Le Villar fell into the hands of ten individuals belonging to Saluces. But in this sale the preference was generally given to Savoyards, because, as they were accustomed to mountains, and came from a very populous country, there seemed to be the greatest security for a speedy and advantageous colonization.

But this hope was far from being realized, for the purchasers were not able to introduce a sufficient number of farmers into their new domains. In vain were numerous injunctions addressed to them to this effect: the greater part of the families who were to come to cultivate the soil had not yet arrived; and when the exiled Vaudois returned to their native country, it still seemed, in its neglected condition, to mourn for the children whom it had lost.

Notwithstanding the dryness which is generally experienced in statistics, I think it necessary, in order to abridge this statement, to present here a table of the entire population of the valleys before and after the expulsion of their inhabitants, showing also the lands sold or to be occupied, and the number of families from other quarters whom the new proprietors were bound to introduce. This table is prepared from a great number of documents derived from the archives of the Court of Accounts and of the senate at Turin, and also from the royal library and the archives of the state in the same city.¹

The Vaudois valleys, therefore, were not yet repopled, and everywhere presented the saddest possible aspect—lands unculti-

¹ The materials of the following table are derived from a great number of different documents, of which some contain only approximate indications. The figures in the first and third groups of columns are derived from two papers in the Archives of the State at Turin, of which one is entitled, "*Stato presente delle valli, che d'ordine di V. A. R. si trasmette hoggi sei settembre, 1686.*" The other paper, annexed to the former, has the following title:—"Ristretto delle famiglie religionarie, ch'erano nelle valli; di quelle da introdursi; della già venute; delle mancanti, e delle catholicizzate." There seems to be reason for believing these figures to be exact and official.

The last column of this table, entitled "*Extent in journals of the lands sold or to be occupied,*" presents information obtained from the same source, viz., from a paper belonging to the Archives of State of Piedmont, and bearing this title: "*Stato delle valli e beni compresi nella riduzione, secondo le notizie che sin al presente si non potute havere.*" This document is without date, and is inscribed with the number 607 of the series. The two above mentioned bear the numbers 267 and 268.

Only the figures in the intermediate group of columns are for the most part ap-

vated—hamlets ravaged—cottages standing open and half fallen to ruins—walls still blackened by fire—rural inclosures falling or thrown down—fruit-trees in some places torn up by the roots—the vines, undressed, trailing their shoots along the ground—the mulberry-trees not stripped, the leaves of which covered every bough with dense and wild luxuriance—the limits of properties partially effaced by brambles, or by the hands of the new purchasers—and these coming as strangers into districts unknown to them, and displaying a negligence and inattention,¹ which neither promises² nor threats³ could overcome—all spoke of past violence, present injustice, and uncertainty concerning the future.

proximations, but based upon careful investigations, and rules of proportion most scrupulously carried out.

NAMES OF THE COMMUNES.	Vaudois Families.		INDIVIDUALS.						Families of Strangers.		Extent in journals of the lands sold or to be occupied.
	Were in the valleys before 1686.	Became Catholic in 1686.	Alive in 1686, before the war.	Died in 1686 (chiefly in the prisons).	Left the country in regular bands.	Dispersed or irregularly emigrated.	Disappeared or carried off (mostly children).	To be introduced into the valleys.	Already introduced in 1687.		
St. Jean.....	217	49	1485	671	287	143	47	80	58	1029	
Angrogna.....	327	12	2237	1250	539	269	65	200	105	1750	
La Tour.....	200	50	1369	598	356	128	50	85	57	925½	
Villar.....	163	66	1115	389	164	83	33	130	95	1559½	
Bobi.....	118	10	907	432	185	92	28	110	10	1103	
Rora.....	30	20	205	112	84	4	5	25	13	624	
St. Germain.....	66	23	451	159	68	34	11	30	17	522½	
Pramol.....	75	4	513	283	122	61	20	20	3		
Pinache.....	35	25	239	53	23	9	3	20	8	1200	
Villar-Pinache.....	13	4	89	35	18	7	2	6	2		
Portes.....	32	17	219	59	31	12	4	20	3	2500	
Pérouse, Pomaret...	56	4	383	207	98	44	12	25	...		
Pral.....	100	13	684	347	154	75	18	80	58		
Faët.....	80	32	547	186	82	41	13	40	21		
Rioclairet.....	100	13	692	349	166	74	21	60	37		
Traverse.....	30	16	211	76	18	12	4	20	4		
Bouille.....	15	13	102	34	3	2	1	10	5	23,000	
Maneille.....	40	19	273	100	21	18	5	6	...		
Macel.....	80	8	547	287	149	62	11	50	41		
Salze.....	30	13	198	68	24	14	3	20	9		
Rodoret.....	35	12	239	91	38	20	6	25	8		
St. Martin.....	20	20	137	22	6	4		
Prarusting.....	80	3	542	284	132	64	25	80	...	8100	
Rocheplate.....	81	3	212	96	48	23	9		

¹ *Vedendo noi quanto sii grande la transunagine e negligenza . . . de novi acquisitori de beni di queste valli, &c. . .* Order of the Intendant Frichignono, dated Lucerna, 1st March, 1688. (Turin. Archives of the Court of Accounts, No. 574.)

² Exemptions from burdens, promised to the new proprietors and depopulated communes. Edict of 26th January, 1688. (From the same.)

³ *Ingiunzione . . . agli acquisitori de beni delle valli . . . all' adempimento de loro centrali.* (From the same. Ordini, No. 91, fol. 91, and No. 105, fol. 3.)

On the other hand, the people who had been exiled from Piedmont had not been able to establish themselves in a permanent and satisfactory manner anywhere. Driven from the Palatinate by war, and from Wurtemberg by the politic desire of maintaining peace—wandering about the banks of the Rhine or among the mountains of Switzerland—their regretful longings, their distress, a sense of the burden which they entailed upon their foreign brethren, and the very uncertainty of their own circumstances—all combined to give form and consistency to the patriotic design, which many of them had conceived, of returning, at whatever cost, to their own country. In the eyes of Janavel this heroic attempt was more than the mere satisfaction of a patriotic feeling—it was a duty binding on the conscience—and it was not difficult for him, by his exhortations, to render the Vaudois unanimous on this point.

A certain number of the more impatient and determined among them, amounting to about 300, had already assembled in the neighbourhood of Lausanne, and attempted to embark at Ouchi, in order to pass into Savoy; but the Bernese authorities, whose jurisdiction then extended over the Pays de Vaud, opposed this design, and, without doubt, prevented the inevitable destruction which would have overtaken these unfortunate people in the territories of the Duke of Savoy, if they had entered them with so little consideration. "This first attempt," says Arnaud,¹ was without due preparation, without a leader, without arms, and without even the concurrence of those who took the direction of their affairs; so that having been made on a mere sudden impulse, and without the adoption of the measures necessary for such an enterprise, it can be no wonder that their design failed." Moreover, the Helvetic cantons were under obligation to the Duke of Savoy to prevent any attempt on the part of the Vaudois contrary to the tranquillity of his dominions. Perceiving how they were situated, the exiles returned to their places of abode, without, however, renouncing the project of recovering possession of their own country, which from that time forth became the sole earthly object of their lives.

That they might be able the better to mature and the more confidently to execute this design, they secretly sent prudent emissaries to investigate beforehand, to sound the dispositions of their former fellow-countrymen, to examine the whole country, and particularly the by-ways by which they might arrive at the valleys; for they deemed it of great importance to avoid the centres of population, where they might have been opposed by considerable forces. The devoted men who undertook this dangerous mission were three in

¹ Pages 6 and 7. First edition.

number—one belonging to Pragela, another to the valley of St. Martin, and the third to Queyras.

"These three travellers," says Arnaud, "were sufficiently fortunate in going, but they were not equally so in returning; for, not being able to keep the great roads, and making their way across the mountains, two of them were apprehended as robbers, in a narrow and savage valley of the Tarentaise.¹ Being questioned why they did not keep the ordinary roads, they replied that, being traders in lace, and knowing that it was manufactured in that country, they went from one place to another to purchase it. This reply seeming plausible enough, various pieces of lace were presented to them, to see if they were well acquainted with the kind of goods in which they said that they dealt—a trial which had almost been their destruction, for the envoy from Pragela having offered six crowns for a piece which was not worth three, the lord of the manor and people of the place stripped them and imprisoned them as spies. After eight days they underwent another examination; and the envoy who belonged to Queyras having formerly carried on the trade of a foreign merchant in the south of France, gave so many particulars concerning the localities in which he had done business, that his declaration obtained credit; and in order to explain the mistake which had cost them so much, he added that his companion, who knew little about lace, was only his servant, and not his partner. There was in the neighbourhood a man belonging to Lunel; he was brought, and recognized the correctness of the topographical details given by the prisoner, and the two travellers were at last released, but in a state of complete destitution, for their captors refused to give them back the money which they had taken from them, so that they left the place robbed, after having been apprehended as robbers."

They found means, however, of making their way to Geneva. There a secret council was held in the house of Janavel, who seems to have been the soul of all the schemes attempted by the Vaudois for returning to their native country. For this, indeed, he was expelled from Geneva.² His endeavours were seconded in the most active manner by Henry Arnaud. Janavel directed their plans; Arnaud conducted the execution of them;³ the Vaudois obeyed, and

¹ It was in the village of Tignes, at the base of Mount Iseran, where are the sources of the Isère.

² See the *Records of the Council of State of Geneva*, sittings of 31st May, 11th and 28th June, 11th July, 1687, &c.

³ I shall have occasion, by and by, to make some reservations regarding the too exclusive part which has been assigned to the activity and genius of this celebrated man in the return of the Vaudois; but in respect of the steps taken in preparing

by the blessing of God their country was regained. But perseverance was required as well as courage, for they succeeded no better in their second attempt than in the first.

The council held in Janavel's house resolved that those who took part in this new expedition should assemble from their different retreats on the utmost confines of Switzerland, at the entrance of the Valais. Thence they were to proceed, by the territory of St. Maurice, on the outskirts of Savoy, following the valley of the Great St. Bernard as far as Orsières, re-ascending the Val Ferret, passing over the Col Letreyre, descending to Courmayeur, thence passing to the Little St. Bernard; and so getting round Mount Blanc, they were to enter Savoy again, between the Col Bon Homme and Mount Iseran, on the side of Scez, according to the route which their first exploring envoys had marked out. This bold project led them from summit to summit amongst the most inaccessible mountains of Europe, and sheltered them from the attacks of their enemies, under the protection of storms and glaciers, to the very bosom of their own fair valleys. Their ardour was great. Janavel gave them instructions. "Seeing," said he, "that, by the grace of God, you are filled with zeal and courage to kindle the lamp of the gospel again in the place of your birth, where the church of the Lord has never been reduced to so great an extremity as now, I pray you to take in good part what follows, as it all comes from one of your servants, who is faithful to you, and will be faithful until his last breath."¹ Then follow the counsels of military skill and experience, which will be given in a subsequent page, and which were afterwards applied; for in 1688 the secret was not so well kept by the 3000 persons, or thereby,² who were necessarily

for this expedition, he must certainly be placed in the first rank. The following words occur in the Records of the Council of State of Geneva, sitting of 9th June, 1688:—"The *Sieur Arnaud* shall be called upon to explain *this fact*" (the armament of the Vaudois).

¹ *Archives of the Court.* Turin. At the bottom of this paper are these words—"Given in Switzerland, this month of June, 1688."

² It is said, in a letter written from *Samoën*, 12th July, 1688, at eight o'clock in the evening (Turin, *Archives of the Court*), that the persons entering into this expedition amounted to 3000 in number. The number is stated at 2000 only in the manuscript of the Royal Library, entitled "*Here follows a faithful relation of the presumptuous and violent passage proposed and attempted by the refugee and expelled people of Lucerna, along with Frenchmen, by the lower valley, chiefly in the district of St. Maurice, and in the government of Monthey.*" These words, "*along with Frenchmen*" (for the revocation of the Edict of Nantes had driven many Frenchmen into exile), explain to us how it is possible that the Vaudois may have been more numerous when they returned to their own country than they were when they left it. However, the number here stated must have been exaggerated, for Arnaud gives that of 600 or 700 men only.

acquainted with it, that they could find protection in the inattention of their enemies.

Enough transpired of this project to excite the watchfulness of the Swiss government, and to put the military posts of Savoy upon their guard. Accordingly, when the Vaudois began to assemble at Bex, to the number of 600 or 700 men,¹ the alarm was promptly given in the Valais and in Savoy, where the Catholic authorities called the people to arms, and caused signal-fires to be lighted, in order to dispute with the exiles their passage at St. Maurice, the bridge of which was immediately guarded and defended. The enterprise, being divulged at its commencement, was not prosecuted.

"The *bailli* of Aigle," says Arnaud, "having repaired to Bex, which is within his jurisdiction, caused the Vaudois to be assembled in the place of worship, where he addressed them in a very affecting speech, exhorting them to patience, and assuring them that it would be temerity to persist in their design. 'Poor Vaudois,' added he, with tears in his eyes, 'the Lord will remember you and your distresses, for he cannot but approve the zeal which you manifest to re-establish the true religion in the sanctuary of your ancestors, where it never was extinguished, and he will infallibly one day bring you back to your native land.'" After this Arnaud ascended the pulpit, and took for his text these words of the gospel, "*Fear not, little flock.*"² "Yes! fear not," said he to the Israel of the Alps, "for God has his time for casting down and his time for raising up; it is his pleasure that we still wait; let us suffer with patience, and in his own time he will raise us up." The worthy *bailli*, whose name was Frederic Thurmann, then himself conducted the Vaudois troop back to the interior of the canton, caused provisions to be distributed among them, and lodgings to be found for them at Aigle, took their officers to his own house, and moreover lent them 200 crowns, to assist those of them who had come from the opposite extremity of Switzerland in returning to their places of asylum. It seems hard to believe that this generous beneficence was made a cause of complaint against Thurmann, and that he was obliged to write to Berne to justify himself to his superiors.³

This attempt caused a great sensation both in Switzerland and in Savoy.⁴ Victor Amadeus renewed his proclamation, prohibiting

¹ On 23d June, 1688.

² Luke xii. 32.

³ His letter is dated 9th July. (*Archives of Berne.*)

⁴ The Archives of Turin contain a great number of letters on this subject, written from *Thonon*, *Evian*, and *Les Allinges*; from *Chablais*, *Sion*, *St. Gingolf*, and *St. Maurice*; from the Sardinian government to the Swiss government, and *vice versa*; as also the reports of several agents, from which I shall hereafter borrow a few particulars.

the Vaudois from returning to their country under pain of death,¹ and enjoined all those who might be in it, in any capacity whatever,² to have their names registered by the magistrates of the place of their residence, within the space of ten days, under pain of being publicly whipped.³ The Helvetic government was asked in a threatening manner, by the representatives of France and Piedmont, to watch more strictly than hitherto over the attempts of these audacious exiles; but with this surveillance, dictated by political necessity, it united all that tenderness for misfortune which Christian charity ought to inspire. It even seemed that their heroic determination to return to their native country amidst so many dangers, served only to augment the interest with which the Vaudois exiles were already regarded; and the troop which had assembled for the expedition, although obliged to disperse itself throughout the different cantons of Switzerland, everywhere met with more proofs of sympathy than marks of suspicion.⁴ Yet there was, at the first, a sort of indignation felt against these refugees who involved the country in danger, and could not be brought to submit to an inactive exile; and a meeting held at Arau, by the delegates of the different cantons, distinctly informed them that they must withdraw from Switzerland.⁵ It was then that a part of them resolved to go to Brandenburg, and to form the colony of Stendal, already spoken of. These, who were considered as the more reasonable, received a thousand attentions, whilst loud complaints were made of the obstinacy and stubbornness of those who persisted in the design of returning to their own country.

"At that time," says Arnaud, "they were treated as if nothing were too bad for them, insomuch that there were few sermons in which their subject was not fallen upon, and in which they were not

¹ This edict is dated 12th July, 1688; it was registered by the senate on the 14th, and published on the 16th.

² As domestics, proprietors, or farmers, but having become Catholics.

³ This edict is in the *Archives of the Court of Accounts* at Turin. *Ordini*: 1686 to 1688, No. 104, fol. 46, and No. 105, fol. 37. It is also in the *Archives of the State*.

⁴ It appears, from a letter of the *Vaudois to the magistrates of Berne*, dated 16th July, that they received much kindness in that city. "Although we can find no language strong enough to express our gratitude," say they, "we would be unworthy of this kindness if, before leaving your territories, we did not offer you our most humble thanks." At Vevey, on the contrary, where the people still felt annoyed, through the apprehension of danger arising from their abortive attempt, they were very ill, even harshly received. (See *Arnaud*, first edition, p. 13.)

⁵ On the contrary, a few days before, it was sought to retain them there. The government of Berne had offered them, as a place of settlement, the little isle of St. Pierre, in the Lake of Bienne or Bieler, which is now well known as associated with the name of Rousseau.

very rudely treated." But they were aware that political considerations had more to do with these severities than the personal sentiments of the Helvetic body, which served for their protection.

Victor Amadeus had sent to Switzerland a number of emissaries, charged to transmit to him circumstantial reports concerning the Vaudois and their affairs. The first of these, named Bouloz, arrived at Aigle when the disconcerted troop were still there, who had assembled for the expedition. He passed himself off as a French refugee, and expressed a desire to unite himself to them. The Vaudois received him as a brother, kept him amongst them, told him the whole history of the wars of 1686, and gave him a description of their country, "where there were," said they, "fourteen places of worship, and as many ministers, of whom M. Arnoz was the most able and learned."¹ It is easy to perceive that the person here intended is the pastor Arnaud, the leader of the expedition. Another agent says in his report that the Vaudois, irritated at not having succeeded under the direction of this leader, "had put him to death, by cutting off his fingers, his feet, and then his head."² I insert this story, as false as it is horrible, only to show how readily the most ridiculous reports concerning the Vaudois were received, and how little credit is due to information from such sources. The case is different when the narrator recounts only what is personal to himself.

"As we left Morat," says the same emissary, "we saw two captains from Lucerna, of very good appearance, with gray, close-fitting coats, laced hats, sabres, and bayonets. Very few women or children were to be seen among these people. Some of them are at Arnberg, others at Arau, Serli, Bienne, and Nidau. Their excellencies of Friburg have written to the baillies of the canton, to arrest all whom they find in it. At Lucerne³ I saw some of them, who were leaving that place for the Palatinate; for they did not choose to go to Brandenburg, as it is too distant. I asked the reason, presenting one of them some snuff. 'Here we shall be the vanguard of Switzerland,' said he, 'for we will never die but in our own country.' . . . Then, as they complained that his royal highness had not yet set their ministers at liberty, and re-

¹ These are the terms and the orthography of the document, which is deposited in the *Archives of Turin*, under this title, "*Abridgement of the narrative of the journey of M. Bouloz, advocate, into the Pays de Vaud, by order of M. the commandant of Le Chablais.*"

² Paper simply entitled *Account of Journey*, and beginning, "I set out on 1st August, 1688 . . . (Turin, *Archives of the State.*)"

³ From this sentence onwards the quotation is composed merely of sentences borrowed from the most interesting parts of this document.

stored their children, I signified displeasure thereat, by saying that the Duke of Savoy was a bad prince. 'No,' he replied, 'the duke is a good prince, but he is ill advised; it is that which does him wrong.'

This emissary had represented himself to the Vaudois as an inhabitant of the Pays de Vaud; and he adds that they appeared to him to be determined to return sooner or later to their native land; "for," says he, "they would rather be cut into four quarters in their own country, than live well anywhere else." Is it not remarkable to see so ardent a love for their native country associated with so much loyalty towards their persecutor! Such a people were worthy of the interest with which they inspired even their enemies.

The powers which protected the Vaudois Church—Holland in particular—adhered, like the Vaudois themselves, to the idea that the ancient lamp of their faith should be rekindled in the valleys. Arnaud¹ presented himself before the Prince of Orange,² "*who reproached him very severely,*" he says, "*for his impatient proceedings, and for having hitherto chosen his time so ill,*"³ encouraging him not to lose heart, and supplying him with means to facilitate the accomplishment of his design.⁴ Even private persons took a most active interest in promoting it.⁵

Janavel foresaw an approaching rupture between Piedmont and

¹ He was accompanied by a Vaudois captain of St. Jean, named *Baptiste Besson*.

² William Henry of Nassau, Prince of Orange, posthumous son of William IX., who had married the daughter of Charles I., King of England, was, in virtue of his descent by the mother's side, called to the throne of Great Britain in February, 1689, under the name of William III., at the age of thirty-nine years. When the Vaudois leaders presented themselves before him, he was Stadtholder of Holland, and had been so since 1672.

³ This clause in italics is another extract from the manuscript of the *Return*, from which it has been struck out.

⁴ He supplied them with assistance in money, and with letters of introduction to several officers, who took part in the expedition.

⁵ Arnaud (p. 54 of the preface) mentions in particular M. Clignet, postmaster-general at Leyden, who, in the following year, lent 100,000 florins to the emperor of Germany to carry on the war against France. "Without the assistance which he gave us," says Arnaud, "the return of the Vaudois to their own country would have been impossible." (Fol. 27, left hand page.)

One of the emissaries of the Duke of Savoy, sent into Switzerland to inquire what the Vaudois were doing, says that "*they have bought a great quantity of arms at Berne,*" and that "*the Bailli of Nidenz (probably Nidau) has seized a cask, in which were found 39,000 French silver crowns.*" (Turin, Archives of the Court, *Account of a Journey*, Series, No. 298.) Another emissary sent in 1689, after the excitement occasioned by the rash enterprise of *Bourgeois*, says, "After reaching Lausanne I met numbers of these people of Lucerna, in scattered parties, some, but few of them, still having their muskets; almost all of them had sabres and bayonets, and some had orange-coloured ribbons on their hats." (From the same Archives, No. 258.) These last words prove that they had placed themselves, as it were, under the special protection of the Prince of Orange, now William III.

France. The hostility of William III. against Louis XIV. was well known; war was on the point of being declared between France and Germany; and it was evident enough that the pretended alliance between the French monarch and the Duke of Savoy was for the latter merely an oppressive vassalage. The Vaudois, with good reason, judged that now was the moment to act. Janavel repeated his instructions to them, and they set forth.

Before relating the history of this heroic expedition, and in order not to interrupt the narrative, I must here mention that the officer who was to have taken the military direction of it—Captain Bourgeois, a native of Neuchâtel—not having been able to get in time to the rendezvous, gathered together some others, who were also too late, who, being joined by a troop of French refugees, they all proceeded to follow the first expedition, but mistook their way in Savoy, and betaking themselves to pillage, disbanded and returned to Geneva, where the gates of the city were closed against them; and at last the leader of this unlucky expedition was not only cast off by all, but expiated on the scaffold the almost ridiculous reverses of his unfortunate ambition.¹

As to the first troop, whose marvellous exploits exalt its history to the rank of an epic poem, it had many difficulties to overcome ere it could render that a matter of admiration which had appeared to most persons to be folly. The faith of its members had to triumph before their arms; and the protection of God, whose hand lifts up or casts down at pleasure, after they had been rendered great by trials, established them again in the humble heritages of their fathers. But before commencing this narrative of heroic deeds, I shall here lay before the reader the instructions of Janavel²:—

"My very dear brethren in Jesus Christ,—The Lord not permitting me to accompany you, because of my infirmity, *which I very much regret*, I think it my duty to neglect nothing which can be

¹ There are a very great number of documents in existence concerning this affair. I cannot quote them in any other way than merely by pointing out where they may be found. *Archives of the Council of State of Geneva*, minutes of sittings of 2d and 3d, 6th and 7th, 10th and 11th, 16th and 17th, 18th and 23th September, 1689. *Archives of Berne*, compartment D.—*Archives of State at Turin*, files marked *Valdesi and Religionarii*.—*Private Archives of M. LOMBARD-ODIER at Geneva*; M. MONASTIER, at Lausanne, &c.—See also the *Mercure Historique*, t. vii. p. 1047, *et seq.*

² This paper is in the *Archives of State at Turin*, inscribed upon the back as follows:—"Instruzione data alli ribelli delle valli di Luserna, che vi sono ritornati nel anno 1689, della maniera che devono resolarsi nelle marchie e combatti." I cannot quote the whole of it, for it occupies eighteen quarto pages. At the end of the twelfth page are the following words, "The author of this paper, *who is Captain Janavel*, says nothing which he has not put to the proof himself." Larger extracts from it have been given in *L'Echo des Vallées*, second year, Nos. 4, 5, and 6.

for the good of my poor country; and therefore I have caused my opinions to be put in writing,¹ concerning the course which you must pursue, both as to your routes, and your method of proceeding in attacks and combats, if the Lord favours you so far as to carry you to your own mountains, as my hope is that he will. I pray God, with all my heart, that he may make all succeed to his own glory, and for the restoration of his church. If our church has been reduced to so great an extremity, it is our sins that have been the cause. It behoves us, then, every day to humble ourselves more and more before the Lord, . . . and when any mishap occurs to you, be patient, and redouble your courage, so that there shall be nothing firmer than your faith."

Such is the beginning of a military proclamation, which looks like a religious discourse; such is the language of this aged warrior, famous for unequalled intrepidity; such were the sentiments of faith, humility and prayer, under the influence of which was commenced the most adventurous career of heroism and peril upon which patriotic courage had ever entered.

But human prudence regarded all hope of success as chimerical. "What probability is there," said the journals of the time,² "that the Vaudois will be able to get back to their own country, without their passage being opposed, and their being utterly destroyed? How are they to contend against the forces of France and Piedmont, which press upon them on both sides? No, it is impossible for them to return thither without perishing, let them take what precautions they may, and on this point the court of Savoy may rest secure." They did return, however; and the precautions which Janavel pointed out to them to take, were these:—

"When you are come into the country of the enemy, seize two or three men of the place where you happen to be." These were to serve as hostages, and to open for them a way into the places into which they were afterwards to pass. "You will treat them," said he, "with all the tenderness possible." He then recommends the Vaudois to abstain from all disorder, to pay for all that they demand, and to make prayer morning and evening.³ "When you

¹ It is evident that this paper was written by an amanuensis, for the writing is in a bold and current hand, whilst the writing of Janavel (if we may judge by eleven lines written by his own hand at the end of the letter which he addressed to the Vaudois in 1685), was large, like that of a child, slow, hesitating, tremulous, and difficult to read.

² *Mercure historique*, t. vii. pp. 789, 806, 807.—*Gazette of Leyden*, &c.

³ I omit, for want of space, very particular directions concerning the formation of companies, the order to be followed during the march, the arrangements to be made in halts and encampments, the manner of making or repelling an attack with advantage, &c.

shall have arrived in the valleys, . . . if you should be no more than 600 or 700 men, you must attack at once the valley of Lucerna and that of St. Martin. . . . You will always keep sentinels posted at the summits of the mountains, that you may not be surprised from the side of Pragela, and in order to keep the passes free from one valley to another." He recommends that, amongst others, they should carefully guard the Col Julian; and also that they should have in each valley a place fixed beforehand, "a place of sure retreat, which," says he, "shall be in the valley of Lucerna, *Balmadant*, *L'Aiguille*, and the *Combe of Giansarand*, where was the most ancient retreat of our fathers—in that of St. Martin, *La Balciglia*."¹ "Spare no labour nor pains," says he, "in fortifying this post, which will be your most secure fortress. Do not quit it unless in the utmost extremity. . . . You will, of course, be told that you cannot hold it always, and that rather than not succeed in their object, all France and Italy will gather together against you. . . . But were it the whole world, and only yourselves against all, fear ye the Almighty alone, who is your protection."

"The severest penalties," he adds, must be inflicted upon any one who abandons his post." "Have scouts in the level country, to keep you informed of the movements of your adversaries." "On the field of battle give quarter to no one; for how will you keep prisoners? You can neither employ your men to guard them, nor your provisions to feed them; and upon leaving you, they will make known your position to the enemy." But on all occasions, he earnestly goes on, take care above all things "to spare innocent blood, or blood which there is no need to shed, that you may not have it to answer for before God; and in particular, see that you never allow yourselves to be seized with fear or with anger; for if you put your trust in the Lord, be assured that he will never forget you, and that his sword will be around you as a wall of fire against your enemies."²

The combined moderation and energy of this language, which seemed to breathe at once the solemn calmness of the patriarchs and the animating confidence of the prophets, was well calculated to sustain the Vaudois in their patriotic efforts. With the noble simplicity of the mountaineer was united a character of greatness and affecting self-renunciation, which is sought for in vain in men

¹ It is now written *Balsille*, more anciently it was written *Balseigla*, and in the orders of the day of the French army which came to attack the Vaudois there, this post is named the *Fort of the Three Teeth*, or the *Rock of the Three Beaks*.

² These expressions are exactly copied from the manuscript of Janavel, but are taken from passages of greater length.

of the highest fame. It is also a very rare thing for a people tossed amidst the vicissitudes of a peculiar fate, and especially when these are the result of some great religious crisis, or when the immediate irritation of an unjust war is experienced, not to abandon themselves to extravagance and cruelty. The Camisards had their ecstatic persons—the Anabaptists their visionary prophets—all parties have made reprisals when they became victorious. Amongst the Vaudois there was nothing of the kind; liveliness of faith was associated with the soundest views; they were directed by a sort of calm temerity; and if there is anything in which they can be blamed, it is upon account of what, according to human estimate, might be called their excess of good faith, for almost all their errors arose from their too easily believing the word of their enemies. But if this respect for truth did them some harm in the world, it appears to their honour in history. The events now to be recorded form one of the most brilliant phases of their history. Reasonable even in passion, they accomplished the greatest things, their enthusiasm never making them forego prudence, nor misfortune shaking their firmness. In their difficult course, as they marched on amidst tempest after tempest, with a countenance always calm and resolute, courage and moderation attended all their steps. This character merits for them a place by themselves in history, and it may be said that Janavel made it for them. The severe stamp of exile renders nobler still the aspect of this noble old man, who, like Moses, led the tribes of his people to the boundaries of the promised land, the land of their forefathers, without being permitted to enter it himself. We are now to see how his compatriots made their way thither.

CHAPTER III.

THE GLORIOUS RETURN OF THE VAUDOIS, UNDER THE CONDUCT OF ARNAUD,¹ AND ACCORDING TO THE DIRECTIONS OF JANAVEL.²

(AUGUST TO SEPTEMBER, 1689.)

The Vaudois assemble on the shore of the Lake of Geneva, and embark by night—The precautions employed to divert attention from their proceedings—Numbers, however, arrested by the Swiss governments—The embarkation—Arnaud and Turrel, leaders of the expedition—The march begun—The pastor Chyon taken prisoner—The Vaudois seize hostages—They pass without impediment by Yvoire, Viu, and St. Joire—A show of opposition at Cluse is soon overcome—They carry the bridge at Salanches by force—They pass over the mountains of Le Praz and Haute Luce—Sufferings from incessant rain—The Col Bonhomme—Scez—St. Foi—Mount Iseran—They capture a cardinal's equipages—Sufferings in crossing Mount Cenis—Combat with the garrison of Exilles—Some fall behind through fatigue and exhaustion, and are taken prisoners—Combat and victory at Salabertrans—The exiles obtain the first view of their native mountains—They arrive at the Balsille—A half company of Piedmontese soldiers taken prisoners and put to the sword—Public worship at Pral—Victory at the Col Julian—Public worship and solemn covenant on the hill of Sibaoud.

It was during the night between the 16th and 17th of August, 1689, that the Vaudois embarked on the Lake of Geneva, in order to pass from Switzerland into Savoy, and so to proceed to their own

¹ I have retained in the title of this chapter the name of Arnaud, which is connected in so particular a manner with the return of the Vaudois, that I could not but think myself bound to respect a reputation so long established in this matter.

But I am compelled as a historian to reduce the magnitude of the part taken by him in this expedition, of which the plan was due to Janavel, and the active direction to General Turrel (at least until it had reached the valleys), and of which the account was written by the youthful Reynaudin. Arnaud, who was the editor of this narration, modified it a little.

² AUTHORITIES.—Almost exclusively "The Glorious Return" [*La Glorieuse Rentrée*] of ARNAUD, and the various readings of the original MS. of that work, deposited in the Royal Library at Berlin.—Also, "*Rélation en abrégé de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable dans le retour des Vaudois au Piémont, depuis le 16 août 1689, jusqu'au 15 juillet 1690; ce qui a été fidèlement rapporté par des personnes qui ont été eux-mêmes dans diverses actions, qui sont ici rapportées, de nouveau. A la Haye chez Ollivier Le Franc.*" 1690. (It would seem from this title, that this little work had already reached its second edition.)—"Nouvelle relation en abrégé ou histoire de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable aux vallées de Piémont, depuis le 15 juillet 1690 jusqu'au mois de février 1691." Published as a sequel to the preceding pamphlet.—"*Rélation véritable de ce qui s'est passé entre l'armée française et les Piémontais et Vaudois, dans les vallées de Lucerne, depuis le 15 août jusqu'au 22 du même mois 1690.*" La Haye; a small 4to pamphlet of eight pages. (All these pamphlets show how great an interest was taken in distant places in the extraordinary expedition of the Vaudois.)—See also the journals of the period; the *Gazettes* of Leyden, of France, and of England; *Mercure historique*, &c.

native valleys. There is near the town of Nyon a forest of oaks, called the wood of Prangins, which covers with its venerable trees a number of little hills, includes a number of shady hollows, and descends with a steep declivity to the waves of the Lemman. Here it was that the Vaudois, faithful to their patriotic design, had agreed not to await one another, but rather to meet at once; for it was necessary that the forest should seem to be unoccupied¹ and by no means to be their mustering place, that so all the members of the expedition might assemble in it without impediment, from all places in the neighbourhood, between nine and ten o'clock in the evening. A great number of Vaudois were therefore already prepared to set out, and were concealed in the vicinity, whilst no one was to be seen in the wood of Prangins, where they took care not to show themselves, that attention might not be drawn to that important spot.

For two months the refugees had made their preparations for departure. Those who were scattered in the most distant parts of Switzerland, and even as far as the utmost boundaries of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and the Palatinate, were apprised that a new attempt to regain possession of their country was about to be undertaken from the shores of Lake Lemman. They therefore made every arrangement beforehand, in order to be there. Domestic, hired labourers, and artisans disengaged themselves in the quietest possible way from their employments; the workers in manufactories provided themselves with arms; every one did the best he could to secure a supply for the wants of his poor family, which he was to leave in exile, whilst he went to win back for them the land of their fathers.² But the dangers were very great; each might perish in this great enterprise; the necessary silence concealed many a painful farewell.

More than eight days before the time appointed, the Vaudois began their journeys. They required to use many precautions, in order to traverse the confederate states without exciting suspicion. Marching by night, and sleeping by day, seeking by-paths and the shadow of woods, they carefully avoided appearing in numerous

¹ Suspicions were entertained of the project of the Vaudois. The federal patrols passed and repassed several times through the forest of Prangins; a descent was made upon it on the 13th of August, with the view of apprehending the Vaudois who might be surprised there, but nobody was found.

(Report of the bailli of Nyon on the departure of the Vaudois. Archives of Berne, compartment D.) In another report, it is said that the forest was empty on the 16th at sunset, but in the course of three or four hours it was filled with Piedmontese. (Same source.)

² These brief notices express the general import of a multitude of details contained in private letters and contemporary reports, too numerous to be all cited here.

groups. They met one another without speaking; a significant look sufficed to make them understand one another. They were, moreover, unacquainted with the plan of the expedition; no order had been given them, nothing precise was known; one single idea guided them, that of returning to their own native land.

However, their successive disappearance from the places where they had been cantoned, awakened attention. Reports passed from one quarter to another, and multiplied. Friday, the 15th of August, was a fast-day for the whole of Switzerland. In the afternoon, just as the people were assembling for worship, the bailli of Morges was apprised that 400 Vaudois had been seen hidden amongst the bushes below the bridge of Allamand.¹ He caused notice to be given to the militia of the neighbouring districts, and next day he arrested 100 of these fugitives, but eighty-three succeeded in making their escape. Others were reported to the authorities at Rolle, Ursine, and Perol.

On the same day the boatmen of Ouchy presented themselves before the bailli of Lausanne.² "Some of the Lucernese," said they, "have asked us to transport them to Savoy in our boats, but we did not think proper to do it without acquainting you." "You have done very well," said the magistrate, "for I can by no means authorize you. But are these people numerous?" "Nearly 180." "Where do they wait for you?" "They are concealed in two barns near Vidy." The magistrate sent a major to persuade the Vaudois to retire. This envoy took possession of three boats which they had already brought together, and in one of which were found fifty muskets. "Next day," says the bailli in his report, "I learned that, about midnight, 500 men, marching very quickly and in silence, had passed Romanel, proceeding towards the lake." These 500 men, along with the 180 who were at Vidy, were to have embarked at St. Sulpice, in order to go to Nyon; but only 450 were able to embark, and 230 remained, for want of the three boats which the bailli of Lausanne had caused to be taken from them.³

¹ All these and the following particulars are taken from the Report of the bailli of Nyon, and from another report, entitled "*Information véritable de ce qui est arrivé dans le baillage de Nyon pour le trajet des Piémontais, de la conduite qu'ils ont tenue*," &c. . . . (Archives of Berne.) This report commences thus:—"On the 9th of July, 1689, their excellencies of Berne informed me that the Piedmontese, following out their obstinate design of returning to their own country, &c. . . ." Other letters, some of which are dated even as far back as the 10th of May, attest the movement already taking place among the Vaudois, and the attention which they had excited. (See the Archives of the Council of State of Geneva, sittings of 10th and 28th May, 1689.)

² The name of this bailli was Sturler. His report is dated 16th August, 1689. (Archives of Berne.)

³ Same document, compared with other reports (also in the Archives of Berne).

"To-day," continues he, under date the 16th, "my colleague of Morges has sent his son to tell me that he has discovered other Vaudois in the neighbourhood of Aubonne, that the bailli of Nyon has already put the people of his district under arms, and that it is necessary to prevent these unfortunate people from passing into Savoy, where certain destruction awaits them."¹ In the canton of Uri, 122 Piedmontese, coming from the Grisons, had already been arrested.² Of those who succeeded in reaching the common rendezvous, 200 were still unable to cross the lake, because out of fourteen boats in which their brethren had crossed, only three consented to renew the voyage.³

The federal militia of the canton had been convoked for the 14th, to oppose the project of the Vaudois; but the previous evening was that of a religious solemnity⁴ always most devoutly observed in Switzerland. All military measures were put off to the 16th and 17th. Then it was too late. In the intervening night, as the first stars arose, the forest of Prangins, where all had been stillness until sunset, was suddenly peopled with 1000 or 1200 men, who descended from the heights, ascended from the ravines, arose out of the coppices, and, as if in obedience to some silent signal, concentrated themselves, with admirable unity of purpose, on the solitary bank of the Lemman.

Fifteen boats had been gathered together there. The pastor Arnaud⁵ made a fervent prayer, to implore the Divine protection for these banished men. "The young seigneur of Prangins, who, *as well as many others*, happened to be there from curiosity, after having listened on his knees to the prayer of the pastor, immediately mounted his horse, and rode all night to Geneva, to give information to the French resident of the enterprise of the Vaudois." In consequence of this information, orders were forwarded to Lyons to cause the cavalry to march towards Savoy, to destroy this audacious troop. But the Vaudois took care to keep out of the reach of their attacks. Ascending the rivers to their sources, in order to avoid the populous towns, and following the crest of the mountains

¹ Still extracted from the despatch of the bailli of Lausanne. See also the report of the bailli of Nyon, and a despatch of the governor of the castle of Rolle, dated 16th August, 1689. (Archives of Berne.)

² ARNAUD, p. 37. BEATTIE, *Vaudois Valleys*, Pict. p. 121.

³ ARNAUD, p. 141. In the original MS. it is also said that it was not deemed prudent to wait for a third voyage, as the dawn of day began to appear.

⁴ *Feuille du jour de l'an, offerte à la Suisse romande, par la réunion lausannoise de l'union fédérale*. No. III. p. 5. To this sheet is annexed a lithograph, remarkable as a composition, which represents the departure of the Vaudois at the moment when, assembled on the bank, they listen to the prayer of their pastor.

⁵ Arnaud, pp. 40, 41.

from glacier to glacier and from precipice to precipice, in deep chasms or on lofty peaks, they kept themselves out of the way of the combined forces of France and Piedmont, which vainly endeavoured to intercept their passage.

"The sheriff Devigne," adds a despatch dated on that same day, "arrived at the forest of Prangins at the moment when 300 Vaudois had already crossed the lake. There still remained about 700 of them. He addressed them with exhortations and threats, to keep them from going; but they replied to him by good reasons, by entreaties, and even by letting him see that they intended to make resistance,¹ so that, in these circumstances, not being sufficiently strong for them, he allowed them to do as they chose, and saw them depart in thirteen boats."² All the members of the expedition had crossed the lake by two o'clock in the morning.³ The sky was covered with clouds, and a drizzling rain fell. During their passage, a gust of wind separated the boats, but those which were carried out of their way were compensated by meeting with a small bark from Geneva, with eighteen of their brethren, who also had come in compliance with the call to return and take possession of their native land. As soon as the first who disembarked set foot upon the shores of Savoy, Arnaud posted sentinels in all directions; and, with the exception of those who were thus occupied, the Vaudois, waiting until they should all be united again, gathered together beneath a tree on the bank of the lake, longing and praying for the prompt arrival of their brethren who were still on the other side.⁴ One of the boats, however, which had been dispersed by the wind, was driven so far out of its course, that it did not reach the land until daybreak. The men whom it conveyed rejoined the troop when already on the march and in military organization.

Janavel had said, "First of all, it is most requisite that you should, every one of you, kneel down upon the ground, and lifting up your eyes and your hands to heaven, your heart and soul to the Lord, earnestly pray that he would give you his Holy Spirit, . . . and cause you to name those who are best qualified among you to be leaders of the rest."⁵ The whole body composing the expedition

¹ Here we have the first proof of the calm intrepidity which marked the conduct of the Vaudois in this expedition.

² Letter of the governor of the castle of Rolle to the bailli of Nyon, 16th Aug. (Archives of Berne.)

³ This, and the following particulars, are extracted from the original manuscript of the *Return of the Vaudois*, many passages of which have been left out of the published work.

⁴ Original MS. of the *Return*, p. 42. Royal Library of Berlin.

⁵ *Istruzione data alli ribelli*, &c. . . . (Archives of Turin), a document already quoted.

was divided into nineteen companies, each having a captain and a sergeant.¹ The commander-in-chief was to have been that leader of the later expedition, who has been already mentioned;² but as he had not succeeded in making his appearance at the rendezvous, a compatriot of M. Arnaud, Captain Turrel,³ a native of Die, was

¹ In the original manuscript of the *Return*, the following sentence occurs: "As of these captains some were killed, and some were taken prisoners during the march, and others deserted, new ones were substituted for them, or their companies were incorporated, as circumstances required."

² BOURGEOIS of Neuchâtel. (ARNAUD, *Return*, p. 45.)

³ This being brought forward as a fact entirely new, I think it requisite to state the proofs upon which it rests. The following is an extract from the original manuscript of the *Return*, deposited at Berlin (Royal Library, No. —), p. 42:—"When all had arrived, they proceeded to form a body, of which one Bourgeois of Neuchâtel was to have been commander. He did not make his appearance at the rendezvous; we shall not here say upon what account, having in the further course of this history to speak at sufficient length concerning him. I shall satisfy myself with mentioning that the post of honour which had been designed for him was given to the Sieur TURREL, a refugee of Die, in whose courage and military experience the people had sufficient confidence to declare him commander-in-chief; yet so that he should not be able to determine anything without the concurrence of a council of war, composed of the captains, and especially without conferring with M. Arnaud, who had his eye upon all, and who was to him as a colleague associated in the command." This passage, which itself assigns to Arnaud's influence a very honourable part, was suppressed by him in the publication. It cannot be restored to its place in the history without producing some modification of the generally received ideas concerning the military arrangements of this expedition. Let us see whether facts and analogies are in favour of its retention or of its suppression.

Arnaud allows us to think that he was himself the general-in-chief of the Vaudois army, without, however, anywhere saying that this rank had been conferred upon him; whilst it is probable that he would not have left us to mere inference if he had been formally invested with it.

But can we suppose that he has passed over in silence a fact so important, if, indeed, true? And have we, without the testimony of Arnaud, proofs sufficient to establish it? These two questions merit separate examination.

A.—I would have hesitated to believe that, upon any account, Arnaud would have kept unfair silence concerning the general, Turrel, of whom my readers probably have never met with any notice until now, if I had not found in this author other instances of the same kind of suppression. There can be no doubt of the very important part taken by Janavel in this expedition, yet Arnaud never speaks of him, except in page 175, where he does so as if this illustrious exile had remained a complete stranger to the enterprise of the Vaudois. He was, however, a party to it, as may be certainly learned from the records of the Council of State of Geneva; nay, he directed it, for his instructions have been discovered, and they were followed in every particular. Arnaud could not be ignorant of them, for he was himself called to execute them, and a copy of them was appended to the journal of the expedition, of which he afterwards became the editor. Hence I conclude that Arnaud's silence is not enough to cause the rejection of the passage quoted at the beginning of this note.

B.—But is that passage sufficient to establish the fact omitted by this writer? In the first place, let us observe that the Vaudois required to have a leader: I think it needless to stop to prove it. Moreover, they could not confide their destinies to any leader but one whose military capacity was already recognized; and it would have been at least extraordinary if for that office they had chosen a

chosen in his stead. The Vaudois, before commencing their march, offered up a short but fervent prayer to the Lord, to implore his

pastor.* Arnaud himself does not say that he was this leader; but as he plainly names himself whenever he mentions a fact which concerns himself, even when it is of small historic value, we are compelled to seek for the reason of the vague expressions which he employs when he speaks of an important resolution, a decisive order, a great military movement, or the like; for then he makes use only of indeterminate forms of expression, as, THERE WAS MADE, IT WAS RESOLVED, IT WAS DECIDED, &c.; from which I think it may be reasonably concluded, that in the latter case the indefinite expression refers to the commander-in-chief or the council of war, whilst the personal mention of Arnaud must have been reserved for those things which he could reasonably ascribe in a positive manner to himself.

Besides, he was separated from the Vaudois army at different times during the expedition (xviiith day; *Return*, Second Part, from p. 166 to p. 200), which could not have taken place without a delegation of the command, or without disorders, of which there is no indication.

C.—What motives could Arnaud have had for suppressing in his narrative the name of General Turrel? It seems probable that it was from prudential considerations, and in order to draw a veil over the desertion and dishonourable death of that leader, whom Arnaud mentions only as a simple captain, that he has kept silence concerning the high position which the Vaudois had accorded to him; for after having conducted them into their native country, Turrel abandoned them, in the belief that their cause was desperate (pp. 154-156). He was then succeeded by P. Odin, with the title of major-general. (Id. pp. 265-392.)

It appears to me, therefore, that we may regard as proved—1st, That Arnaud was not from the first the military leader of the Vaudois (and he nowhere speaks of himself as having been so). 2d, That they had for some time another leader, named Turrel. 3d, That Arnaud was at first merely one of three pastors, destined to perform the functions of the gospel ministry during this expedition. (The two others were Montoux and Chyon; but from the seventh day both of them were prisoners.) 4th, That being left alone, Arnaud supplied their places, with a courage and devotedness worthy of the highest praise, going from one valley to another to conduct religious services, to dispense the Lord's Supper, and to take part in councils (*Return*, pp. 126, 138, 161, 200, 204, &c.), and always replying with the noblest energy to those who urged him to abandon the cause of the Vaudois. (*Return*, pp. 233, 237, 250.) He had a right, surely, notwithstanding his foreign origin, to say, as he did say in speaking of the valleys, "We have re-conquered the land of our fathers." (Id., Preface, and p. 238.) Arnaud being obliged to withdraw from the country in 1693, returned to it in 1703 (*Mercure histor.* t. xxvi. p. 141); he was provisional pastor of St. Jean in 1706 (*Memoir on the present state of the Vaudois Churches*, of date 27th December, 1706, in my possession), withdrew from it in 1707 (Acts of Synod of 14th February, 1708, towards the end), and was in London in 1708 (the date of his portrait by Van Somer). In 1709 he returned to Germany (*Old Consistorial Records of the parish of Durmentz*),

* The only act in which the strategetic capacity of Arnaud had found opportunity of displaying itself before this period—at least, the only one which he has mentioned (Preface, p. 49)—was not of a nature to raise expectations of what he was afterwards to become. Having 400 men at his command (*Relatione del succeduto*, &c. . . . Archives of Turin, No. of the series 800), he found no better means of making prisoners seventy soldiers of the enemy, who were shut up in the place of worship at St. Germain, than to cause canals to be dug around the building, in order to pour in upon them a flood of water. (*Return*, fol. 24.) It is needless to say that they all escaped. But, in justice, it must also be stated that Arnaud afterwards gave frequent proofs of a remarkable military genius. Decision, a clear perception of the whole state of matters, courage, and resolution, were the qualities which experience rapidly developed in him, and which mark him as a distinguished warrior.

blessing upon their enterprise;¹ then, as the coasts of Savoy had been furnished with troops, and they could no longer, without danger, remain in a position so exposed as that which they occupied, they set out an hour before sunrise, without awaiting the arrival of the last of their own party.²

Let us now follow them in this march, keeping before us the daily record which was written by Hugues and Reynaudin,³ and to which Arnaud has attached his name. "This history," says he, "pursuing its course from mountain to mountain, sweeping over precipices, and from one valley to another, . . . must needs be rude and unpolished, but it will not therefore be the less veracious; and if it has not that refinement of language which is sought after in the present age, it will be found to contain at least the truth in its purity."⁴

At the very commencement of their march, however, the Vaudois experienced a misfortune; for one of the three pastors who accompanied them, Cyrus Chyon, having gone to seek a guide in a village to which they were near, was there seized, and conveyed to Chambéry, where he remained a prisoner until the official re-establishment of the Vaudois in their own country. Seeing that they were treated as enemies, the Vaudois immediately took measures as for war, and Turrel, their general, sent on a party to summon the little town of Yvoire to open its gates without resistance, unless it chose to be given to fire and sword. It obeyed; and, according to the particular recommendation of Janavel, the Vaudois took two hostages there, the lord of the manor, and the receiver of taxes, who were afterwards replaced by the lord of the manor of Wernier, and two other gentlemen of that part of the country.⁵ The kindness with which these hostages were treated, and the severe discipline of the Vaudois troop, very soon won for the latter the general sympathies of the people; for the common people comprehend what is noble and great with an intuition more sure than that of cultivated minds, which are often prepossessed by factitious ideas on these subjects. "May God be with you!" said many a poor peasant, taking off his

and in 1710 he published the *Glorious Return*, twenty years after the manuscript of that work had left the hands of those by whom it was originally prepared. (See the article ARNAUD, in the *Bibliography* appended to the *Israel of the Alps*.)

¹ Various reading of the original manuscript of the *Return*, p. 47, in the Royal Library of Berlin.

² These particulars are taken from a *Relation*, printed at the Hague in 1690, an 18mo of 92 pages.

³ See the *Return*, first edition, pp. 216, 217 (Huc or Hugues), and p. 175 (Paul Reynaudin).

⁴ ARNAUD, *Dedication; Return*, fol. 12 and 13. (Not paged.—First Edition.)

⁵ MM. De Coudrées and De Fora.

hat before the band of exiles. "The parish priest of Filly opened his cellar to them, and caused them to refresh themselves, for which he would accept of no money."¹

In passing the Col de Voiron, they obtained a last view of those peaceful banks of the Lake of Geneva, not to be contemplated by them without gratitude, where their wives and children were left under the protection of Swiss hospitality. They now drew near to the town of Viu, situated at the base of the pyramidal mountain called the Mole, and which lies in a straight line between Geneva and Chamouni. A quarter-master and the châtelain of Boège, who had been added to the number of their hostages, facilitated the entrance of the Vaudois into this town, by sending on before them the following letter:—"These people have arrived here to the number of 2000; they have asked us to accompany them, that we may be able to report concerning their conduct; and we can assure you that they conduct themselves with great moderation. They pay for everything which they take, and demand only to be allowed to pass; therefore we beg of you that you will neither sound the tocsin nor beat the drum, and that in case your people should be under arms, you will cause them to keep out of the way."² This testimony was so well confirmed by the good behaviour of the Vaudois, that there arose, says Arnaud, a sort of emulation along the line of their march, who should most promptly give them what they wanted. The country people consented to prepare beforehand provisions, horses, and waggons, in the villages through which they were to pass; and the progress of the Vaudois was not delayed by the failure of these arrangements.

They entered Viu at the close of the day; and after reposing there for two hours, they set out again by moonlight. In the little town of St. Joire, where they next arrived, the whole inhabitants came to their doors to see them pass. The magistrates placed a great cask of wine in the middle of the street, for the refreshment of the travellers. But the Vaudois did not remain there: proceeding onward, they encamped half a league from the town, on a bare and arid hill, named Carman. It was now near midnight; the day (Saturday, the 17th of August) had thus prosperously closed; they made prayer, then they posted sentinels; and the whole band, fatigued by so long a march, sought on the naked ground that repose which, in such circumstances, comes so readily to mountaineers.

Next day, about ten o'clock, they reached the banks of the Arve, opposite to the town of Cluse, then surrounded with walls. This little town seems caught in the gorge of a narrow valley—rocks

¹ Arnaud, p. 49.

² Id. p. 51.

sharply peaked, but clothed with shrubs, rising above the highest roofs of the houses—and resembles a vessel stranded in the hollow of the mountains. The weather was rainy; the gates of the town were closed; the peasants of the neighbourhood reviled the Vaudois, shouting from a distance. Affairs wore a threatening aspect, as if their passage was to be disputed. "Gentlemen," said they to the hostages, "this concerns you; if they fire upon us, you shall be the first killed." This menace was not fruitless, for M. De Fora immediately wrote to M. De La Rochette, a nobleman who dwelt in Cluse, to ask the free passage of the mountaineers. He came to their camp, along with other gentlemen, and they were detained as hostages. A Vaudois officer was sent into the town, instead of the inhabitants who were detained. "Where is your warrant?" he was asked. "At the point of our swords," was his reply. These bold words announcing a determined resolution, it was thought best to come to terms. The Israel of the Alps passed through this place in the midst of its inhabitants, they standing under arms, and ranged along both sides of the street. Those who took charge of the commissariat for the troop then caused five quintals of bread and five loads of wine to be brought out to the open country, for which they paid five louis d'or, and those from whom the articles were bought expressed themselves quite satisfied with the price.

From Cluse to Salanches, the valley is very narrow, and the Arve, which flows through it, was swollen by the melting of the snows. At the castle of Maglan, which is situated in this part of the valley, the Vaudois took new hostages, and received information that their passage would be disputed at Salanches. The dark apprehensions which arise from the hostility of men, began to assail them in the midst of majestic scenes of nature; such, for example, as the two remarkable cascades of Nant d'Urli and Nant d'Arpénas, by which they passed. The road was toilsome; the rain continued to fall; the hostages complained of their hardships; but the exiles marched on without intermission.

A bridge of wood, roofed over, is thrown across the Arve between the village of St. Martin and the city of Salanches. The Vaudois tried the effect of negotiation before attempting to cross it; but perceiving that their adversaries protracted these negotiations, in order the better to make their arrangements for resistance, they carried the bridge by force, lined it with forty soldiers, and when they had crossed it, proceeded to range themselves in order of battle over against the town, the approach to which was defended by 600 armed men. They threatened to burn it, and to kill the hostages, upon the slightest hostile movement that might be directed

against them. This threat produced its effect; for the Vaudois were permitted to pass without opposition, and proceeded to encamp a league farther on, at the village of Cablan, or Colombier, where they could obtain no supplies, but which they blessed God that they had reached in safety. Thus closed their second day, the 18th of August, 1689.

Monday, the 19th, was one of the most fatiguing days of their march. Early in the morning the trumpets sounded, and a council was held as to the precautions necessary to be taken for passing over the mountain of Les Praz, and that of Haute Luce, which rise to the height of 7000 feet above the level of the sea. The village of Migève was the last place of any consequence which the Vaudois had to pass through. The inhabitants were under arms, but made no resistance. On the mountain they found some deserted hamlets, where they reposed a while, on account of the incessant rain. Here and there, in chalets which stood open, were provisions remaining, and small quantities of butter and cheese, which the troops abstained from touching. The hostages, surprised at this reserve, and not satisfied with the enforced frugality of their meals, expressed their astonishment at it, saying that, in respect of victuals, it was the custom of soldiers to take them where they found them, without any one's having a right to be offended.¹ These words, taken in connection with the neglected condition in which the shepherds had left their chalets, and, above all, the hunger which the Vaudois experienced, led them to make use of the provisions which were thus left behind, although they would have been most anxious to have paid for them, if any of the owners had been there to have received the price.

Their strength and courage being thus revived, the Vaudois descended the slope of Les Praz, and proceeded to climb the mountain of Haute Luce, one of the steepest and most desolate over which they had to pass. This mountain, then flooded by the rains, enveloped in clouds, covered with snow, or deeply cleft by impassable precipices, presented many difficulties.² The guide lost his way. Persons were sent out on all sides to find some peasants who might act in his stead; but it was soon perceived that these Savoyards were leading the Vaudois troop by the longest and most dangerous routes. Arnaud threatened them with the gibbet if they deviated from the proper way; and by his exhortations re-animated the courage of the exhausted troops. "If it is difficult to ascend a steep mountain" adds he in his own narrative, "everybody knows

¹ Arnaud, p. 67.

² Beattie, p. 136. (See the *Bibliography*, Part I. sect. 5, § III. No. IV.)

that it is equally difficult to descend; and in this case the descent could not be accomplished in any other way than by every man either sitting down or lying on his back, and so letting himself slide, as it were, to the bottom of a precipice, and this with no other light than that which was caused by the whiteness of the snow."

It was not without great exertion that these intrepid travellers arrived, in the middle of the night, at a miserable hamlet, called St. Nicholas De Vérose, where they found no better shelter than that of some empty stables. Situated in a funnel, formed by frightful mountains, this place, deep as an abyss, and desert and cold as a tomb, is the resort only of a few shepherds, who spend two months of the summer in these occasional abodes. The Vaudois were obliged to take wood from the roofs of the ruinous huts to warm themselves a little. But this was only a feeble resource, for the rain, which continued to fall, reached them all the more easily, and made their stay there the more disagreeable.

Next day, being Tuesday, the 20th of August, their impatience to leave a place so unpleasant, and apprehension of some perfidy meditated by the Savoyards, made the Vaudois set out earlier than usual. They now bravely addressed themselves to the climbing of the Col Bonhomme, one of the highest ridges of Mont Blanc, "having," say they, "the rain on our backs, and the snow to our knees."¹ At the summit of this mountain is a long and almost level vale, named the Ladies' Plain [Plan des Dames]. Here the Vaudois would have arrived in the preceding year, entering upon it by the Col de la Seigne, if they had succeeded in carrying into effect their project, which failed at Bex, of returning to their own country. Since that time this pass had been fortified, in anticipation of a new attempt to be made by the exiles to return. Of this they had been apprised, and they expected a keen resistance. But the Piedmontese government, weary of keeping troops at so disadvantageous a post, had withdrawn them some time before, and the exile pilgrims, marching towards their native land, returned thanks to God for having smoothed for them a route already so fatiguing, by removing this formidable obstacle out of their way.

They then descended to the banks of the Isère, near its source, and were compelled to cross it several times, by stepping from rock to rock in its channel. Near St. Maurice they found a bridge barricaded, the passage of which seemed likely to be disputed with them by peasants armed with forks: this was not a serious obstacle; but the Count of Val Isère, having held a colloquy with

¹ Narrative of the Return, Arnaud, p. 71.

the Vaudois, caused the bridge to be cleared, and they then crossed it without resistance. Towards evening they encamped near the little town of Séez, the inhabitants of which at first, by a violent sounding of the tocsin, manifested a disposition to oppose them, but afterwards brought them provisions in abundance.

On the following day, being the fifth day of their march, they made prayer, and removed their camp before the dawn; but they found on the route nothing except deserted hamlets. The Vaudois were obliged to go as far as the town of St. Foi before they could halt and obtain some refreshment. There they were received with so much politeness, and endeavour to oblige, that this welcome even appeared suspicious. The principal people of the town earnestly urged them to stay there and recruit their strength—a deceitful proposal, to which those amongst them who were most fatigued listened with satisfaction. Arnaud, who was then in the rear, perceiving that the troop did not advance, proceeded to the foremost ranks, caused them to resume their march, and even retained in the number of the hostages some of those dangerous pretended friends, who would at least have made them lose time, which was precious to them, if they did not also seek to catch them in some fatal snare. On that day they encamped at Laval, where, for the first time for eight days, Arnaud and Montoux had at last the enjoyment of a sleep of some hours, on a bed in the village.

On Thursday, the 22d of August, they passed through the little town of Tignes, and climbed Mount Iseran, where the shepherds supplied them with a repast of milk and other produce of the dairy, warning them, however, that there were troops in waiting for them at the base of Mount Cenis. This news, far from intimidating the exiles, augmented their ardour. They reorganized their companies, appointed a few officers, and again set out on their march. Passing over the summits of a chain situated between Le Faucigny, La Tarentaise, and La Maurienne, they descended to Bonneval, a pleasant town in the valley of the Arc, where they met with a friendly reception. This was not the case, however, at the next village, named Bessas, where they took some hostages, and near to which they encamped, in a vast basin of the mountains, where they were exposed to an incessant rain all night.

The seventh day of their march was signalized by an unexpected capture which they made on Mount Cenis. The equipages of Cardinal Angelo Banuzzi, who was proceeding to Rome to attend the conclave which resulted in the election of Pope Alexander VIII., fell into the hands of the Vaudois, who took possession only of the horses and mules of the convoy; but the cardinal, disquieted by

the delay of his baggage, believed it to be lost; and as it contained important papers, the Papists pretend that he died of grief upon that account.

"What the Vaudois suffered in passing the Great and the Little Mount Cenis," says Arnaud,¹ "surpasses imagination. The ground was covered with snow; they had to descend the mountain of Tourliers rather by a precipice than by a road; and, to complete their misery, night having surprised them, numbers of them remained scattered on the mountain, overcome with fatigue and sleep." However, they re-assembled on the following day, the 24th of August, in the little and sterile valley of the Gaillon, which is closed in like an amphitheatre by encircling mountains, which meet towards the bottom, and seem to leave the traveller no way of egress. Nevertheless, the Vaudois troop ascended the mountains; but the soldiers of the garrison of Exilles were there in ambuscade, and overthrew the advanced guard, by rolling down rocks, flinging grenades, and taking off by their musketry every one who pressed forward. It was here that Captain Pellenc was made prisoner.

The Vaudois having therefore been compelled to descend again into the amphitheatre of the Gaillon, where they might all have been shut in and destroyed without possibility of escape, now resolved to retrace their steps. For this purpose it was necessary for them to ascend again the steep slope of the mountain of Tourliers, in order to turn by the heights the corps which obstructed their progress. But this ascent soon became so painful, that the hostages, falling upon the ground in weariness, exhaustion, and despair, entreated as a favour that they would take their lives, rather than drag them any farther. Numbers of the mountaineers themselves stopped on the way, overcome by fatigue and the insurmountable difficulties which they encountered in their progress. Amongst these were two surgeons, of whose presence and services the Vaudois troop was thus deprived. One of them, named Malanot, remained for four days in a hole of the rock, living only on the water which flowed close by. Being then no longer able to rejoin the expedition, he was made prisoner, and conducted to Suza, and afterwards to Turin, and did not recover his liberty till after a detention of nine months. The other surgeon, whose name was Muston, was seized within the French confines, and conducted to Grenoble, and thence to the galleys, where he remained till his death. "By his constancy and firmness in so long a martyrdom," says Arnaud,² "he merits a place in this history."

The Vaudois having at last reached the summit of the moun-

¹ P. 87.

² P. 92.

tain of Tourliers, sounded their clarions, to gather together those who had fallen behind, and those who had wandered. The main body waited there for two hours; many were still awaiting; but at last, says Arnaud, as they found that they could not wait longer without danger, "they consoled themselves with the thought that it is not by might, nor by skill, nor by number of men that God executes his marvellous designs; and so, calling upon his name, they resumed their march."

In a very short time they perceived through the mist a body of men, who marched, with drums beating, upon a ridge of the mountain towards which they were directing their steps. The leader of this troop was the commandant of Exilles. "Hold to the right," said he to the Vaudois by a note, "and you will be permitted to pass; but if not, and if you are determined to force the position which I occupy, I demand eight hours for deliberation." These eight hours would only have afforded him the means of putting himself in a condition of defence; but as he offered them a passage, the Vaudois accepted it, trusting to his word. However, they soon observed that he was following them at a distance at the head of his troops; and presuming that the passage conceded to them had no other object than to lead them into a new ambuscade, where they would have been between two fires, they wheeled about, and summoned these troops to retire. The troops obeyed the summons; but farther on, near Salabertrans, the Vaudois asking a peasant if they would be able to obtain provisions in that place, received the reply, "Go on! go on! they are preparing you a good supper there!"

These words increased their suspicions, and made them expect a combat. They were already within sight of the mountains whose vast slopes line the long valley of the Doire, so deep, and yet of such majestic extent. When they came in sight of this river, half a league from the bridge of Salabertrans, they saw thirty-six bivouac fires burning in the plain. Supposing that a company of soldiers might be gathered around each of these fires, they concluded from these indications that they were in presence of a camp of more than 2000 men. However, they kept on their course; but the advanced guard very soon fell in with the outposts of the enemy, and lost five men. No longer doubting that they must fight, they made prayer to God, asking not life but victory. The action commenced by an engagement of sharpshooters. After an hour and a half's firing, there was a sort of tacit armistice—a moment's respite—during which the Vaudois held a council as to what they should do.¹ Night had now come on; the weather was cloudy, and it be-

¹ These and the following particulars are taken, not from the work of Arnaud,

came very dark. The council of war decided that they should form themselves into three attacking parties, one at the end of the bridge, a second up the river, and the third farther down.

The troops defending the passage were French; their commander was M. De Larrey, and he occupied the end of the bridge with his best soldiers. "I was one of the advanced guard," says one of the Vaudois combatants. "We approached from the river, on the left of the bridge: at the same instant arrived 200 men, who fired on us in the darkness of the night. Three of our men were killed. We mounted again by the right, and sustained a new discharge. Then our brigade rushed towards the bridge, where, after having fired some shots, as we saw the enemy approaching, we flung ourselves on our bellies upon the ground, and a terrible discharge passed over us, without doing us any harm. We then rose up, sabre in hand, exclaiming to the rear-guard, 'Forward! the bridge is won!'"¹ The Vaudois of the centre instantly rushed on after these brave combatants. The bridge was still covered with the enemy's troops; but the two wings of the Vaudois army concentrated their fire on the decisive point. M. De Larrey was wounded in the arm. He retired from the field of battle, where it was impossible to have a proper examination as to the seriousness of the wound. His troops hesitated, and felt themselves to be without a leader. "Forward! forward!" exclaimed the Vaudois again. An electric impulse passed like lightning through their ranks, and hurried them all towards the bridge. The wings then bent in upon the centre; all rushed eagerly forward; nothing could resist that impetuous mass, and they crossed the bridge.

"But on the other side there was a wall, and rather than abandon it, the French suffered themselves to be cut down with the sabre, and their dead bodies heaped above one another. Their cavalry continually fired on us. Other soldiers, coming from Salabertans, surprised us, attacking us at the same time in the rear."² Arnaud and Mondon repulsed them, whilst the rest of their little army pressed eagerly on to the camp of the French. Driven on by those who came last across the bridge, those who were in front could not stop, and burst, ere they were aware, through the ranks of the enemy. Courageous and excited, they pierced from one side

but from an unpublished letter, written by a Vaudois of the expedition, and preserved at Berne. (*State Archives*, file D.)

¹ These particulars are taken from a very rare little work, with a very long title: *Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable dans le retour des Vaudois Par un soldat de l'expédition*, &c. . . . La Haye, 1690, an 18mo of 92 pages. The present quotation is from p. 10.

² Extract from the same *Relation*, p. 11.

to the other of the hostile army, cutting it in two; and coming upon its intrenchments, carried them at the point of the bayonet, routing all, and pursuing the fugitives until they remained masters of the plain, still smoking with discharges of artillery, bivouac fires, and bloodshed. "Never was there so violent an onset," says Arnaud;¹ "the sabres of the Vaudois broke in pieces the swords of the French, and struck multitudes of sparks from the fusils and muskets, which they used to parry the blows aimed at them." "Is it possible," exclaimed the Marquis De Larrey, "that I have lost both the battle and my honour!"

Scarcely had the Vaudois crossed the bridge, when they destroyed it. "All along the bank of the river," says an eye-witness, the gravel was strewn with dead bodies, as well of the cavalry as of the peasants and the king's soldiers."² The combat had lasted more than two hours. The French were so completely routed, that a great number of them, not knowing to what side to flee, mingled amongst the Vaudois, in the hope of being mistaken for some of them, and so saving themselves. But a circumstance, which would seem grotesque if it had been less fatal for them, caused them to be recognized, notwithstanding the darkness of the night. The Vaudois, after having taken possession of the intrenchments of their adversaries, had posted sentinels at all the avenues from it. The watchword was *Angrogne* [Angrogna]; and when the sentinels cried, *Who goes there?* these strangers, thinking to give the proper reply, mutilated the watchword in attempting to pronounce it, and only said *Grogne*,³ which betrayed them, and led to their death.⁴

The rising moon displayed the ground strewn with the dead. Some of the Marquis De Larrey's companies had been reduced to seven or eight men; others had lost their officers; and all were in flight towards Suza, Exilles, or Briançon. "We had only twenty-two killed, and eight wounded," says the Vaudois soldier already quoted; "of the enemy there remained 700, all killed upon the spot, and well counted, to say nothing of the wounded."⁵ The basin of the Doire was again deserted and still.

The Vaudois assembled together, and prayed. Then they took the enemy's munitions of war, all that they could bring to one place, and putting into the heap some barrels of powder, for which they had no use, they affixed to it a lighted match, and withdrew from the valley. A terrible explosion soon shook the mountains, and scattered to great distances the remains of the French camp. The exiles, re-invigorated by this peal of victory, flung their caps in

¹ P. 97.

² *Relation d'un soldat*, p. 11.

³ ["Grumbling"—an old word.]

⁴ *Return*, p. 93.—This recalls Judges xii. 6.

⁵ *Relation*, p. 12.

the air, exclaiming, "Glory be to the God of armies, who has delivered us from the hands of our enemies!"¹

Ordinary courage would now have demanded some repose, for the Vaudois had marched on unintermittingly for three days and three nights, without proper sleep, and almost without food, sleeping only for a few hours at a time, and having for nourishment nothing but bread and water. But in the apprehension that new troops might come upon them, and take them in the rear, they resolved to set out again at once. The mountain which remained to be crossed separates the valley of the Doire from that of Pragela. The moon was up; the way was free from danger; but human strength is not unlimited, and some soldier was continually falling at the foot of a tree, overcome with fatigue and sleep. The rear-guard had much difficulty in awakening them again; and, after all, there remained some of them who were forgotten, and who were never seen more.²

Until daybreak the exiles were still occupied in climbing these wooded, steep, regular, and interminable slopes of the mountain of Sci. When the sun rose, all of them, having several times waited for and encouraged one another, were at last assembled at the summit of the mountain. It was a Sabbath morning (25th August, 1689), and from this point they beheld other mountains as high as those over which they had passed; but above their sombre crests gleamed in the far distance the glaciers of their native Alps, the radiant peaks of their own country. In the first beams of morning, the snows of these great elevations appear of a bright rose colour, and afterwards become white in the more equal light of day, whilst the silent depths of the valleys are still filled with darkness and with fogs. After so many fatigues, and so much perseverance and pain, the valiant pilgrims saw before them at last the goal of their destination. The highest parts of the valley of Pragela were spread out at their feet. Here already was one of the lands of their forefathers. They fell upon their knees, returning thanks to Heaven for having brought them within view of their native place. "O Lord, my God," exclaimed the pastor, "thou who didst bring back the sons of Jacob from the land of bondage to that of their ancestors, O God of Israel, God of our fathers! be pleased to accomplish and to bless thy work in us, thy feeble servants! May the light of the gospel never be extinguished in these mountains, where it has so long shined; and grant that our hands may rekindle it, and main-

¹ *Return*, p. 100.

² Their number amounted to no fewer than eighty. They were taken by the French troops, and carried to Grenoble, and thence to the galleys. (*Arnaud*, p. 103.)

tain it there. Bless our absent families! . . . And to thee alone, O heavenly Father, with Jesus thine only Son, our Saviour, and the Holy Ghost our Comforter, be honour, praise, and glory, now and for ever. Amen."

Whilst the Vaudois gave thanks to God on the mountain tops, beneath the vault of heaven, in that glorious temple, the work of nature and not of human hands, all the Catholic priests of the valley of Pragela abandoned their parishes and took to flight, on the report of the victorious return of the exiles whom they had so grievously persecuted. On the evening of that day the Vaudois encamped in the village of Jossand, at the base of the Col du Pis, which separated them from the valley of St. Martin. During the night the rain again began to fall, and next morning the troop set out at a rather later hour than usual. The Col du Pis was guarded by Piedmontese troops, who fled on the approach of the Vaudois. The latter halted at the Alpage¹ of Le Pis, and descended the mountain by night, by the light of torches, of which they found an abundant supply in the resinous branches of the pine trees and larches which grow upon these mountains.

On Tuesday, the 27th, they arrived at the Balsille, that post of defence which Janavel had most particularly pointed out to them, and which was to serve them for winter-quarters at the end of the year. A half company of the enemy was taken in this place. The Vaudois, having put to the sword the forty-six men of whom it was composed, hid their arms amongst the rocks. Next day they went to Pral, where, for the first time since their exile, they celebrated Divine service in one of the places of worship of their ancestors.

On Thursday, the 29th, they received information that the enemy awaited them at the Col Julian, and, conformably to the instructions of Janavel, which had already served them so well at Salabertrans, they divided their little army into three parts, representing the centre and two wings. Arriving at the forest of larches which clothes the mountain for two-thirds of its height, they perceived some sentinels, and soon afterwards the advanced posts of the enemy, who insultingly cried to them, "Come on! come on, ye devil's Barbets! there are more than 3000 of us, and we occupy all the posts." The Vaudois mounted to the assault, and all these posts were carried. The soldiers, lately so insolent, fled with such precipitancy and in such disorder, that they carried with them none of the warlike stores which had been provided in their intrenchments. These stores were of great value to the

¹ See note in vol. i.

Vaudois. But in this affair they had the misfortune to lose one of their captains, Joshua Mondon, who died of his wounds, and was buried next day at the hamlet of Les Paousettes, under a rock covered with clematis. They descended the mountain on the same day, and then proceeding to L'Aiguille and Sibaoud, on the 31st of August they drove out the new inhabitants of Bobi.

Next day, the 1st of September, the valley being now again their own, by the retreat of the strangers and of the enemy, who had halted at Le Villar, they judged it proper to embrace the opportunity for solemn exercises of worship. It was a Sabbath. Assembled on the hill of Sibaoud, whence there is a view of the whole basin of Bobi, they piled their arms, and beneath the shade of the great chestnut trees which crown the summit of the hill, on a carpet of alpine verdure, beside the ruins of an old castle, they enjoyed for the first time, in tranquillity, their re-conquest of their native land.

The pastor Montoux having placed the door of a house upon two rocks, ascended upon it, and from this pulpit addressed them from these words of Luke:¹ "The law and the prophets were until John: since that time the kingdom of God is preached, and every man presseth into it." After this sermon some arrangements were made, and then these pious and valiant patriots entered into a solemn covenant, renewing the ancient oath of union of the valleys, and embodying in it the substance of the instructions of Janavel. The following are the most important passages:—

"God, by his grace, having brought us happily back to the heritages of our fathers, to re-establish there the pure service of our holy religion—in continuance and for the accomplishment of the great enterprise which this great God of armies hath hitherto carried on in our favour—

"We, pastors, captains, and other officers, swear and promise before the living God, and on the life of our souls, to keep union and order among ourselves; and not to separate or disunite ourselves from one another, whilst God shall preserve us in life, if we should be reduced even to three or four in number; and never to treat with the enemy without participation of our council of war, &c.

"And we, soldiers, promise and swear this day before God to be obedient to the orders of our officers, and to continue faithful to them, even to the last drop of our blood.

"And we, officers, promise to take heed that all the soldiers preserve well their arms and ammunition; and especially to chas-

¹ xvi. 16.

tise very severely any of them who swear and blaspheme the holy name of God.

"And in order that union, which is the soul of all our affairs, may remain always unbroken among us, the officers swear fidelity to the soldiers, and the soldiers to the officers;

"All together promising to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ to rescue, as far as it is possible for us, the dispersed remnants of our brethren from the yoke which oppresses them, that along with them we may re-establish and maintain in these valleys the kingdom of the gospel, even unto death.

"In witness whereof, we swear to observe this present engagement so long as we shall live."

All the Vaudois, lifting up their hands to heaven, ratified by an oath this solemn covenant, when Arnaud had read it; and soon after they divided themselves into two bodies, to occupy simultaneously the valley of Lucerna and that of St. Martin. It will be recollected that Janavel, the patriarch of their armies, had recommended the occupation of both these valleys at once as indispensable to the success of their enterprise. "It will be most necessary for you to do this," he said, "even if your number should be but small." Their number was small, but they accomplished this object, though not without efforts, struggles, privations, and sufferings of every kind, the recital of which would fill a volume. The last of these trials alone I shall now proceed to narrate.

CHAPTER IV.

STRUGGLE OF THE VAUDOIS, IN THEIR OWN VALLEYS,
AGAINST THE UNITED FORCES OF VICTOR AMADEUS II. AND
LOUIS XIV.¹

(SIEGE OF THE BALSILLE.)

(SEPTEMBER, 1689, TO JUNE, 1690.)

Expedition of the Vaudois against Le Villar—Destruction of Bobi by the enemy—The Vaudois take Rora—Their generous conduct—Hardships and privations—Their cause seems to become more desperate than ever—They are deserted by many of the French refugees—Turrel, their commander, withdraws from them in despair—Firmness and courage of Arnaud—Council of war at Rodoret—The Vaudois retire to the Balsille—Unfavourable reports of their expedition in the journals of the time—Description of the Balsille—Efforts of the Vaudois to secure provisions for winter—Corn, which has been covered with snow all winter, is reaped by the Vaudois in spring—Peter Philip Odin chosen a leader—Piety of the Vaudois—The Marquis D'Ombrailles approaches the Balsille and retires—Courageous refusal of all terms of capitulation—Death of three Vaudois captives—The Balsille assailed by Catinat and the Marquis De Parelles—Sufferings of the assailants from severity of weather—Complete failure of the attack on the fort—Renewed attack by the Marquis De Feuquières—The Vaudois retire from intrenchment to intrenchment, and at last make a wonderful retreat by night to the higher parts of the mountains—They overcome a detachment of troops at Pramol—Political events favourable to the Vaudois—Separation of Piedmont from the alliance of France—War declared against France—The Vaudois are received into favour by the Duke of Savoy—Continued struggles with the French troops.

THE Vaudois, after they had divided themselves into separate bodies, in order to occupy their principal valleys, and established a flying camp, for the purpose of maintaining freedom of communication between them, experienced many vicissitudes and trials. They signalized themselves, however, by remarkable feats of arms.

Their first expedition was against Le Villar. They seized the town; the garrison retired behind the solid walls of the convent. They approached this stronghold, rolling before them great casks and tubs, as screens to preserve them from the bullets of the enemy; but not being able to make themselves masters of it in this way, they laid siege to it, when a corps of cavalry coming from

¹ AUTHORITIES.—The same as in the preceding chapter, with the addition of numerous documents contained in the *Archives of the Court of Turin*.—A special account of the attack on the Balsille was published at the Hague in 1690, with the following title:—"Relation de l'attaque faite aux Vaudois par M. De Catinat, lieutenant général des armées de France, le 2 mai 1690."—See also the journals of the time, from which some particulars have been derived.

the plain compelled them to retire in disorder; Arnaud remained, with only six men, on the mountain of Vandalin, and Montoux was made prisoner.¹ The Vaudois subsequently took the convent of Le Villar, and blew it up with gunpowder.²

The enemy seized Bobi, and demolished all its houses; there did not remain, says the journal of the *Return*, one stone upon another.³ The Vaudois, on the other hand, burned Le Perrier,⁴ the inhabitants of which had taken flight, and laid waste the valley of Rora. The two parties thus sought mutually to deprive one another of shelter and of the means of existence; but in submitting to the hard necessity of these extreme measures, the Vaudois, faithful to the counsels of Janavel, carefully avoided the useless shedding of blood. When they took Rora, where a number of their brethren were, who had remained there under the protection of an illusive profession of the Catholic religion, they burned, indeed, the church and minister's house, where a mission of Capuchins had established themselves; but far from maltreating the missionaries, they permitted the emancipated members of their flock to re-conduct them as far as Lucerna, and to assist them in transporting thither the articles employed in their worship, and their own movables.⁵ By an honourable reciprocation of generosity, the valley of Pragela furnished the exiles with provisions.⁶ Victor Amadeus had given orders that flocks, crops, and provisions of every kind, which could afford them any resource, should be removed from the mountains.⁷

But they procured provisions by the capture of military convoys,⁸ by contributions levied from the plains,⁹ and by incursions into Dauphiny.¹⁰ The poor exiles, thus re-occupying their native country, gathered in also, in the intervals of their combats, the fruits, grains, and roots which had grown in their valleys in consequence of former cultivation.¹¹ The enemy then endeavoured to lay waste the country, cutting down the fruit trees, trampling the crops under foot, and flinging the walnuts and chestnuts into the streams.¹² It was well for the Vaudois that they had the foresight, ere this was done, to lay up stores of provisions,¹³ which they hid amongst the rocks, and even in the ground. The utensils and

¹ *Return*, pp. 122-126. ² *Id.* p. 162. ³ *Id.* p. 175. ⁴ *Id.* p. 142.

⁵ This incident is derived from a manuscript, entitled "*Relazione fedelissima del statto e fatti occorti nelle missione delle valli di Luserna*." (Episcopal Archives of Pignerol.)

⁶ *Arnaud*, pp. 130, 192.

⁷ This order is dated 9th October, 1689, and signed by *Rinayra*, the intendant of the province. It is in the Archives of Le Villar; *Mazzo, Religionarii*, fol. 96.

⁸ *ARNAUD, Return*, pp. 123, 128, 154, 201.

⁹ *Id.* 107, 149, 150, 221.

¹⁰ *Id.* 139, 160.

¹¹ *Id.* 138, 153, 182.

¹² *Id.* 167, 170, 174.

¹³ *Id.* 173, 184, 209, 215.

valuables which they had thus buried before their expulsion, became also now of great service to them. It was always matter of astonishment regarding them, that they never wanted the munitions of war. In this fact, inexplicable to their enemies, we have a proof how well all had been arranged beforehand by Janavel, who had said to them, with a mysterious confidence, "Give yourselves no concern on this point."¹

They had to fight many battles² and to endure many severe privations;³ but notwithstanding all these hard trials, they never ceased, amongst the rocks or in the forests,⁴ regularly to celebrate the sacrament of the Supper, and in camp, or on the march, to make prayer to God.⁵ And certainly it was God who supported them; for to all appearance nothing but destruction awaited them. With nothing sometimes but a few roots to eat, they endured fatigues which would have required the strength of giants. The very banditti of Piedmont were armed to fight against them.⁷ They were attacked by 10,000 French, and 12,000 Sardinians;⁸ Catinat, D'Ombrailles, and Feuquières were baffled by this handful of heroes, clothed in rags, and subsisting on the fare of anchorites. Victor Amadeus seems at last to have intended to march against them in person;⁹ but ere long he was happy to have them for allies.

However, at the time to which our narrative now refers, the issue of their enterprise seemed to become increasingly doubtful. It was now the 16th of October,¹⁰ and hitherto they had only been weakened by a multitude of partial combats and transitory movements, which exhausted their forces, without consolidating their position. Their past fatigues, their present precarious condition, and the threatening uncertainties of the future, weighed sore upon their spirits. Discouragement at least might have arisen, and already, indeed, it began to be felt.¹¹ The number of their men, reduced by combats, was still further diminished by desertions.¹²

¹ Instructions given in June, 1688.

² ARNAUD, *Return*, 148, 196, 271.—At *Sibaoud*, 169, 170. It was upon this occasion that the soldiers of the Marquis of Parelles, thinking to pursue the Vaudois among the rocks, rushed over precipices.—At *Paousettes*, 166; at *L'Aiguille*, 173.

³ *Return*, pp. 126, 133, 134, 159, 163, 181, 211, 212.

⁴ At *Les Serres de Cruël*, pp. 161, 166.

⁵ At *Le Becès*, p. 200.

⁷ P. 172.

⁸ Pp. 183, 270, 403. The combined movements of the armies of France and Piedmont had been arranged at Pignerol, on the 8th of September, 1689. (Document in the Archives of Turin, No. of Series, 259.)

⁹ See *Istruzione a voi, conte Filippone, Contadore generale per il nostro viaggio nelle valli di Luserna, per servizio nostro e delle truppe* (a document dated 16th October, 1689). (*Archives of the Court*, Turin; No. of Series, 269, *bis*.)

¹⁰ *Return*, pp. 200, 204.

¹² See *Return*, pp. 107, 184, 202, &c.

Not a few of the French refugees who had accompanied them, considering their cause to be desperate, and unable to endure the prospect of an unequal and seemingly endless struggle, left the Vaudois mountains, where death and triumph would have been equally glorious; most of them, however, only to terminate their course miserably; for being seized one by one, sometimes in the dominions of France, sometimes in those of Piedmont, they were conveyed prisoners to Turin, to Pignerol, or to Grenoble, or consigned to the galleys.¹ Towards the end of the year there remained but few strangers in the Vaudois troop.²

Turrel himself, the commander, who had directed their military operations from their leaving Switzerland to their reaching the valleys, despaired of the success of the cause for which he had hitherto contended, and seeing no chance of any prosperous issue, and no prospect of the Vaudois again acquiring possession of their country, he furtively withdrew from among them, unable to endure to the end the fatigues of such a war. His foreign origin, without marring the display of his military talents amongst the inhabitants of the valleys, no doubt rendered it impossible for him to rise to the elevation of their patriotism, or long to maintain such a sentiment.³ With all his military talents, he was not like one contending for his native land. But Arnaud never appeared greater than on this occasion. Far from forsaking a people thus generally forsaken, he only attached himself to them more closely; when the cause of the exiles presented the greatest dangers, he embraced it with greatest ardour; and at the moment when this expedition, worthy of ancient times, discouraged the best soldiers—at the moment when it was abandoned even by those who had promised it most—this last pastor of the exiles became in reality its leader, and, for the sake of religion, sustained the patriotic courage of the *Israel of the Alps*.

¹ *Return*, pp. 103, 104, 126, 140, 202, &c.

² *Id.* p. 176.

³ In the circumstances of his desertion (*Return*, p. 154) and of his death (p. 156), we see a reason why Arnaud may have kept silence on the particular office with which this leader had been invested in the Vaudois army; whilst the precautions which he found it necessary to adopt, in order to get away (p. 155), show that he must have occupied a more conspicuous position, and one attracting more general attention than that of a simple captain. Moreover, it is said that after his departure the Vaudois had no more good leaders (p. 178). Even foreigners seem to have considered him as the soul of the expedition (p. 202, concluding lines). Besides all which, the formal testimony of the original manuscript, already quoted, attests that he was the leader (MS. p. 42). But if Arnaud has only mentioned him as a captain (46, 47, 154), it must be because the indifference of the Vaudois was quite equal to the deserted condition in which he left them.—It must be added that there is a difficulty in determining with precision what relates to him in Arnaud's work, for there were among the Vaudois a number of persons of the name of Turrel. (Compare pp. 47, 154, and 155 of the *Return*.)

It was now the sixty-seventh day of the expedition, the 22d of October, 1689.¹ Six days before, Arnaud, being still in the valley of Lucerna,² had celebrated the Lord's Supper in the meadows of Becès, under the shade of some aged chestnut trees, which screened from observation the holy solemnities of the proscribed church. "O, my dove, that art in the clefts of the rocks, in the secret places of the stairs," says the Song of Solomon, "let me see thy countenance, let me hear thy voice; for sweet is thy voice, and thy countenance is comely."³ On that same day the Marquis De Parelles burned all the hill of Prarusting, from Ville Sèche to Le Périer. This was on a Sabbath. On the Saturday following,⁴ the Vaudois having assembled at Rodoret, after placing sentinels on the pass which conducts to Pral, and on that which descends to Macel, as well as at the hamlet of Les Fontaines, and at the entrance of the wild valley which they occupied, consulted what they should do.

Deprived of the positions which they had at first won, and of the leaders whose services they had enjoyed, they found themselves more than ever isolated and unsupported, whilst the circle of the enemy's forces hemmed them more and more closely round. The winter was approaching; their means of procuring provisions were continually diminishing. It was impossible any longer to think of occupying both the valleys. It would be well if they could only find a position which they could maintain with their re-united bands.

Arnaud, faithful to the instructions of Janavel, represented to them that the rocks of the Balsille alone were capable of affording them shelter—that these were their last fortress—that it was time to retire thither, and that God would not forsake them, like those allies of a day, who had proved so ready to flee from their bad fortune. Then kneeling down, with all his soldiers, he prayed long for a spirit of union and of courage to restore that confidence without which they could have no success. Their prayer was heard, and the faith of their fathers reviving in their souls with the assurance that they would be protected by the God of Jacob, gave this little troop the might of an army.

A part of the night was spent in prayer. Two hours before day, the Vaudois commenced their march amongst frightful precipices, by which they were, however, under the necessity of passing, in order to reach the Balsille without being exposed to the assaults of their enemies. "It was so very dark," says Arnaud, "that it was found necessary to stretch white cloths upon the shoulders of the

¹ *Return*, pp. 201, 203, 205.

⁴ 22d October, New Style.

² *Id.* p. 200.

³ *Song*, ii. 14.

guides, that they might be seen." One of them, according to a manuscript note, fastened on his back *some wood which shone*, by which is meant, I presume, not a lighted torch or glowing brand, but a piece of that ligneous and phosphorescent substance which is found in the decaying trunks of old trees—amongst others, of the maple and the beech. "Besides all this," adds the narrative, "the path which we were compelled to take was such that we were often under the necessity of walking on our hands and feet. But what surpasses imagination, and makes us clearly to recognize the assistance of Divine Providence in the most trying circumstances, is that two wounded men passed in safety on horseback along the same road." Yet these places are so precipitous, that when the Vaudois beheld them by daylight, the hair stood upon their heads. "One who has not seen them," adds the author, "can form no idea of the danger, and one who has seen them, would doubtless take that march for a fiction or a fancy."¹

Thus they passed from Rodoret to the summit of the rocks of the Balsille without descending to the bottom of the valley, where they would have encountered the enemy. But during this dangerous transit, the hostages whom they still retained, whether from the impossibility of advancing, or merely from the very natural desire of escaping from their perilous position, bribed their guards, and fled along with them. It is not known, however, if they succeeded in making their way safe and sound from amidst these tremendous precipices; "for since that time," says Arnaud, "we have heard nothing more about them."

"The news which have been received of the Vaudois are not favourable," the journals of the time then said; "they were first driven from one of their valleys, and lost the fort of Bobi, after making a long resistance, and killing a number of Savoyards. Thence they retired to La Sarcena, then to L'Aiguille, and, finally, they have assembled in the wildest of their valleys, at the Fort of the Four Teeth [Les Quatre Dents]."² It will be recollected that this is the strategic name of the Balsille, which is thus described in the memoirs of the period:—"This place of defence is a kind of promontory with precipitous sides, which juts out between two deep ravines, like a tongue of the mountain, all rugged behind, with points of rock which overhang and protect one another. Except by the Col du Pis, or by the mountain of Gunivert, it cannot be reached otherwise than by ascending the face of the

¹ *Arnaud*, pp. 205, 206.

² *Gazettes of France, England, and Leyden*, year 1689, from October to December.—*Mercurie historique*, t. iii. pp. 1057, 1147, &c.

precipice."¹ "Here," says a recent author, "nature has built with her own hands an asylum for men destined to flee from the persecution of their fellow-men; and here thousands of citizens, persecuted by soldiers and priests, defended their lives against the oppressors."²

At this place three small cascades fall on the superior platform, "which is situated," says Arnaud, "on a very precipitous rock, having, as it were, three stories, or three different inclosures, which render the approach to it very difficult, except on the side of the streamlet which forms these cascades, and which the Vaudois had fortified by strong palisades, supported by parapets."³ They prosecuted these works of intrenchment over the whole extent of the mountain, connecting the points of rock by bastions of earth or of dry stones, intermixed with trees, whose branches being turned outwards, added to the inextricable difficulties of these walls. Finally, they constructed on the summit of this wild and threatening pyramid, a fort, which those who saw it at that time declared to be *almost inaccessible, and, indeed, impregnable*.⁴ This little fort itself was separated from the rock by three great walls.⁵ There were, moreover, deep cuttings in the slope of the mountain, presenting successively a ditch and a wall, which extended around and inclosed this salient angle, and rose like benches to the base of the higher intrenchments. These trenches, bastioned and covered by each other, amounted to seventeen in number.⁶ To these works of fortification the Vaudois added covered ways, ditches and walls around their casemates, which were digged in the earth, and surrounded with conduits or drains, to prevent the water from entering. These subterranean habitations soon amounted to more than eighty in number.⁷ Thereafter these valiant mountaineers repaired the mill of the village, which stood upon the banks of the Germanasque. The millstone had been hidden in the gravel in 1686. The brothers Poulat, of Les Frons, natives of La Balsille, made known the place in which it had been deposited. It was lifted up by strength of arms from the sand in which it lay buried, and a strong beam having been passed through the hole in its centre, twelve strong men transported it to the mill, where it was set up again in its place for use.⁸

¹ These particulars are taken from a *Mémoire sur les passages du val St. Martin* (MS. of the Royal Library at Turin), and from the *Rélation de l'attaque de la Balsille* (La Haye, 1690).

² Page 144 of the work entitled "*Noms, situation et détail des vallées de la France le long des grandes Alpes . . . et de celles qui descendent des Alpes en Italie*," &c. . . . Turin, 1793.

³ *Relation de 1690, par un soldat*, p. 39.

⁴ *Return*, p. 207.

⁵ Same authorities.

⁶ *Return*, p. 268.

⁷ Same *Relation*, p. 43.

⁸ *Return*, p. 208.

The mountaineers now made haste to lay in provisions for the winter. "They had come to the Balsille without having what would support them for the next day. They lived there at first on greens, turnips, and corn, which they boiled, and ate without meat or fat, without salt or other seasoning, until the re-establishment of the mill enabled them to make bread."¹ They then prepared great quantities for winter, making use also of the mill of Macel, situated half a league farther down the valley, so long as the enemy permitted them to have access to it.² But it was most remarkable that the corn of Pral and Rodoret, which had not been reaped in 1689, remained uninjured beneath the snows during the winter,³ and was reaped by the Vaudois from February to April, 1690. "Can any one," says Arnaud, "refuse to recognize the hand of Providence in this extraordinary circumstance, that the Vaudois were permitted to make their harvest, not in the midst of summer, but in the midst of winter? Or could any but God have inspired such a small handful of people, destitute of gold and silver, and of all other earthly succour, with the courage to go and make war against a king who at that time made all Europe to tremble? Is it possible to imagine that, without a protection absolutely Divine, these poor people, lodged in the earth almost like the dead, and sleeping upon straw, after having been blockaded for eight months, could at last have triumphed? Does it not seem as if God said, in preserving that grain upon the earth during eight months, to feed these persecuted people during the hardships of winter and of the siege, 'These are my true children, my chosen and beloved, whom it is my pleasure to feed by my providence; let their land of Canaan, to which I have brought them back, rejoice to see them again, and make them unusual and almost supernatural gifts.'"⁴

Isolated on the summit of their rocks, as in an inaccessible eyry, the last representatives of the Israel of the Alps saw the waves of their enemies break at the base of that battlemented promontory which served them for a fortress, like the powerless billows around a gigantic crag, which they are unable to shake. They chose one of themselves, Peter Philip Odin,⁵ to direct their conduct in concert with Arnaud; the former being to direct them in their military operations, the latter in their duties as Christians. Arnaud preached two sermons every Sabbath, and conducted two religious

¹ *Return*, p. 218.

² *Id.* pp. 209, 217.

³ *Id.* p. 220.

⁴ *Id.* pp. 402, 401, and 403.

⁵ Compare the counter-signatures of the letters, *Return*, pp. 262, 265, and the letter of Arnaud, p. 392.

services daily, one in the morning and one in the evening. Thus from the summit of these lofty mountain-crests, amidst dangers and privations of every kind, endured for their country's sake, the Vaudois confidently raised to heaven the voice of their prayers, the utterances of their fervour, and the hymns which proclaimed their hope in God.

In foreign countries the most lively interest began to be felt for them. Some private letters mention that even the Spanish troops quartered in the Milanese, had at that time the intention of giving them aid.¹ Supplies were sent to them from Holland, but were intercepted by the French troops. "I am informed," says a writer of the time, "that an offer was made to these mountaineers to send them experienced commanders, but that they rejected it, saying that they could do nothing worth while if they were led by strangers."²

Thus passed the winter. The first attempts which were made to drive them out of the Balsille were completely unsuccessful. "Although reduced to great extremities," say the contemporary journals, "they disputed the ground with their enemies with admirable intrepidity and courage."³ The troops of the Marquis D'Ombrailles succeeded only in seizing the Col du Clapier and the Col du Passet, where they had posts of observation. They made their way even to the village of Balsille, and were about to lay siege to the fortified peak on which the Vaudois were located, but a great fall of snow took place, and many of the soldiers of the besiegers had their feet and their hands frost-bitten. For three days D'Ombrailles continued to make various proposals of capitulation to the besieged, which were all rejected; and seeing at last that he could neither succeed by artifice nor by violence, he adopted the resolution of retiring.

Then came the solicitations of relatives, of friends, of pretended protectors of the Vaudois, perhaps of more than one traitor, who, to induce them to surrender, promised them repose in that case, but assured them of inevitable extermination if they persisted in their warlike isolation. Some of the letters written with this object were evidently dictated to their authors.⁴ Take, for an example, that which one of them wrote to his brother, a soldier in the Balsille:—"You know that God does not command us to take arms against our king. . . . Do not wrong your children by leaving them in this way. I am assured that it rests entirely

¹ *Mercure historique*, t. vii. p. 1275; t. viii. p. 22.

² *Id.* p. 1276.

³ *Id.* t. viii. No. ix.

⁴ See the letters and the replies of the Vaudois, in *Arnaud*, p. 225-265.

with yourselves whether or not you shall enjoy your liberty. Perhaps you may not again have the advantages which would be granted you now." "You tell me," replied his brother, "that his royal highness will grant us passports if we ask them from him, and that we ought not to abandon our children, who are still in Switzerland. . . . But you must know very well that we did not return to our country in order to leave it again. Here are the heritages of our fathers, . . . and if we attempt to reponer our families in the places of their birth, we are not therefore rebels against our sovereign."²

"Certainly," replied Arnaud and Odin also to the Marquis De Parelles, "your excellence ought not to think it strange if our people are bent upon returning to their own homes. . . . The very birds, which are creatures destitute of reason, return at their proper times, to seek their nest and habitation unforbidden; and yet this is to be forbidden to men created in the image of God."³ The rustic simplicity of this language imparts still more of masculine energy to the sentiments of these countrymen, thus expressed amidst rude rocks, resounding with the din of arms and battle. "Our storms are still louder than your cannon," said Arnaud at another time, "and yet our rocks are not shaken."⁴ Nor were their hearts. Traits of resolution and unostentatious courage complete the admirable character of this Christian Israel.

Three soldiers, engaged in baking bread, were taken at La Salse, near Macel. Two of them, who were sick, were put to death, after suffering horrid mutilations. Their heads were then severed from their bodies, and these bloody heads were borne to the third captive. In this way he was marched to La Pérouse. This good man, says Arnaud, prayed to God so fervently, that the judge of that place, although a Catholic, besought M. D'Ombrailles, for pity's sake, to leave him in his hands; but the general, who never spoke but of utter extermination, threatened the judge that he would hang him along with the prisoner. However, as the governor of Pignerol would not permit the unfortunate man to be executed within the bounds of his government, they hanged him at the castle of Le Bois, in Pragela. But the prayer which he made before his death drew tears from all who were present, of whom the greater part were Protestants that had become Catholics. "I die," said he, "for a just cause; God will protect those whom you persecute: and for one man whom you kill of the Vaudois, he will raise them up five hundred!"⁵ He might have saved his life by an abjuration;

¹ *Arnaud*, pp. 241, 242.

² *Id.* pp. 243-246.

³ *Id.* p. 260.

⁴ *Id.* p. 315.

⁵ *Return*, pp. 213, 215.

but he preferred to end it gloriously by martyrdom. His head was exposed on the summit of a pole, on the road which conducts from France to the valleys, and passers-by wagged their heads, and said, "Behold the end of the Barbets!"¹

But such was not their end. The daring garrison of La Balsille, familiar with snows and rocks, availed themselves of the winter to make frequent sorties, for the purpose of re-victualling, not only into their own valleys, but also into that of Pragela, and even of Le Queyras.²

Although reduced in number by desertions, yet they were stronger, because they were more united. The French refugees, who had at first formed part of their troop, had almost all withdrawn.³ They had not been able to bend their natural impatience into compliance with the painful delays and obscure privations of this patriotic struggle. They were ready to devote themselves, without reserve, for a great and rapid sacrifice; but their energy, their courage, and their love of glory could not hold out against the continued hardships and patient inaction imposed on the restored exiles of the valleys, by a prudence which, in their case, was necessary, in the precarious expectation of better days to come. Unexpected circumstances hastened the happy result; but ere it was attained, the persevering mountaineers had still to pass through new trials.

On the 30th of April, 1690, whilst Arnaud was preaching, for it was a Sabbath, the Vaudois sentinels saw the troops of Catinat and of the Marquis De Parelles defiling in the bottom of the valley. They debouched around the Balsille by the Col du Pis and by the Col du Clapier. The soldiers who came by the Col du Pis had been made to await, for two whole days, amidst the snows of the mountain, the signal for marching; and many of them suffered as much from this inaction as if they had exposed their lives in a battle. Fourteen hundred peasants of the valleys of Pragela, Césane, and Queyras, were then put in requisition to carry provisions to them, and to open a way for them through the snow. At last they arrived at the base of the Balsille, and encamped on Monday morning, the 1st of May, in a wood situated to the left of the fort, and some hours afterwards placed themselves in ambuscade on the right bank of the torrent which descends from Le Pis. They were then subsequently replaced on the left bank by a battalion of Sardinian troops.⁴

Meanwhile the regiments of Le Vexin and Le Plessis kept along the heights of Le Pis, to come upon the Balsille on one of its sides

¹ *Return*, p. 214.

² *Id.* p. 220.

³ *Id.* p. 216.

⁴ *Arnaud* p. 269.

behind; the Savoyard militia, with the regiment of Cambrésis, climbed Mount Gunivert, in order to assail it on the other. Catinat reserved the rest of his troops to attack it in front. "It was not without difficulty," says an actor in this drama,¹ "that the troops reached Mount Gunivert. It had been proposed that they should proceed thither on Tuesday morning, to make the attack all together; but for fear of the inconveniences and difficulties of the night, an effort was made to reach it that same day. There were more than three leagues there of an ascent so steep that no one could look behind him without becoming giddy. The roads, blocked up by snow, were only opened by the help of pioneers who went before. On the arrival of the troops, at three o'clock in the afternoon, at the heights which had been previously reconnoitred, a guard was placed there of seventy men, supported by fifty lower down. At last, whilst it was still day, they arrived at the summit of the mountain; and happy it was, indeed, that they did so; for they were no sooner there than a frightful fall of snow began, and there arose a mist so thick, that if it had been necessary to have marched in such weather, they would infallibly have fallen over the precipices. With this thought they consoled themselves a little for being on that dreadful mountain, without water, without wood, without tents, without covering—exposed to injury by cold, wind, snow, and even hail, which never ceased to annoy our people during the whole night."

On Tuesday morning (2d May, 1690), the regiments of Vexin and Le Plessis, which had also suffered much in their march, appeared upon the heights of the mountain of Le Pis, formed themselves into two lines of attack, and opened upon the fort of the Vaudois an ill-directed fire of musketry. Meanwhile, a part of the troops posted on Mount Gunivert² proceeded to the mountain of Le Pelvon, in order to cut off from the defenders of the Balsille, in anticipation of their defeat, the retreat to the lofty peaks. The remainder of these troops³ came closer to the banks of the Germanasque, in order also to attack the Fort of the Four Teeth [Les Quatre Dents].

However, the two attacking columns, which had commenced their fire from the side of Le Pis, were not able to keep their advantage. "The left column," says the narrative,⁴ "not being able to keep the roads, which were found quite impracticable, was obliged

¹ *Rélation de l'attaque de la Balsille*, La Haye, 1690. (Arnaud gives extracts from it in pp. 281-297.)

M. De La Rouennate, with the Savoyards. ² The regiment of Cambrésis.

³ *Rélation*, printed at the Hague in 1690, p. 43.

⁴ *Id.*

to ascend again to join the right, which, after all the difficulties caused by a mountain covered with ten feet of snow, without roads, and working its way amidst inaccessible rocks, arrived at last within musket shot, above the fort of the Vaudois. But the mountain where they were was so steep that the men could not descend it without falling down it as a precipice. Moreover, it was now seen that the interval from its base to the fort was still traversed by three great intrenchments. The pioneers were sent for to facilitate the approaches; this occupied more than three hours."

Meanwhile Catinat, with the regiments of Bourbon, Artois, and Lassarre, supported by a squadron of dragoons of Languedoc, had made the attack in front. A steep acclivity at the base of the hill conducted to the bottom of the fortified precipices, the rocks and parapets of which, rising one above another, formed the pyramid, of steep ascent, on whose summit stood the little fort of the Vaudois, properly called the Fort of the Four Teeth [Les Quatre Dents].¹ "An engineer² having examined the place with a telescope, thought it best that the attack in front should be made on the right of this acclivity. A battalion of men, selected from amongst the bravest, rushed forward to the charge against this rapid talus, made one simultaneous discharge against the Vaudois, and intrepidly advanced as far as the base of their first bastion. These bastions were cased with blocks of stone and trunks of trees, disposed in alternate courses, one above the other, the branches of the trees being turned outwards. The soldiers thought they had nothing to do but to seize these trees, throw them down, and so ascend above them. But they found themselves much mistaken; for when they attempted this, they found that the trees were immovable, and securely fastened in the bastion. The Vaudois then opened such a fire, that these brave and unfortunate soldiers fell in great numbers. It was surprizing what a hail-storm of bullets filled the air. It seemed as if the arms of the Vaudois were always charged; and, in fact, the younger of them, stationed in the second rank, were employed only in charging, whilst the others did nothing but fire from the summit of the bastion; so that their enemies were destroyed by a continual fire, notwithstanding an incessant fall of snow."

Catinat, perceiving this, gave orders to the Savoyards to re-descend from Mount Pelvon.³ "Just when they thought that they were about to make themselves masters of the Vaudois, there arose

¹ See Catinat's order, quoted by Arnaud, p. 275.

² I here resume Arnaud's narrative, p. 270.

³ I here introduce new particulars derived from the *Rélation* of the Hague.

all at once a fog and storm so extraordinary that, as I¹ and some of the officers can testify, a part of the army believed that Heaven visibly interposed for the preservation of that handful of people; for this event caused the attack upon the fort to be immediately abandoned, and the French, as well as the Savoyards, dreaded to be engulfed in the ravines and avalanches. It was only by a miracle that they succeeded in retiring, for three hours leaping from rock to rock, amidst terrible precipices, the snow and hail sometimes reaching to their armpits, so that they would have remained buried there, if they had not found shelter amongst some larches."

After the sustained fire of the bastion had decimated the enemy, without causing them to give way, a shower of stones, before which it was impossible for them to stand, at last decided their retreat; and they retreated with a precipitation equal to the ardour with which they had advanced to the attack. "*My friends, we must sleep to-night in that barrack,*" Lieutenant-Colonel De Parat had said to his soldiers two hours before, showing them the fort which they were to attack. But the Vaudois, now seeing that they fled in disorder, made a vigorous sortie, and destroyed the whole detachment except fifteen men, who, escaping bareheaded and without arms, carried to the camp of the enemy the news of their defeat.² M. De Parat was made prisoner, and conveyed to the very barrack which he hoped to have entered that same evening as a conqueror. He was permitted to obtain the attendance of a surgeon to dress his wounds, whose professional services were also very useful to the Vaudois.

Next day the Vaudois cut the heads off the corpses of their enemies, and planted them on the palisades of their intrenchments, to show that they did not intend to accept any terms of capitulation.

General De Catinat retired to Les Clos, and did not think proper to expose his hope of the baton of a marshal of France to the risk of a second defeat, by the unexpected valour of a handful of mountaineers. He left the Marquis De Feuquières as his successor; and the following are the orders which the new general issued for the conduct of the war against the Vaudois³:—

"The regiment of Le Plessis will move from Jousseau on the 12th (of May), and proceeding by the Col du Pis, will encamp the

¹ It is the author of the *Rélation* who speaks, p. 44. He places this event on the 1st of May, at ten o'clock A.M.

² Arnaud, pp. 271, 272.

³ They are written by the hand of Feuquières himself, and addressed to Victor Amadeus II. (Turin, Archives of State, No. of Series, 260.)

same day at Les Bergeries, or by the cascade.¹ It will be attended by 200 peasants, who will carry wood to warm the soldiers.

"The second regiment of the dragoons of Languedoc will move from Le Saut (read Usseaux or Ussaud), and proceeding by the Albergan, will encamp the same day at the Clos Damian.

"The regiment of Cambrésis will move from Bourset, and proceeding by the Col du Clapier, will encamp on the back of the mountain which looks to Balsille, at the place called La Verge, but out of reach of the fire of the rebels.

"The regiment of Vexin will move from Maneille, and proceeding by Macel, will encamp between Le Passet and Balsille.

"Eight hundred men of the 1500 whom his royal highness is pleased to give, will proceed by Salses, and encamp the same day on the mountain of Gunivert, and for this purpose it will be necessary that these be presently at Rodoret and at Fontaine, in order that they may easily repair to their post.

"When all these troops are encamped at the places above named, I will cause a battery of two pieces to be erected during the night, to play upon the castle,² with the view of making a breach in it, the whole of the following day.

"The night after, the regiment of Le Plessis will leave 100 men at the Pas de Sarras; the remainder of the regiment will set out at the hour which shall be appointed, in order to gain the ridge of the mountain where the rebels are intrenched.

"The 800 men of his royal highness will leave 300 opposite to the castle, and the other 500 will go on to join the regiment of Le Plessis on the aforesaid ridge.³

"If this junction can be effected, they will make signals, which I will give them before they set out; and I will immediately cause cannons to be fired, as the signal to all the posts that they may proceed at once, and by this general attack exterminate all the rebels.⁴

"If there is anything in this plan which his royal highness wishes to be changed, he will do me the honour to send me his orders."

No change was made. It seemed impossible that this plan should

¹ This cascade is two leagues from La Balsille. It is one of the most remarkable in the valleys, and the only one in the valley of Macel. In the valley of Lucerna there is a water-fall worthy of notice, near Mirabouc.

² This name was given to the part of the Balsille inhabited by the Vaudois, and surrounded by their principal fortifications.

³ I here suppress some unimportant details.

⁴ Here, also, unimportant details are suppressed. The arrangements indicated in this paper correspond with what is recorded by Arnaud, p. 308.

fail.¹ Feuquières received, by anticipation, the title of Conqueror of the Barbets.² The troops which he had designated set out to occupy their positions. Those of Mount Gunivert constructed two redoubts on the mountain, one opposite to the village of Balsille, which the troops of Parelles and Catinat had already laid in ruins, and the other on a level with that post of the Vaudois which was named the castle. "Besides a great number of pioneers who came with the regiments, all the soldiers who were not at work in the trenches or upon guard, were obliged to make fascines, in order to facilitate their approaches, to retain the earth without parapets, and to make banquettes and supporting walls. Thus," says Arnaud, "the castle was soon environed; for so soon as they had gained a foot of ground, they covered it with a good parapet, and never saw so much as the hat of a Vaudois but they fired 100 musket shots at it, which they did without running any risk themselves, for they were covered by sacks full of wool, which bullets could not pierce."³ It took them twelve days, however, to accomplish these works and operations. More than one great city has been taken in less time.

The remarkable intrepidity of the defenders of the Balsille inspired with an involuntary esteem even the enemies who treated them as rebels. When all was ready for the attack they hoisted a white flag, and offered the Vaudois an honourable capitulation. The Vaudois sent a messenger to know what they wanted. "Surrender!" said they to him, "and you shall, each of you, receive 500 louis, and good passports for your retirement to a foreign country; but if you do not, you will infallibly be destroyed." "We have arms and ammunition," replied the Vaudois messenger. "No doubt you may be able to kill many of our brave men, but can you hope to destroy an army?" "That will be as the Lord will," said he. "How!" said they, "a handful of mountaineers dare to make war against the king of France, who has vanquished so many great nations! And can you doubt of your destruction if you are so desperate as to persevere?" M. De Feuquières himself wrote to the Vaudois "that they should endeavour to avoid bringing things to the last extremity, as he had orders not to give up that enterprise until he accomplished its object; but that he would now grant them things which it would be out of time to ask when the cannon should once have been fired."⁴ Then it was that Arnaud and Odin replied that their rocks, which were accustomed to the noise of thunder, would not be shaken by that of cannon,⁵ thus signify-

¹ *Return*, p. 307.

² *Id.* p. 311.

³ *Id.* p. 330.

⁴ *Id.* pp. 308, 309.

⁵ *Id.* pp. 342, 404.

ing that their minds, which had stood so many trials of adversity, would not be overwhelmed by this new evil. That same night their troops made a vigorous sortie, and killed many of the French. They had already made many similar sorties since the commencement of the siege, sometimes to destroy the enemy's works and sometimes to seize their convoys, or to drive them from some position.

At last, according to the plan which he had framed, Feuquières had his cannon brought to that part of Mount Gunivert which commanded the Balsille. Having unmasked his battery, he again hoisted a white flag, and then a red flag, to signify to the besieged that if they did not surrender they were no longer to look for any quarter. It had, indeed, already been publicly announced in Pignerol that all the Vaudois who were not killed amongst their rocks, would be hanged in that city.¹

The besieged made no reply to these summonses nor to these proposals (for every day they received new ones),² being determined upon a vigorous resistance; and next day (the 14th of May, 1690) the enemy's cannon began to play upon their fortifications. Before mid-day 114 balls, of 12 or 13 lbs., had already been shot. The bastions of the Vaudois, which were of no very great solidity, being only constructed of dry stones, were soon dismantled.

The French then mounted to the assault upon three sides, "some," says Arnaud, "by the Clos Damian, some by the ordinary entrance to the castle, and a third detachment by the brook, heedless of the fire of the besieged, and of the stones which were rolled down upon them. The French musketry kept up a perpetual storm of bullets, and the Vaudois had already been exposed to a vast number of them before they abandoned their lower intrenchments, which, however, they did without having one killed, and only a very few being wounded.³ They then retired to the more elevated fortifications, called the *Horse of La Bruze* [*Cheval de la Bruze*]. But to accomplish this retreat they had to pass under the fire of a French redoubt, which they did with success, under covert of a thick fog. The enemy immediately seized the position which they had abandoned, and redoubled their activity in the attack upon the higher intrenchments.

The Vaudois, seeing themselves so closely beset, considered that the hand of God alone could save them from that of their adversaries. They invoked his aid, continued their resistance till night; and then profiting by the mists, which on rainy days arise towards evening from the deep glens, when these protective veils began

¹ *Return*, pp. 342, 404.

² *Id.* p. 316.

³ *Arnaud*, p. 319.

to enfold the heights, they issued from their retreat, and, under the guidance of Captain Poulat, who was a native of these mountains—under the invisible but real protection of the Almighty—enveloped in these dark and humid clouds, by the confused and distant light of the enemy's fires, on icy or moist slopes of almost perpendicular rocks, over which they were compelled to pass, they held their way, one after another, in single file across the gaping crevasses above the deep chasms of the Germanasque, dragging themselves along on their bellies, clinging to the asperities of the mountain, or to bushes or roots hanging from the rocks, resting from time to time, continually praying to God, and never yielding to despair. After all this they digged steps in the hardened snow to climb by, and gained the northern slope of Mount Gunivert, where they turned the posts of the enemy, some of whom challenged them as they passed, and then panting, exhausted, half-dead with fatigue, but blessing the Lord for so miraculous a deliverance, they arrived at the base of the glaciers of Le Pelvoux.

At sunrise, next day, they appeared to the astonished eyes of the enemy, like eagles that had flown from their eyry, on mountain-tops much higher than the Balsille, and than all the posts occupied by the assailing army. The Marquis De Feuquières made haste to send a detachment after them, but it was too late; when this detachment moved, the fugitives were at La Salse, above Macel; when it was at La Salse they were at Rodoret; when the enemy was at Rodoret the indefatigable Vaudois were on the mountain of Galmon, which commands the whole valley of Pral; and thus fleeing from peak to peak, keeping always at a distance from the enemy, and still increasing the distance by their superiority in strength, courage, and perfect knowledge of the localities, the glorious fugitives arrived above Servins, where they paused for prayer. Arnaud pronounced, with a loud voice, the words of supplication and thanksgiving, but his troop was dying of fatigue and hunger. Then these rude children of the Vaudois mountains put snow into their mouths to refresh themselves, and chewed green shoots of fir-trees to support their strength; after which they pursued their march, mounted the heights of Pral, where the talc is now obtained, and arrived towards evening at the summit of the *Rocca bianca*, one of the spurs of the *Cornaout*—the culminating point of the mountains which separate the valley of Lucerna from that of St. Martin, and which owes its name of the *White Rock*, not to the snow with which it was then covered, but to a white marble which is found there, as pure and fine as that of Paros. From thence they descended to Faët, where they did not arrive till after midnight,

having made their way down dangerous precipices, clinging to small shrubs and aiding one another by joined hands.

Notwithstanding the extraordinary fatigues of this day of super-human marches, the Vaudois set out again before dawn, on Saturday, the 17th of May, to pass over the mountain which now separated them from Rioclairet. Their object was to pass by the heights of Angrogna to the celebrated retreat of their ancestors, the Pra-du-Tour, which is as deeply sunk among the mountains as the Balsille, which they had quitted, is elevated above the valley. But they soon perceived that the enemy followed in their track; therefore, changing the direction of their route, they proceeded towards Pramol, in order to get some provisions. This commune continued to be peopled by the new inhabitants whom Victor Amadeus had introduced into it. They possessed numerous flocks, and were protected by a post which was commanded by Captain Vignaux. The Vaudois attacked him so vigorously that they killed fifty-seven of his men, dispersed the rest, and seized the commander himself, along with three of his inferior officers.

These events took place at a time most critical for the enterprise hitherto so resolutely prosecuted by the Vaudois, whom Victor Amadeus had exiled, and who had returned to take possession of their own country. For that prince himself it was also a decisive moment in the determination of his policy. It was at the instigation of the king of France that he had driven out the Vaudois; with the arms of the king of France he had just been contending against them at the Balsille, and the demands made upon him by that haughty monarch becoming continually more and more imperious, were on the point of throwing him into the party of the allies (Spain, Austria, and England), in their war with Louis XIV. The fight at Pramol took place on the 17th of May, and the victors were informed by their captive, M. De Vignaux, that Victor Amadeus had only to the Tuesday following (the 20th of May) to decide between Germany and France. If he should decide for France the Vaudois could expect nothing else, according to all human judgment, than to be destroyed or again expelled from the valleys. If, on the contrary, the court of Savoy were to pronounce in favour of the enemies of France, the Vaudois would be received again into favour by the sovereign, and might even hope for some grateful acknowledgment of their valiant resistance to Louis XIV. They would acquire, moreover, a real importance, from their position on the frontiers of the two states, and from the assistance which their troops, habituated to war, familiar with the Alps, and full of ardour against the king of France, might be able to afford to

the cause of Savoy, by this political revolution again identified with their own.

Here the reflecting mind pauses to inquire, "On what do the destinies of men and nations sometimes depend?" "On God," replies the Christian. In truth it was God who, for the safety of the Vaudois, had now caused a general commotion throughout Europe, or at least who, by means of these far-extending commotions, reinstated a people, small in point of number, in the abodes of their ancestors. Thus those mighty forces, which sometimes shake both earth and heaven, and which, during the storm, send forth thunder and fierce blasts of wind, are commissioned to effect the object of bestowing a few drops of rain upon some unheeded flower of the valley.

Next day the Vaudois received information at Angrogna that Victor Amadeus II. had decided in favour of Austria, that he had declared war against France, restored peace to their exhausted tribes, gladly accepted the assistance of their arms, and opened to them again the gates of their native land. Afterwards they received overtures from France, the French monarch (through the Marquis De La Feuillade) offering them his protection if they would turn their arms against Victor Amadeus, the direct, or at least the responsible author of the persecution which they had endured. But the Vaudois nobly repelled that hypocritical proposal.

Whilst they were at Angrogna a messenger came to them from the Chevalier De Vercellis, commandant of the fort of La Tour, who, on the part of the Duke of Savoy, offered them provisions and arms, inviting them to range themselves under the banners of their own legitimate sovereign.¹ They did not hesitate; and Victor Amadeus, who had persecuted them, was now threatened in his turn, and soon became a wanderer and a fugitive, as they themselves had been; their country was again restored to them, and now it became their duty to defend him. The governor of the fort of Mirabouc also had orders to allow these glorious exiles, who had recovered possession of their country, to act and move about with all freedom.² But they had still some days of severe struggles, and during which they were hard pressed by enemies, before they found themselves peacefully settled; for the French were furious against them for having foiled them at the Balsille, and mortified above all that their skilful manœuvres, their imposing array of forces, and their regular siege of the fort of Les Quatre Dents had issued in nothing but their getting possession of the place, without the be-

¹ Arnaud, p. 329.

² Id. p. 349.

sieged—that they had succeeded only in seizing these pointed rocks, like an empty eyry from which the eaglets have departed. They therefore pursued the Vaudois from valley to valley, with an ardent thirst for their extermination. One of these pursuing corps, commanded by M. De Clérambaud, was arrested and disarmed at La Tour by the garrison of that place,¹ which had received intelligence of the rupture between France and Piedmont before the detachment had been informed of it.

As for the Vaudois, they kept to their heights, still living a life of many privations; now feeding on milk and roots,² now on some partridge which had been shot, and which was cooked on a flat stone, without any seasoning;³ now on bread, obtained with great difficulty,⁴ or on a soup made of sorrel and violets gathered on the mountains.⁵ Some of them becoming frenzied, fed in the most savage manner, even devouring the raw flesh of wolves which they killed.⁶ Yet in these circumstances, still so full of danger, these brave mountaineers succeeded in obtaining some signal advantages over the enemies who were anxious to destroy them.

On Wednesday, the 21st of May, the French having sent two detachments into the mountains of Angrogna, the one above the Pradu-Tour, and the other on the south slope of Vendalin, in order to surprise the Vaudois there, they were, on the contrary, surprised by the Vaudois, who by this victory obtained complete equipments for sixty men.⁷ Next day, also, the Vaudois fought all day; and a few days after they were strengthened by a new company of their brethren, who, having left the Balsille before that place was given up, had remained till now in Pragela.⁸ New skirmishes still took place from the 4th to the 10th of June; but the French troops gradually withdrew from these valleys to other destinations. The Vaudois then established their headquarters at Bobi, where Victor Amadeus caused his commissaries to distribute provisions to them.⁹

Numbers of their brethren, who had been detained prisoners at Turin, now began to arrive, amongst others Captain Pelenc and Captain Mondon of Bobi, to whom the Duke of Savoy had said, when he set them at liberty, "Return to your brave compatriots! Tell them that they will henceforth be as free as they were in former times. Let them be as faithful to me as they have been to their religion, and their ministers may preach even in Turin."¹⁰

This promise was not to be fulfilled until long after, and not

¹ Arnaud, p. 348. ² Id. p. 350. ³ Id. p. 344. ⁴ Id. p. 345. ⁵ Id. p. 347.

⁶ Id. p. 354. ⁷ Id. pp. 346, 347. ⁸ Id. p. 349. ⁹ Id. pp. 356, 357.

¹⁰ Id. pp. 357, 358, supplemented by an unpublished letter of Reynaudin, the principal author of the *Glorious Return*.

until after he who made it had proved unfaithful to it. But he then had need of the Vaudois, and their valour did not disappoint him. Let us inquire into the sudden turns of fortune, which had led to these unexpected resolutions in the high regions of power.

CHAPTER V.

RUPTURE BETWEEN FRANCE AND SAVOY, WAR WHICH FOLLOWED IT, AND NEW SITUATION OF THE VAUDOIS, NOW BECOME DEFENDERS OF VICTOR AMADEUS II.¹

(JUNE, 1690, TO SEPTEMBER, 1694.)

Exorbitant demands of France upon Piedmont—Victor Amadeus concludes an alliance with Austria, and goes to war with France—He favours the Vaudois, in order to enjoy the support of their arms—He encourages French Protestant refugees in Piedmont—Return of Vaudois from Brandenburg with their families—Generosity of the Elector of Brandenburg—The Vaudois regiment in Piedmont—Successful incursion into the valley of the Guill in Dauphiny—Expeditions and combats—The Vaudois leaders in the presence of Victor Amadeus—Gallantry of the Vaudois at the capture of the fort of St. Michael, near Lucerna—Victory over the French at Briqueras—The French abandon the valley of St. Martin—Defeat of Victor Amadeus at Staffarde—Savoy subjected to France—The French again make themselves masters of the valley of St. Martin—They are repulsed from that of Lucerna—Faithful adherence of the Vaudois to Victor Amadeus—Their incursions into Dauphiny—M. De Feuquières, the French general, suffers severe loss at Lucerna—Various conflicts and events of war.

For a long time the demands made by France upon Piedmont had far exceeded all that one political power is entitled to expect from another in alliance with it. The zeal of Victor Amadeus for the interests of France diminished every day;² and the French

¹ AUTHORITIES.—The same as in the two preceding chapters, except Arnaud, and the works which terminate at the same point with his. Likewise the general histories relating to this period, monthly publications, &c.—See also *Les soupirs de la France esclave qui aspire après la liberté*. Amsterdam, 1690. 4to. Pp. 228. — *Chiare memorie e memorandi fatti de Valdesi, da compendii storici, del S. Conte Alfonso Loschi Vicentino*, without date or place of publication.—*Rétation d'un soldat*, &c.—The particular authorities are indicated at the bottom of each page.

² From the commencement of the year he had given expression to his dissatisfaction. "What have I ever done to the king but serve him in all possible circumstances? Have I not sacrificed to his pleasure the valley of Lucerna, contrary to all the rules of sound policy?" &c. (Letter of Victor Amadeus to the Duke of Orleans, his brother-in-law, dated 24th February, 1690.—*Dieterici*, p. 274. Moser places this letter in the month of June, but without assigning to it any precise date.) In his manifesto of 6th July, 1690, Louis XIV. also said: "Ever since the month of

monarch, regarding his alliance with a corresponding diminution of confidence, exacted from the Duke of Savoy fresh guarantees of his fidelity, and demanded that the citadels of Verceil and Turin should be delivered to him. This was to demand the keys of Piedmont, the vassalage of Victor Amadeus, and the renunciation of all liberty upon his part; for him the question was no longer of an alliance, but a subjugation.

His high and proud spirit revolted at this idea, but prudence caused him to dissemble. Not feeling himself strong enough to contend alone and immediately against the King of France, he negotiated with Austria, fortified his towns, made new levies, and sought, by diplomatic representations and delays, to gain time with Louis XIV. He wrote him a respectful letter, in which he announced to him the mission of the Count de Provana, charged to proceed to Versailles to give the answer to his proposals.

Louis XIV. did not await the arrival of this ambassador, but immediately addressed to the Duke of Savoy an imperious letter,¹ requiring him to decide without delay; and at the same time he ordered Catinat, who commanded his troops, to enforce this demand. Victor Amadeus replied so as not to commit himself. Longer time was allowed him. He profited by it to conclude an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Emperor Leopold, who recognized his titles of King of Cyprus and Royal Highness; and adopted the policy of favouring the return of the Vaudois to their own country, that their arms might be turned against France.² Victor Amadeus concluded on the same day a similar treaty with Spain, and ordered Catinat immediately to leave his dominions, with the troops under his command.

Notwithstanding the representations of the Catholic clergy,³ he proceeded to set at liberty all the Vaudois still detained in the prisons and in the galleys. He even caused those who pined in the

January, I have been informed that the Duke of Savoy, seconded by Holland and England, intended to recal the Barbets, and with their aid to make an invasion of Dauphiny." (*Moser*, § 53.)

¹ Dated 24th May, 1690.

² This treaty was concluded on the 4th of June, 1690. The paragraph relative to the Vaudois is § VI. It is in these terms:—"His Majesty the emperor promises to see to it that the Vaudois and the French refugees . . . shall act conformably to the orders of his royal highness." (*Dieterici*, p. 276.)

³ The Duke de Chaulnes and the Cardinal De Bouillon persuaded the pope to protest against the return of the Vaudois, and to withdraw from Victor Amadeus the tenth part of the ecclesiastical revenues, which he received by special authorization of Innocent XI. Alexander VIII., the then reigning pope, said that the conduct of the Duke of Savoy merited excommunication. The Sardinian envoy prevented the result of these intrigues. (*Mercure hist.* t. viii. pp. 123, 125, and t. ix. p. 18.)

prisons of Turin to be brought into his presence. Amongst them were the 122 men of Arnaud's troop who had not been able to reach the rendezvous in time, and had been taken prisoners as they left the Grisons in 1689; who had also been subjected to much cruel treatment in their captivity.¹ The duke expressed regret for this, and threw the blame upon the tyranny and fanaticism of the King of France. He gave orders, in their hearing, that they should be provided with clothes, and with everything of which they stood in need.² He caused 500 loaves to be sent every day to those who were already assembled in the valleys;³ and in order to bring back those who were still in foreign countries, he signed an edict, giving them full permission to return to Piedmont. The same favour was accorded to the Protestant refugees of France.⁴ The duke likewise intimated all these steps to the different Reformed nations of Europe—amongst others to Switzerland, to Holland,⁵ and to England, all which speedily entered into the great league formed against France, and gave effective support to the Vaudois.⁶

No sooner did this news reach foreign countries, than the scattered Vaudois, the French exiles, and all the victims of the *great king*, hastened towards the valleys. But above all, the enthusiasm and acclamations of those who were thus permitted to return to the homes of their childhood, were indescribable. The poor outlaws, who had vowed not to leave their bones in strange lands, and whose families, still in exile, wept day after day for their distant country, now shed tears of joy at the thought of soon being able to unite all whom they loved in that country, for which they had braved so many dangers.

The Vaudois who had taken refuge in Wurtemberg set out in troops of forty or fifty men, under the direction of the commis-

¹ *Arnaud*, pp. 37, 38.

² *Erman and Reclam*, t. vi. *Dieterici*, p. 280.

³ *Rélation* of the Hague, second edition, p. 55.

⁴ I subjoin this paper, which is little known:—"By these letters, signed with our hand, we ordain all our officers of justice and of war, and syndics, councillors, and inhabitants of the towns and villages of our dominions, with all others to whom it may pertain, to allow the Vaudois, our subjects, to pass freely, that they may return to the valleys of Lucerna, as also all refugees of the Protestant Reformed religion who shall be with them, or shall come after them, whether in companies or individually, into our dominions, with their arms and baggage, not permitting them to receive any molestation or hinderance, but, on the contrary, to cause them to be furnished with provisions, paying for the same a reasonable price, and to bestow upon them all other assistance and favour; and this under pain of our indignation; for so our service requires, and our will is so.—Given at Turin, this 4th of June, 1690."

⁵ The letter which he addressed to the States of Holland—a somewhat perplexed and laborious composition—is given in the *Rélation* published at the Hague in 1690, and of which the second edition was published, with additions, in 1691.

⁶ See *Moser*, § LV.

sioner La Grange. A circular of the grand duke was addressed to all the baillages through which they were to pass.¹ The exiles of Brandenburg, whose rising colony had happily overcome the difficulties of its first establishment, and now had the prospect of future prosperity, did not hesitate to sacrifice all in order to rejoin their compatriots. They entreated the elector to allow them to depart, and having obtained his authority, they did not even stay to gather in their first harvest, before commencing their march.

Frederic William was far from taking offence at these instant settlers, who had caused him so much fruitless expense; his noble heart was touched by their love for their native land; for the poor Vaudois had been thrown into absolute ecstasies by the prospect of returning to their own country, and abandoned everything in order to do so. They set out with such precipitation and want of preparation, that if they had been left to themselves, half of them must have perished on the way, for want of resources. But Frederic William showed as much generosity at their departure as he had done on their arrival. He gave them new clothing, money for their journey, passports, and letters of recommendation to the princes through whose dominions they were to pass. He wrote at the same time to Victor Amadeus, to congratulate him on having recalled such faithful subjects; and as the season was already advanced, the Duke of Savoy, supposing that these distant exiles would not quit their new colony at the beginning of winter, replied to the elector, entreating him to continue his kindness to them till the following spring.

But ere his letter arrived, the Vaudois had already set out. In vain was any attempt made to detain them; the love of country overcame every other consideration; and, in his paternal solicitude, the worthy elector, whose regard for them seemed to increase with their eagerness to leave him, permitted them to take with them, for their journey, the horses and waggons which had been given them for the cultivation of his lands; he placed at their disposal even the supplies of wheat intended for seed. He also caused arms to be distributed to them from the arsenal of Magdeburg; he even permitted the Vaudois company which had followed his army to the siege of Bonn, to set out with arms and baggage, under the guidance of Captain Sarrazin, and of the chaplain Javel.

Frederic William, moreover, commissioned M. Maillette De Buy to accompany them to Switzerland. In order to reach that country the sooner, they followed a route different from the route

¹ It is dated 12th August, 1690, and may be seen in Moser, § LV., with the itinerary of this march of the Vaudois.

by which they had come.¹ On their arrival at Zurich they expressed their ardent gratitude to the illustrious elector, in a letter which was sent back by his deputy.² Having here united with themselves all their compatriots who were still in the evangelical cantons, they resumed their journey, to the number almost of 1000, and received in the dominions of Victor Amadeus all the assistance necessary to enable them to reach the place of their destination.³

Immediately on their arrival in the valleys, they were incorporated with the Vaudois regiment which the Prince of Orange, now become King of England, and the ally of Victor Amadeus, had taken into his pay, and placed at the service of the latter, for the common interest of the powers confederate against France. This regiment had a white banner, sprinkled with blue stars, with this motto, *Patientia laesa fit furor*. The Duke of Savoy himself had chosen it, to indicate the source of his hostility against Louis XIV., as well as to signify that a peaceful and religious people, like the people of the valleys, may by their bravery become formidable against oppressors. This regiment distinguished itself from the commencement of the war, by numerous successful exploits.

The declaration of war took place in the following manner:—Victor Amadeus having ordered Catinat, on the 4th of June, 1690, to leave his dominions, that general assembled all his troops at Pignerol. Next day (5th June), the Duke of Savoy made his appearance, clothed in scarlet, and caused proclamation to be made, with sound of trumpets, that war was declared between Piedmont and France. He then caused the holy winding-sheet to be exposed to view under the dome of the church of St. John, and communicated before that venerated relic, which the inhabitants of Turin then considered as the palladium of their city. The Vaudois, whose places of worship were not yet rebuilt, invoked the Almighty under the canopy of heaven, within the inclosure of those sublime mountains which had been assigned them for their sanctuary—a vast temple, manifesting, in a way which no other can, the presence and glory of the Creator. “The French,” says an unpublished account, “were established at Lucerna, which was then sur-

¹ The route which they now pursued was by the following places:—Merseburg, Naumburg, Jena, Coburg, Bamberg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Schaffhausen, and Zurich.

² This letter is given by ERMAN and RECLAM. *Mémoires*, &c., t. vi. p. —.

³ The Vaudois had already begun to return with their wives and children, as is proved by a letter written on the part of Victor Amadeus to the syndics of Villefranche, that they should prepare rations and lodgings for a troop of 300 Vaudois, *con moglie e fanciulli*. Dated 6th November, 1690. (Archives of Le Villar, volume marked *Religionarii*, fol. 98.)

rounded with walls, and flanked with towers, except on the side of the Pelis. They had also taken possession of La Tour, and shut themselves up in the fort of St. Mary, from which they made sorties upon the Vaudois. But they might advance as far as Le Villar or Bobi; they met nobody; on their return they were assailed from all sides, and overwhelmed."¹ The Vaudois made themselves masters of the fort of Mirabouc.² Some new combat took place every day between them and the French, and although the fortune of war is changeful, says a contemporary, the Vaudois had almost always the advantage.³

Even before they were organized in regular troops, they made a number of little expeditions, in support of the movements of the Piedmontese army. The Baron Palavicino, who commanded a detachment of it, resolved to make an incursion into Dauphiny. He proposed to invade the valley of Le Queyras, and the Vaudois sent a half battalion of 300 men to aid his design, who lay at Le Pra, on the evening of the 18th of June. It was a Sabbath; and Arnaud, who, in becoming a warrior, had not ceased to be a man of God, conducted a religious service amidst the shepherds' huts, where the soldiers were assembled. He thus elevated their souls by prayer, withdrawing from the agitations of the world those last hours of a holy day, and of the eve of a combat. Next day they passed over the Col Lacroix, put to flight the inhabitants of the valley of the Guill as far as Abriès, carried off a great number of beasts of burden and cattle from La Monta and Ristolas, overcame all resistance which was made to them at Abriès, and returned the same evening to Le Pra, where they divided the spoil.⁴

On the Thursday following (22d June) all the inhabitants of La Tour who had changed their religion, joined their former brethren, and augmented their forces. On the next Sabbath (25th June) these rapid squadrons, issuing from their mountains, fought with the enemy in the plain of Piedmont, relieved the fort of St. Michael, and that same evening celebrated their usual religious service in a farm-house near Mondovi. It was conducted by a young minister, named Bastie. Next day they took La Tour, but the French afterwards burned that little town, in order to deprive their enemies of it. In this affair Major Odin received a wound in the arm. Three

¹ *Histoire des missions depuis 1687 à 1706, par le père Bonaventure de Vergemoli, traduite de l'italien.* (MS. of the Episcopal Library of Pignerol.)

² *Rélation de ce qui s'est passé le 15 juin au 16 juillet, 1690.* The Hague, 24mo, pp. 58.

³ *Mercure historique*, t. viii. p. 136.

⁴ The *Rélation du 16 juin au 15 juillet* says that they brought back 200 mules, all laden, along with 300 head of cattle. (P. 60.) Many other details are given.

days after (Wednesday, the 28th), Captain Friquet returned from Pragela, where he had seized some important despatches. Pallavicino, the general to whom they were conveyed, delegated the officer who had made this capture, along with Odin and Arnaud, to proceed themselves with these despatches to Victor Amadeus. They were received in the camp of that prince with sound of trumpets and of drums,¹ and were addressed by him in these remarkable words: "You have but one God and one king to serve: serve God and your king faithfully; hitherto we have been enemies, henceforth we must be friends. Other parties have been the cause of your misfortunes; but if you now expose your lives in my service, I will also expose mine for you; and as long as I have a morsel of bread, you shall have a share of it."²

"From that time," Arnaud writes,³ "we have enjoyed perfect liberty. I go to meet our troops, who are to come by the Milanese."⁴ The troops of the valleys are all at Bobi and Le Villar. . . . They have a flying camp of 400 men, who scour the country as far as Briançon. God alone knows all the sufferings which we have endured, and the horrible combats in which we have been engaged; and he alone could have given us the victory. We have not lost thirty men, and our enemies have lost not less than 10,000. I write you at midnight, not having time even to write to my wife, who should be at Neuchâtel," &c.

"We have intelligence from Turin," says one, writing on the 3d of July, "that the Vaudois have within the last month been many times attacked by the French, but that they have bravely repulsed them, and have carried off much booty; and, moreover, that the Vaudois and M. Arnaud have arrived at Turin, where they have received many marks of favour from his royal highness, who has furnished them with clothes and money, and, in particular, has given M. Arnaud a rich dress and the baton of a commander."⁵ The body of troops which Arnaud was to go to meet, in order to quicken their march, arrived opposite to the valley of Lucerna on the morning of the 8th of August.⁶

¹ *Rélation du 16 juin au 15 juillet*, p. 59.

² These words are related by Arnaud, p. 364.

³ Letter dated 5th July, 1690. *Return*, p. 392.

⁴ These were some of the Vaudois refugees from the Grisons and the Valteline.

⁵ *Rélation d'un soldat*, . . . 24mo, p. 62.

⁶ *Mercure hist.* t. ix. p. 1027. *Rélation véritable*, &c., . . . (4to), p. 3.—According to the *Rélation* already quoted (the Hague, 24mo), p. 58, these Vaudois from the Grisons, who came by the Milanese, amounted to about two thousand in number. It has been supposed that there must have been with them French refugees; but it is said, under date 17th June, p. 59, "Two thousand Vaudois have arrived from Milan, and gone to join those of the valleys." These could not be the same

The Marquis De Parelles, the lieutenant-general of Victor Amadeus, was at Bubiano with 3000 men. There was also there a regiment of the militia of Mondovi, celebrated for their want of discipline; it was found necessary to distribute amongst them four days' pay in advance, in order to retain them around their banners.

The entrance of the valley was closed by the French, who occupied the town of Lucerna, their wings resting upon the fort of La Tour and upon that of St. Michael. They had thrown down the walls of the city, so that they remained only breast high, in order to make use of them for parapets. M. De Feuquières was in command of 3000 infantry there, with six squadrons of cavalry and dragoons. The Vaudois who arrived from the Grisons with Arnaud, proceeded to the Piedmontese camp, between Bubiano and Fenil, and agreed with the Marquis De Parelles that they would attack Lucerna immediately; but, almost as soon as this was arranged, the Marquis De Parelles was summoned to the camp of Victor Amadeus, and he left M. De Loches to command in his stead.

It was deemed proper first of all to carry the fort of St. Michael, which protected Lucerna. For this purpose 200 Vaudois, commanded by Captains Imbert, Peyrot, and Malanot,¹ having with them thirty grenadiers, issued from Bubiano, passed to Lucernetta, and made a circuit round the town of Lucerna; then, ascending to Rora, they sent word to the troops which had issued from the Balsille, and were now cantoned at Bobi, to come and join them. The latter were, of all the Vaudois troops, the most inured to war, as they had now kept the field for almost a year. They had for their leader the former commandant of the fort of La Tour, the Chevalier Vercelli, who had been sent to them by Victor Amadeus. He promptly came with 300 men, and joined upon the heights of Rora those who had newly arrived from the Grisons.

These two troops of former exiles, of which the one had reconquered their native land, and the other came to defend it, now met in presence of the common enemy. "They attacked together; and, after half an hour's fighting, the fort of St. Michael was taken. But the French returned to the charge, and again drove the Vau-

whom Arnaud was to go to meet on 5th July. Farther on it is said, "*Twelve hundred French refugees are expected, who are at Como, in the Milanese. They are commanded by the Sieur Michel Michelin.*" (Id. p. 66, under date 1st July. And still farther on:—"The Vaudois have received two thousand religionaries;" and again, "*one thousand refugees, . . . and twelve hundred more follow them, commanded by Michel Michelin.*" In general this narrative is not to be consulted without caution. The news which it gives are often the mere reports which had become current, and the dates are not always exactly indicated.

¹ *Rélation*, in 4to, p. 5.

dois from it. The Vaudois, irritated at losing what they had with so much difficulty won, without giving the enemy any time to rest, attacked them a second time, with more vigour than at first, and drove them from the fort, in which the Chevalier Vercelli then established himself, with 100 men to guard it. Not contented with this advantage, the Vaudois pursued the French to within musket-shot of Lucerna, the fugitives halting from time to time, making resistance at one bushy place after another, and sheltering themselves behind the hedges and rocks which lay in their way; but the Vaudois drove them out at the point of the bayonet, and by rolling stones into their places of shelter.¹

"During this combat, which lasted more than two hours, a party of thirty-six men, commanded by M. Arnaud, showed themselves, from time to time, upon a height within view of Lucerna, and then retired into the woods, which disconcerted the enemy, who did not dare to attack that small corps, fearing that there might be some ambuscade."² One of the officers of this small corps himself gives us the following explanation of its position:—"After having given orders to attack the fort of St. Michael, M. De Loches, awaiting the issue of that enterprise, withdrew, leaving me, with M. Arnaud and a picket of thirty-six men, to observe what might take place, and to inform him of the proceedings of our people."³ "When the fort was taken," he also says, "M. Arnaud's opinion was that the rest of our regiment should be brought forward, and Lucerna immediately attacked; but the day was declining, and so it was thought best to go by the road which leads to Briqueras to meet our people, in order to support them, in case the enemy should attempt to take them in the rear. Seeing that they did not come forth, I sent a courier to M. De Parelles, who arrived in the morning,⁴ with his 800 men."⁵ Leaving seventy as a garrison at Bubiano, he marched upon Lucerna, which the French had just abandoned. He encountered their rear-guard at the junction of the two roads which cross one another in front of the farm called Les Eyrals. There he was joined by a part of the troops who came from Bobi. Of these he detached 100 men to occupy Lucerna, and with the rest, divided into three companies, he marched upon the enemy. The first two companies, keeping to the left, advanced through the vineyards, doubly concealed from the eyes of the enemy by the foliage and by the volumes of

¹ This fragment of narrative is extracted from the *Mercure historique*.

² *Mercure historique*, p. 1632.

³ *Rélation véritable de ce qui s'est passé . . . dans les Vallées . . . depuis le 15 août jusqu' au 22 du même mois, 1693.* The Hague, 4to, p. 5.

⁴ Wednesday, 9th August, 1693.

⁵ *Rélation*, . . . in 4to, p. 6.

smoke which rolled over the plain from a number of barns to which the French had set fire as they passed. The third company kept to the right, and marched directly upon them; it routed them, and pursued them with such eagerness, that many of the Vaudois flung away their knapsacks, in order to be the more agile in the pursuit. The French halted from time to time, covered by their cavalry and dragoons; but they were soon beset upon all sides, and compelled to resume their flight. In this way they were pursued as far as Briqueras, where their cavalry drew up in order of battle before the town, whilst the infantry took shelter within the castle. The Vaudois attacked both at the same time; the town on three points, and the castle on five. The town was first taken; the cavalry retired by Osase, and the infantry then thought fit to abandon the castle, but they were pursued with such ardour that their retreat became a rout.

"God, in his grace," says a Vaudois, "had put it into our hearts to take for our battle-cry, 'God for our help,' and in truth he did so manifestly help us, that although the enemy were four times our strength, they could not resist us. All our officers distinguished themselves, but God guided them. The enemy fought well: we took twenty-one prisoners, of whom fourteen were conducted to his royal highness. We lost forty-eight men, Vaudois and French.¹ We cannot precisely ascertain the enemy's loss, but the town of Briqueras was so filled with dead bodies that, two days after, we could no longer remain there for the stench. According to the accounts which reach us from Pignerol, the French have lost three colonels, two lieutenant-colonels, a major, and forty captains. There are more than 1400 of their men awanting; they have received seventeen waggons filled with the wounded: of the regiment of the dragoons of Salis there remain no more than eighty men. If we had had cavalry, their destruction would have been complete."² The result of this expedition was to compel the enemy to abandon all the posts which they still occupied in the valley of St. Martin.

A few days before this, Catinat had seized on Cavour, the castle of which place, strengthened by several intrenchments, was defended by the Vaudois and the militia of Mondovi. This garrison, after having suffered much, succeeded in retiring, and in so doing

¹ The French here meant are French refugees, who made common cause with the Vaudois.

² *Rélation* above quoted, at the end. It is merely a long letter, which some one has published. It concludes thus:—"All the valleys are at present in the hands of the Vaudois. God be praised! This 15th (21st) August, 1690."

killed 100 of the enemy. The French general now directed his army towards Saluces. The Duke of Savoy passed the Po with his. The encounter took place on the 18th of August, near Staffarde, where Victor Amadeus—for one who had never been in any battle before—performed prodigies of valour. However, Catinat routed him completely, and seized upon Saluces next day. The capture of several other places followed this battle. Meanwhile, General De St. Ruth entered Savoy, and completely subjected it to France.

"The French, who boast of their victory at Staffarde," said the *Mercury* of the month following, "have not made so much noise about their defeat in the valleys. . . . But it is to be feared that they may profit by the defeat of the Duke of Savoy to attack the Vaudois, and to drive them a second time from their mountains."¹ And this they certainly attempted to do, with so much success that they made themselves masters of the valley of St. Martin, but they were repulsed from that of Lucerna. Accordingly, the following announcement appeared: "The Vaudois continue to signalize themselves, and if the other troops of his royal highness were to do their part as well, Piedmont would soon be delivered from its enemies."²

These indefatigable soldiers overthrew, in the valley of Suza, a detachment of 700 men, whom the French generals had sent to re-victual Pignerol.³ More than 300 of the French were killed, and the Vaudois took 300 mules, laden with all sorts of provisions. But ere long Suza itself fell into the hands of Catinat; the Vaudois then turned their arms in the opposite direction, and proceeded to seize upon Chateau Dauphin,⁴ a place situated on the frontiers of France and Piedmont, on the confines of the marquisate of Saluces. Meanwhile the French had burned the town of Lucerna,⁵ with the surrounding villages, to prevent the Vaudois from retiring thither; but the latter returning, reposed themselves there, and put Lucerna in a state of defence, in order to pass the winter in it.

Having promised fidelity to Victor Amadeus, the Vaudois remained courageously devoted to him. It was not so with the Italian potentates, who had attached themselves to his fortunes in the time of his prosperity, and who now abandoned him, charging him with all the evils which the war had brought upon Italy. Division began to appear in the court of Savoy itself. But the foreign narrators already quoted, say: "The Vaudois, and those who command them, understand much better what they are

¹ *Mercurie historique*, September, 1690, p. 1043.

² *Id.* October number, p. 1142.

³ In November, 1690.

⁴ In September, 1690.

⁵ End of October, 1690.

about; and, therefore, better success attends their arms. *They continue to make incursions, from time to time, into Upper Dauphiny, and have several times seized convoys which were destined for places in the possession of the French. Nevertheless, they have been driven by the Marquis De Feuquières from some of the posts which they occupied. Some of the forts to which they were accustomed to retire have been demolished, and some of the woods cut down in which they frequently placed themselves in ambuscade. But this does not prevent them from making frequent incursions, in almost all of which they gain some new advantage.*"¹

The following is a specimen of the way in which the *Gazette de France* speaks of the advantages obtained by the Marquis de Feuquières:—"They write from Pignerol:² 'The Barbets have been completely driven from the valleys of La Pérouse, St. Martin, and Pralis. During the night between the 5th and 6th of this month, the Marquis De Feuquières proceeded, with 500 horse and 200 grenadiers, to the castle of Benasque, where there was a company of the Duke of Savoy's regiment of guards. He arrived there before day, and made himself master of the castle, after an assault of one hour. The Marquis of Angrogna, who commanded there, and all the other officers, were taken prisoners.'"³

The same journal relates also the capture of Savillan, or Savigliano, which took place a few days after. But in the beginning of this year, 1691, Prince Eugene, having arrived to the aid of Piedmont, began to rally the troops of Victor Amadeus under the walls of Casal. The Vaudois continued their incursions into Dauphiny, where, says a narrator, the people feared them more than demons.⁴ The allies, on their part, resolved to make every effort to support the Duke of Savoy, and even to enter France through his dominions. The King of England gave him reason to hope that he would send the Duke of Schonberg to command his troops. Whilst awaiting his arrival, the Piedmontese generals, says the *Mercure historique*, proposing to retake Pignerol,⁵ ordered the Vaudois, who were then under the command of a Genevese named Malet, to make a diversion into the valley of Pérouse, in order to draw the French troops thither. Their plan succeeded; but resulted in little advantage to the Piedmontese.

Meanwhile, a conclave was held at Rome, to appoint a successor to Alexander VIII. The presence of that assembly was signalized

¹ *Mercure hist.*, t. x. pp. 18 and 19; t. ix. p. 1388.

² Under date 15th January, 1691.

³ *La Gazette* (de France), number for February, 1691, p. 39.

⁴ Id. number for February, 1691, p. 16.

⁵ In March, 1691.

every day by the most serious disorders in the city.¹ Innocent XII., who was at last elected, found occasion afterwards to protest against the re-establishment of the Vaudois in their country; but at that time it was thought that they would soon be destroyed by arms.

M. De Feuquières certainly hoped so. On the 18th of April he set out from Pignerol, with 1200 infantry and 400 cavalry. He commenced his march at eleven o'clock at night, and next morning arrived over against Lucerna, which was at that time the most important post of the Vaudois. They, not thinking themselves in a condition to defend it, retired to the heights. Feuquières set fire to the town, but during the conflagration the mountaineers rushed down upon his army, killing 100 and wounding 200, among whom were forty officers. "It must be confessed," observes a journalist of the time, "that M. De Feuquières is not happy in his undertakings. However, these Vaudois are of remarkable bravery. They have never yet been overcome but by superiority of numbers, and when their inferiority has not been too considerable, they have always had the advantage over their enemies. Accordingly, it is reported that the Duke of Savoy has placed a good number of them as a garrison in the citadel of Turin, not thinking it possible to intrust it to better hands."²

The duke had also placed 700 Vaudois or French refugees in the citadel of Coni, which Feuquières endeavoured to take, but of which he was soon obliged to raise the siege. Being accused of having raised the siege too precipitately, he was imprisoned in the citadel of Pignerol. However, Catinat made himself master of Nice,³ of Villefranche,⁴ of Carmagnole,⁵ and of Veillane.⁶ Upon the capture of Carmagnole, the Vaudois who were found in it were spoiled of their arms and baggage by the French. Eager to avenge themselves, they marked the moment when the new garrison issued from the place, lay in wait for it upon the road, and attacked it with such vigour, that they despoiled it in turn.

The day after this affair Catinat sent 3000 men into the valleys, to exterminate these terrible troops of the Israel of the Alps. The Vaudois permitted this detachment to penetrate a good way into their mountains, and then dividing themselves into two corps, they assailed it at once in front and rear. The combat lasted for five or six hours. There were nearly 500 of the French killed upon

¹ A letter from Rome, 16th June, 1691, says:—"The affairs of the conclave are no farther advanced than they were at the beginning, although it has lasted for five months already. The greatest disorders occur every day. More than 150 assassinations are already reckoned, &c." *La Gazette* (de France), number for August, 1691, p. 232.

² *Mercure hist.*, number for May, 1691, pp. 52, 60.

³ 2d April.

⁴ 21st March.

⁵ 9th June.

⁶ 30th May.

the spot, and about 300 taken prisoners, who were conveyed to Coni.

But winter was approaching. "The Vaudois," says a contemporary, "will be employed to guard the passes, in order to prevent the French army from obtaining the succours intended for it; and no doubt is entertained but that they will do this with success. Although their troops fight only according to the ordinary discipline, they do not fail to disconcert the French. They have always beaten them hitherto, and the Duke of Savoy has reason to be well satisfied with their assistance. M. Malet, the colonel of one of their regiments, and a captain, both Genevese, have deserted them, and gone to seek service in France. But far from being thrown into consternation by this, these poor people have redoubled their courage and hope, alleging that they cannot but succeed better than ever, having now none but faithful officers, of whom they can be confident."¹

But amidst their victories they were still poor. The Duke of Schonberg, who had now arrived in Piedmont, immediately perceiving the importance of these veteran legions, caused clothing to be sent to them for 4000 men, and abundant munitions of war.² He thought to augment their valour through their gratitude, and so to prepare them to support him with more enthusiasm in the grand enterprise which he meditated, of an invasion of Dauphiny. He hoped thus to force the French armies to leave Piedmont, in order to defend their own territory, and then he proposed to return into the dominions of the Duke of Savoy, to secure them against fresh aggressions. We shall presently see how he succeeded, and in what way the Vaudois aided him in his important operations.

¹ *Mercure hist.*, number for April, 1692, p. 349.

² In June, 1692. These 4000 men were not all natives of the valleys, but partly refugees from different countries. The Vaudois amounted in number only to 1480, viz., thirteen companies of sixty men, under the command of M. De Loches=780; and fourteen companies of fifty men, under the command of M. St. Julien=700.

CHAPTER VI.

CONTINUATION AND CONCLUSION OF THE WAR BETWEEN LOUIS XIV. AND VICTOR AMADEUS; PARTICIPATION OF THE VAUDOIS IN THESE EVENTS, AND THEIR FORMAL RE-ESTABLISHMENT IN THE VALLEYS.¹

Reverses sustained by the Duke of Savoy in the war—Prince Eugene and the Duke of Schonberg come to his assistance—Decree of rehabilitation in favour of the Vaudois in 1692—Invasion of Dauphiny by the forces of the Piedmontese and their allies—Siege and capture of Embrun—Surrender of Gap—Illness of the Duke of Savoy, and close of the campaign of 1692—Catinat, the French commander, assumes the offensive in the beginning of 1693—The Duke of Savoy defeated in the plains of Marsaille—Catinat desolates Piedmont—The Vaudois harass the French army—Victor Amadeus publishes a new edict in favour of the Vaudois, in May, 1694—Successful enterprises of the Vaudois against the French—Victor Amadeus is detached from the league against the King of France, and enters into a new alliance with France.

TOWARDS the close of the year 1691, Arnaud returned to Switzerland, to visit his family; it was his office also to make arrangements for the return home of the exiles who still remained in foreign countries, and, at the same time, to promote the union of foreign refugees with the people of the valleys. Little could he suspect that in a few years more he would be proscribed anew, and that he was himself to re-conduct to a distant exile all those refugees to whom he now thought to give a country and a home. But at this period his prospects seemed bright; and it was over other heads that the heavens were darkened.

The year 1692 began very ominously for Victor Amadeus. Montmellian, the last of his places of strength in Savoy, had surrendered² after thirty days' bombardment, and more than a year of blockade. Italy, long torn in pieces by the rivalries of courts, and already fatigued by its wars with France, murmured grievously against the Duke of Savoy for engaging in a new contest, which had so rapidly resulted in misfortune. The youth of the duke ripened amidst these trials, and his firmness now made him appear greater than before. But he could not put confidence in his troops, whose leaders were men of no great abilities. It is not in soldiers that Italy has most frequently been found deficient, but in gene-

¹ AUTHORITIES.—The same as in the preceding chapters, especially the *Mercure historique* and the Archives of Turin.

² On 21st December, 1692. The garrison did not leave it till the 22d.

erals. England and Austria undertook to furnish them. The former sent the Duke of Schonberg, the latter the Prince Eugene. Their arrival was worth an army. A council of war was held at Turin, to decide upon a plan of operations.

The Italians thought that they should attack Catinat at Pignerol;¹ Eugene was of opinion that the war should be carried into Provence and Dauphiny. "It is better," said he, "that the enemy's country should suffer, than ours. Catinat will be obliged to evacuate Piedmont, in order to defend his own territory, and we will not turn the fertile plains of Piedmont into a field of battle." "But," it was objected, "the passage of the Alps is full of difficulties; the principal passes are guarded; Sestières, Sézane, and the Col De Tende are in the possession of the enemy." "We have still," it was replied, "the Vaudois valleys. Their inhabitants know all the intricacies of the mountains better than the French do. They will be able to guide us by routes which, as they are less frequented, will be so much the more secure." "Is it prudent," said the Italians, "to confide in a people with whom we were fighting but yesterday, and to put the destinies of a kingdom, so to speak, into the hands of those who were lately proscribed, and are still irritated?" "The force with which we will march," it was replied, "will be sufficiently imposing to retain them to their duty; moreover, it is of France that the Vaudois have most of all to complain: re-assure them as to their future prospects, and they will serve with increased ardour, and so become more formidable to the common enemy." "But what," it was asked, "if France, in her turn, should offer to protect them?" "She cannot do so," it was replied, "without deserting her own policy, and sooner or later they would be sacrificed. Their lawful sovereign alone has a claim on their loyalty; and in their duty to him they will not be deficient, if their country be given to them, for then they will have an interest in defending it, and will thus be attached to our cause by considerations of interest and of gratitude."

This opinion having been adopted, Victor Amadeus, who had already been urged thereto by Great Britain, issued, towards the end

¹ These and the following particulars are taken in part from *L'Hist. du Prince François Eugène de Savoye, généralissime des armées de l'Empereur et de l'Empire*, Amsterdam, 1740. (It is believed to have been written by a person named Mabillon, and is reputed the most complete work which has been published respecting this prince), t. i., l. ii., p. 151, et seq. I have also consulted the *Mémoires de Feuquière*; those of M. D. F. L., *touchant ce qui s'est passé en Italie, entre Victor-Amédée II., et le roi T. C.* . . . (Aix-la-Chapelle, 1697), the journals and pamphlets of the time, &c. But what I here present under the form of a dialogue, is merely the substance of the opinions expressed in different conferences respecting the Vaudois.

of June, 1692, a first decree of rehabilitation, of which the following are the principal provisions:—

"The clear proofs of fidelity, and evident marks of zeal for our service, which our *religionary* subjects of the valleys of Lucerna have given, and daily continue to give us, &c., . . . having already induced us to receive them anew under our protection, we, for good reasons, think it right no longer to defer making manifest their complete re-establishment in our favour, in order the more to excite them to merit it. Therefore, by these presents, to which it is our pleasure to give the force of an edict, . . . and by the advice of our council, we grant to the aforesaid *religionaries* a full pardon and complete remission of all the crimes with which they have been charged,¹ . . . in general and in particular, . . . not excepting lese-majesty, Divine and human, . . . and of all the penalties declared or incurred upon account of the same, . . . revoking and annulling to this effect the following edicts² and their *enterination*, . . . so that for the future they shall remain without force or effect, as if they had never been made, ordaining that all those of the said *religionaries* who are still in prison shall be forthwith set at liberty, and that the sons and children of the said *religionaries*, of whatsoever age, and in whatsoever place of our dominions they may be, shall be allowed perfect freedom to return to their friends in the said valleys, and there to make profession of their religion; and that for this purpose they shall be given up without payment of any expenses, restoring the said *religionaries* to the possession of all and every one of their ancient rights, edicts, customs, usages, and privileges, and willing that they, their children and posterity, be maintained in the same."³

He then enjoins all holders of any of the property of the Vaudois, fixed or movable, to render it up, without retaining any part, upon any pretext whatever. He decrees that the Vaudois shall no longer be prosecuted nor disturbed upon account of their religion, leaving them free to return to Protestantism, even if they should have abjured it. Finally, he authorizes all foreign *religionaries* to settle in the Vaudois valleys, upon condition of their taking the oath of fidelity to him.

Notwithstanding his favourable intentions towards the Vaudois, Victor Amadeus still showed in this decree a desire to cover, by

¹ But not convicted. Nor does the decree, in fact, relate to anything save the contraventions of the edicts afterwards cited.

² Those of 31st January and of 9th April, 1686.

³ This edict is little known; that of 23d May, 1694, having caused it to be forgotten. It is to be found recorded in the *Lettres historiques, contenant tout ce qui se passe de plus important en Europe*, &c., . . . ii. 32.

some pretext, his recent severities, making reference for this purpose to the charges which had previously been brought against the Vaudois, as if justice ought not always to be regarded before grace is mentioned. By this, however, he did not escape the reprehensions of the Holy See.¹ But, in the meantime, feeling confident of having re-attached to himself the intrepid mountaineers of the Vaudois Alps, he thought only how to profit by their valour. All these steps were taken, on his part, in order to accomplish by their aid an invasion of Dauphiny.

In order to draw away Catinat from Pignerol, where he would have been able to have closed the entrance to the Vaudois valleys against the troops of the Duke of Savoy, that prince directed a false attack on the side of Suza, as if it had been his intention to have forced the valley of the Doire. The French general fell into the snare which had been laid for him, and immediately abandoning Pignerol, he led his troops towards the part which was apparently menaced. The allies immediately profited by this to force Pérouse and Briqueras. Prince Eugene led the advanced guard; Victor Amadeus, having General Caprara under him, commanded the main body of the army, in which the Count De La Torres, general of the Spanish forces, and the Marquis De Leganez, commanded the Milanese troops. The Prince De Commercy and the Marquis De Parelles led the rear-guard, composed of Savoyard, Imperial, and Italian regiments. These three invading corps marched at a certain distance from one another, under the direction of experienced guides, furnished by the valleys. The advanced guard penetrated into the valley of Pragela, whither a part of the main body followed it, under the orders of Victor Amadeus; the other part, commanded by the Duke of Schonberg, entered the valley of Lucerna. The Marquis De Parelles made his way into that of Barcelonnette, and that of St. Martin was invaded by the Marquis De Leganez. On arriving at Bobi the troops under the command of Schonberg separated into two divisions, of which one ascended the valley of the Pelis, and the other passed over the Col Julian, to join the troops of the Marquis De Parelles, coming by the lateral valley of St. Martin. These two detachments having effected a junction at Pral, were destined to traverse the Col d'Abriès, whilst the first division traversed the Col Lacroix.

But Prince Eugene had already passed over Mont Genevre, and seized Briançon. He burned that place, and descended by the valley of the Durance towards Mont Dauphin, which was not then fortified. The town of Guillestre alone detained him for a few

¹ See the preamble of the edict of the Holy Office, dated 19th August, 1694.

days. It was surrounded with walls flanked with towers, but destitute of ditches. It had a garrison of 600 of the militia of Dauphiny, and 200 Irish, commanded by Colonel De Chalandren, who refused to surrender; and, accordingly, the place was besieged. It resisted, successfully at first; but Prince Eugene caused cannon to be brought, and in three days it was carried. His troops then joined those of Victor Amadeus and of the Prince De Commercy, to cross the Durance at St. Clement, in order to be able to proceed in a united body against Embrun.

Meanwhile, the Duke of Schonberg, who had ascended the valley of Lucerna, and passed over the Col Lacroix, took all the villages of the valley of the Guill, as far as Chateau Queyras; but that place resisted him. It is built upon an isolated rock, which rises in the form of a sugar-loaf, in one of the narrowest parts of the valley, and completely commands the pass. The Duke of Schonberg was not able to take it without artillery; he sent to ask some cannon from Victor Amadeus, who was already under the walls of Embrun, and who ordered him to rejoin him by the valley of the Durance. Chateau Queyras, therefore, was not taken. Schonberg rejoined the Duke of Savoy before the ancient capital of Caturigia,¹ where the greater part of the invading army had already been for four days.

The city of Embrun, fortified with ramparts and ditches, occupies a rocky platform, very precipitous towards the valley, where is a magnificent expanse of meadows watered by the Durance; but it is commanded by the mountain against which its platform leans, and it was upon this mountain that Prince Eugene at first took up his position. The Marquis De Larrey commanded in the city, the same who had already been defeated by the Vaudois in the conflict at Salabertrans. Victor Amadeus summoned him to surrender. "I value the good opinion of your royal highness too much to do so!" was his noble, courageous, and polite reply, worthy of the times of chivalry; and, notwithstanding the inferiority of his forces,² he commenced firing.

It became necessary to besiege Embrun with all the tediousness of a blockade. The trenches were opened on the 6th of August.

¹ Caturigia extended from Briançon to Nice. Embrun was its most important city. Nero accorded to the inhabitants of this city the *right of Latinity*; Galba also granted them some privileges. There exists a little known mock heroic poem, entitled *L'Embrunade*, on the disputes between the Jesuits and the Jansenists—disputes in which the bishop of this city had taken part. In 1692, before the arrival of the troops of Victor Amadeus, the bishop of Embrun conducted his *chapter* to Grenoble, as a place of safety, and then returned to his besieged metropolis, to watch over his flock.

² He had 25,000 infantry, 200 dragoons, and some militia.

The Marquis De Larrey made a number of very vigorous sorties, and killed many of the enemy;¹ but at last the heavy artillery made a breach in his walls;² he then proposed to capitulate,³ and was allowed to leave the place with the honours of war.⁴ The Duke of Savoy won in this affair eighteen or twenty pieces of cannon, 60,000 livres in gold, and a great quantity of provisions. He levied a great contribution, moreover, from the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood.

His army then marched towards Gap. Prince Eugene, who commanded the advanced guard, no sooner presented himself before that town, which was destitute of all means of resistance, than the magistrates sent him the keys. Some authors say that the whole of the Gapençois was laid under contribution, from Sisteron to Die; others that it was ravaged and pillaged as far as Sisteron. It is certain that great disorders took place; convents, churches, public institutions, and perhaps even private houses were plundered of all that was valuable. Soldiers might be seen, in their hours of leisure in the camp, to stake twenty louis on a card, with robber carelessness. These devastations were reprisals for those which the French army had committed in the Palatinate.

Catinat, who had for a moment been confounded by the bold manœuvre of the assailants, and the shame of being outwitted, now sent the Marquis De Liancourt with ten battalions to the neighbourhood of Grenoble, to secure that city against the allies. Provence and Dauphiny were in perpetual agonies of fear. These alarms increased, and spread with a rapidity proportionate to the success of the enemy. The panic extended as far as Lyons and Valence. At Grenoble consternation reigned; and the whole militia of the province were raised in the utmost haste.

But at the moment when the invading army was preparing to march upon Grenoble, the Duke of Savoy was seized with small-pox at Gap. He caused himself to be conveyed in a litter to Embrun. His wife came to him there. He made his will. His plans were all disconcerted. The report of his death was several times circulated. The Vaudois ministers, who at that time preached

¹ On the night between the 8th and 9th, he killed fifty men of the army of Victor Amadeus; on the night between the 10th and 11th, the Count De Lugiasco, a nephew of the Marquis De Paretles, was killed, and General De Torres was wounded; on the night between the 13th and 14th he made three other sorties, and killed or wounded more than 150 men.

² From the 13th to the 15th.

³ On the 16th.

⁴ The garrison was to be conducted to Grenoble, and not to recommence service for three weeks. Prisoners were to be exchanged. Ecclesiastical property was to be respected by the conqueror, but all which belonged to the King of France was to be delivered up to the Duke of Savoy.

publicly at Gap and Embrun, prayed for his preservation. His health was slowly re-established. Between the 15th and the 18th of September, 1692, all the allied troops recrossed the Alps, leaving only a garrison at Barcelonnette. But all warlike enterprises were postponed to the following year. The Vaudois alone distinguished themselves during the month of December, by a victory over a French detachment in the plains of St. Segont.

The Duke of Schonberg had returned to England, the Prince of Commercy and the Count De Montécuculi set out for Vienna. Eugene followed them; everything seemed quiet. Catinat himself had left Piedmont to go to Paris. He returned to Piedmont in the beginning of the year 1693. He longed to revenge himself for the check which he had met with in the preceding year, but he named as the cause of his irritation, only the ravages committed in Dauphiny. He promised to the volunteers of that province who should join his ranks, the pillage of all the towns of Piedmont which they should succeed in taking, and in particular that of the Vaudois valleys. Unfortunate valleys! he could find no very rich booty there.

About the end of January, the Count De Tessé, governor of Pignerol, led a foraging expedition in the direction of Saluces, and Victor Amadeus moved with his troops towards the city of Aosta. During the following month two traitors were executed in Turin, convicted of high treason, for having attempted to admit the French into the town of Coni. It is even alleged that they had contributed to the capture of Carmagnole.

But ere long the report of a private truce between Victor Amadeus and Louis XIV. became current in the political world. However, the troops of these two sovereigns always approached nearer and nearer to each other. The Marquis De Paretles occupied the passes leading to the valleys of Lucerna and Pragela. Being repulsed from the latter, he fell back upon Angrogna, and the French troops appeared at Pignerol.

The Duke of Schonberg was recalled. He assumed a position on the side of Giavenna. Prince Eugene also returned, and, in concert with the Marquis De Leganez, he drove Catinat back as far as Fenestrelle, making himself master of the fort of La Pérouse. But Pignerol still held out. A letter from Briançon, of date 15th of July, 1693, says: "Our army suffers much from the attacks which the Vaudois make upon our convoys. Within these two days they have taken from us twenty mules, laden with provisions and ammunition."¹

¹ *Mercurie historique*, number for August, 1693, p. 132.

The city of Pignerol was at last assailed. Being threatened with bombardment, it offered Victor Amadeus the sum of 40,000 pistoles for exemption from that calamity; but he rejected these proposals, and only granted to the ladies and the monks safe-conducts for their retirement elsewhere. He then caused the roads to be broken up, and the country to be laid waste all around the place, which was bombarded from the 25th of September to the 1st of October. But Catinat came in time to save it. Arriving in the plains of Marsaille on the 3d of October, he immediately offered battle to the Duke of Savoy. The duke fought and was defeated. His army was cut in pieces. He lost nearly 8000 men, 34 cannon, and 110 standards. Catinat, then spreading his troops over the whole plain of Piedmont, pillaged and burned everything to the very walls of Turin. Indescribable desolation reigned over that unhappy region. Victor Amadeus, vanquished, fugitive, driven from his own dominions, found his situation become more and more critical. Fortunately, Louis XIV. had need of his troops to maintain his wars against Holland, Spain, and England. He recalled them from Piedmont in the beginning of 1694, and they had much to suffer in crossing the Alps in the midst of winter. The Vaudois, accustomed to snows, then did them considerable injury. They surprised, and in part destroyed, the French cavalry in the mountains of the Malanage. Of thirty-six companies, there remained only 150 men. "The Marshal De Catinat," says a letter of that period, "had so great a fear of the ambuscades of the Vaudois, that he sent a herald with a trumpet to them, to say that if they would agree not to incommode him on his march, he, upon his part, would do them no harm. The Vaudois replied that they had no intention of opposing the French army, but that its passage would cost it at least the half of its baggage, and they have kept their word."¹

Catinat, however, returned to Pignerol in the beginning of spring, for Victor Amadeus had obtained considerable subsidies from the British parliament, to enable him to carry on the war with France, had caused Coni to be fortified, gone to Milan,² and afterwards, returning to Turin,³ renewed his armaments with the aid of Spain and Austria. At this time also, in order, no doubt, to recompense the Vaudois for the zeal which they had displayed in his service, and to encourage their fidelity, he reiterated, by a new edict,⁴ the promises which he had made them, and the assurance of their re-

¹ *Lettres historiques*, v., 135.

² January—March, 1694.

³ He arrived there on the 24th of February, and was in danger of losing his life there in a fire.

⁴ 8th March.

stitution to their old rights in their own valleys.¹ Accordingly, they continued to give him the most signal proofs of their valour and attachment. In the month of June they made prize of a convoy of fifty mules, which was proceeding to Pignerol; and being pursued by M. De Larrey, had very nearly succeeded in taking him prisoner.

Amongst the Vaudois captains, Imbert, Gudin, Peyrot, Châtillon, Bernardin, Jahier, Odier, Combe, and Caffarel particularly distinguished themselves in these sudden and gallant exploits. The Vaudois alone, it is said in a letter of that time, make themselves to be spoken of in these parts. After hostilities had recommenced, they every day gained some new advantage. In July they again seized 150 mules, which were proceeding from Suza to Pignerol, and on this occasion they presented to the Duke of Savoy the four finest beasts of the convoy.²

However, a decisive battle seemed likely soon to take place. In the month of August the Spanish troops left Villefranche, and fixed their headquarters at St. Segont. The troops of Victor Amadeus encamped at Bubiano, having their right towards Montbrun, and their left towards Briqueras. Meanwhile, a new army, commanded by the Duke De Vendôme, advanced from France against Piedmont, by the valley of Barcelonnette, and by Nice and Antibes.

The Vaudois continued, without ceasing, their victorious incursions. On the night between the 11th and 12th of August, they assembled to the number of 1200, and attacked three French battalions, in the neighbourhood of Pignerol. Not being able to break through their intrenchments, they feigned flight, retired to the heights, and drew the French from the camp in pursuit of them. Then suddenly turning upon them, they attacked them with such impetuosity, that they killed entire companies before they could recover from their surprise, and the rest took to flight, flinging away their arms and baggage. "These the Vaudois seized, and the booty was considerable. They obtained by this affair more than 20,000 livres of money, which had been destined for the payment of the troops; they took 300 horses and mules; the new clothes of a whole regiment; the equipage of all the officers, amongst which they found some complete services of silver plate, and a number of very rich dresses and jewelled arms. Their booty was valued altogether at more than 100,000 livres."³

¹ Of 23d May, 1694, *enterinated* on the 25th. For the terms of this edict, and the disputes to which it gave rise, see next chapter.

² *Lettres historiques*, number for August, p. 138. ³ Id. number for Sept., p. 262.

Encouraged by this success, they carried their arms into the dominions of the King of France, and attacked a number of villages in Dauphiny. For this the garrison of Pignerol resolved to take revenge. Their flying camp had been established near St. Germain. Four detachments advanced by different routes, in order to surprise it. The first of these detachments attacked the Vaudois in front, whilst another crossed the Cluson to Pomaret, in order to take them in flank; meanwhile, a third detachment ascended the right bank of the river, to attack them on the opposite flank; and the 800 men who composed the fourth climbed the mountain of Les Cerisiers, in order to fall upon them from behind. These movements seemed to be so skilfully combined, that none of the mountaineers could escape. But their advanced guard sustained alone the shock of the first assailants; and their main body, facing to the three other sides, repulsed the enemy on all hands, compelling them to retire with great loss. Next day the Vaudois, returning to the French territories, seized Abriès, in the valley of Le Queyras, and then Aiguilles and the surrounding hamlets; after which they turned from the castle of Queyras, not being able to make themselves masters of it, for want of artillery, and crossing the mountains which separated them from the valley of Arvieux, carried by assault intrenchments which had been formed at the base of Mount Isoard or Isoire, where they took thirty-six prisoners and much booty. When they offered his life to the officer who commanded this post, he bravely replied, "What would I make of it? without honour it is nothing to me!" And he preferred to die rather than to surrender.

Other detachments were mastered in succession; and then the Vaudois, crossing the mountain, descended to Servières, and penetrated as far as Le Villar, situated near Briançon. They seized this post likewise, it being guarded only by sixty dragoons, and burned 25,000 quintals of fodder, which had been amassed there. The whole country was thrown into consternation as far as Embrun; but the conquerors, who did not choose to compromise their success by any rash daring, retired with their booty, and carried with them 100 prisoners.

Many other expeditions of the same sort afterwards took place, with like advantage,¹ sometimes into the valley of La Pérouse, sometimes into that of Pragela, and sometimes into that of Le Queyras. But without prolonging the narrative of these details, which have little to do with the essential character of the Vaudois, let us

¹ See *Mercure historique et politique*, xviii. 132, 254, 365, and xix. 146. *Lettres historiques*, from vol. v. to vol. x., &c.

rapidly glance at the termination of the contest, in which they bore so glorious a part. Victor Amadeus being solicited to make peace by the pope and the princes of Italy, as well as by the Duke of Orleans and the Count De Tessé, who were sent to assure him of favourable inclinations on the part of France, was at last detached from the league which had been formed against that power. On the 4th of July, 1696,¹ he concluded a private treaty of peace with France, by which all his cities and towns were restored to him. One of the articles of the treaty concerned the marriage of Marie Adelaide, his eldest daughter, with the Duke De Bourgogne. This was the fifth direct alliance which the house of Savoy had contracted with that of France. The Piedmontese princess was received by Louis XIV., who came as far as Montargis to meet her;² and Victor Amadeus was received by Catinat, in the capacity of generalissimo of the French armies. A few weeks before he had been the generalissimo of the armies of the coalition opposed to France. Never before had any prince been, in the same campaign, at the head of two hostile armies, as their commander-in-chief. The circumstance reflects more honour on his astuteness than on his integrity.

The city of Pignerol, and the valley of Pérouse, which had for sixty-eight years belonged to France, now again became part of the dominions of Piedmont. The fortresses of Pignerol were razed, but its inhabitants were authorized to inclose it with a wall.

We shall now proceed to take up the series of events which followed the promulgation of the edict by which the Vaudois were formally re-established in their valleys; and we shall then see in what manner their church was reorganized, after having been so long persecuted, and recently, to all appearance, destroyed.

¹ *L'art de vérifier les dates*, in the article on Victor Amadeus II., places the signature of this treaty on the 30th of August, but it was not published till the 10th of September.

² 5th November, 1696. As she was very young, her marriage did not take place till 7th December, 1697.

CHAPTER VII.

PROTEST OF THE COURT OF ROME AGAINST THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE VAUDOIS; FIRMNESS OF VICTOR AMADEUS II.; RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE VAUDOIS CHURCH; NEW EDICT OF EXPULSION IN 1698.¹

Analysis of the edict of May 23, 1694—Artful reservations of tyranny—Irritation of the court of Rome—Papal condemnation, and pretended abrogation of the edict—The Duke of Savoy resists this usurpation of Rome, and the Senate of Turin annuls the papal decree—Efforts of the Vaudois for the reorganization of their church—Pensions granted to the Vaudois pastors and schoolmasters by Queen Mary II. of England—Assistance obtained also from Holland—Acts of the Vaudois Synod concerning the observance of the Sabbath—Other acts and proceedings of the Synod—Church government and discipline—The Duke of Savoy refuses to permit the incorporation of the Vaudois of Pérouse with the church of the valleys—Fresh acts of injustice and severity against the Vaudois—Secret article in the treaty of peace between France and Piedmont—Edict requiring all French Protestants to leave the dominions of the Duke of Savoy—Emigration of more than 3000 persons.

THE decree of 23d May, 1694, declared as follows:²—

1. It was upon the urgent instigations of a foreign power that the edicts of 1686 were issued by the Duke of Savoy, *against his faithful subjects of the Vaudois valleys.*
2. These edicts are revoked.
3. The duke *receives his faithful subjects into favour*, upon account of their zeal for his service, as well as the pressing solicitations of his Britannic majesty, and of the States-General of Holland. A full and entire amnesty is granted to the Vaudois for all which has taken place since 1686.
4. They are re-established in their valleys, *in the same manner as before.* The children that have been taken away shall be restored

¹ AUTHORITIES.—Part of the preceding authorities.—“*Mercure historique.*”—“*Lettres historiques et politiques.*”—Archives of the Court of Turin.—“*Racconto storico dell' ultima guerra, tra Francesi e collegati in Piemonte, Delphinato e stato di Milano, per Guiseppe Reyna.*”—Monastier, chap. xxvi.—Jones, “*History of the Christian Church*” . . . vol. viii.—Baird, “*History of Protestantism in Italy*” . . . vol. iii.—“*Mémoires de M.D.F.L. touchant ce qui s'est passé en Italie, entre Victor-Amédée II., Duc de Savoie, et le roi T.C.* avec le détail,*” &c. . . . Aix-la-Chapelle, 1697.—Botta, “*History of Italy,*” and Cantu, “*Universal History*” (both in Italian).—Archives of the Vaudois Table.—Synodal Acts of the valleys.—Records of the Venerable Company of Pastors of Geneva.

² It is too long to be here given entire. I quote only the principal paragraphs. It has been published by Duboin, and by M. Hahn, p. 723.

* Très Chrétien; Louis XIV.

to them,¹ the prisoners shall be released, relapsed persons shall not be prosecuted, and foreign Protestants shall be permitted to settle in the valleys.

5. The French refugees upon account of religion, shall not be entitled to enjoy these privileges any longer than during the continuance of the present war, except those who shall not have been restored to their own country. The inhabitants of the valleys of Pérouse and Pragela shall continue to enjoy them for ten years after the termination of the war.

A pompous parade of fine words about privileges, liberty, and prerogatives, lavished upon the Vaudois in this edict, was the artful covering of these cruel reservations of a tyranny which had really yielded nothing. Yet surely these poor Vaudois, who had suffered so much, and who had just displayed so much courage, might well have demanded more securities for their future tranquillity *than they had possessed before.* However, they received with thankfulness what was granted to them. Of the 424 families who had embraced Catholicism in 1686, 421 returned to the evangelical religion.

“At all this,” says a letter from Rome,³ “the pope has been very much irritated. It is reported that he has ordered his nuncio at Turin to protest against that edict, and retire. The Duke of Savoy’s envoy at Rome has also been requested to return to Turin.”

France, which neglected no means of exciting new enemies against Victor Amadeus, augmented as much as possible the irritation of the Holy See against him. The French government had laboured for this end from the time when the first edict of restoration to their country was issued in favour of the Vaudois in 1692. The Duke De Chaulnes and the Cardinal De Bouillon, and afterwards also the Cardinal Caffanalta, represented this re-establishment of the Vaudois as a fatal blow to the church, and an outrage against her authority. However, Innocent XII. was far from being distinguished for intolerance. He had even granted absolute liberty of conscience to the inhabitants of Civita Vecchia, a town situated at the very gates of Rome, in order to attract more commerce to that seaport. It seemed, therefore, that he had no reason to be offended because the same liberty had been restored to those

¹ This clause was often eluded; for the child-stealers passed the children from one to another, until all trace of them was lost. In other instances, after having restored them, they carried them off anew. Sometimes they even plainly refused to give them up, or replied that they were no longer in life.

² This was merely to postpone new severities, already giving cause of apprehension regarding them.

³ *Lettres historiques*, No. for September, 1694, p. 246.

who had always enjoyed it. But men are often governed, not so much by their convictions as by their interest. Innocent XII. denounced the edict of 23d May, 1694, to the chamber of the Holy Office, charging the chamber to examine it. This was, in fact, to demand a condemnation of it. The tribunal of the Inquisition assembled on the 19th of August, in the presence of the pope himself. The following are extracts from the decree which it passed upon this occasion:—

“Our most holy father, Innocent XII., having been apprised, by certain pious persons, that there was reason to fear that the most serene lord, Victor Amadeus II., Duke of Savoy, moved by the continual and importunate suggestions of heretical states and princes, might be induced at last to abrogate those most laudable laws which he had made in favour of the Catholic religion, and against his heretical subjects of the valleys of Lucerna . . . &c. . . . His holiness, in so evident a peril of the orthodox faith, immediately addressed his paternal admonitions to the most serene duke, after having frequently spoken of the matter to the resident of Savoy, and subsequently, by letters-apostolical, to the nuncio and the inquisitor at Turin. These paternal warnings were not without effect for a time. But a few months after, advice having come that the firmness of the duke was shaken, . . . his holiness made every effort to lead him to reject all accommodation with the heretics, because such an agreement would be an offence to God, scandalous to all the faithful, dangerous to neighbouring nations, &c. . . . However, by an edict of 23d May, 1694, the said duke has not only abrogated the above-cited laws, but (which cannot be mentioned without tears) he has expressly permitted that the children of the heretics which had been taken from them should be restored to their parents, to the evident damnation of their souls, &c. . . . Wherefore his holiness, in his zeal for the house of God, and according to the duty of the pastoral charge which has been intrusted to him from on high, . . . has casses, annulled, invalidated, and condemned the above-cited edict, and all that it contains, as being monstrous, impious, detestable, &c., . . . ordaining that this edict . . . shall be reputed as never having been framed nor issued, . . . and enjoining all archbishops, bishops, inquisitors, &c., to act as hitherto against the heretics, without regard to this deed, . . . which is declared to be abrogated in virtue of the present decree.”¹

A number of secondary disputes had preceded this decision,²

¹ This decree may be seen in Borelli. I cannot give it entire.

² The Archives of Turin contain many papers relative to this subject. The fol-

and new disputes followed it.¹ All Europe watched the strife, impatient to know which of these powers would prove victorious. The Duke of Savoy, disconcerted at first by the decree of the Inquisition, aroused himself to display a proper sense of his dignity as a sovereign. “He considered,” says a contemporary, “that upon such occasions firmness alone could command success, and that the court of Rome would not fail to crush him if he manifested even the least fear.”² He therefore ordered the senate of Turin to examine the decree of the Holy Office. The procurator-general, Rocca, demanded that this deed should be declared ill-grounded, and that the edict for the re-establishment of the Vaudois should be maintained in force, rather as an act of justice than of grace.³ The advocate-general, Frechignone, supported these views, and the senate, on the 2d of September, 1694, passed a decree, by which it casses and annulled that of the Inquisition, prohibiting, under pain of death, its publication in the dominions of Savoy, and confirmed, in all its provisions, the edict of the 23d of May in favour of the Vaudois.

The Abbot of Pignerol alone, according to the journals of that time, ventured to publish and support the decree of the Inquisition. I am not aware that that ecclesiastic was prosecuted. But Victor Amadeus acted with equal firmness and prudence, for he gave orders to his resident at the court of Rome to communicate to the pope what he had done, and to assure him that no sovereign in Europe would any longer suffer such abuse of power on the part

lowing are the titles of some of those anterior to the decree of the Inquisition:—*Scrittura del Archivesc. e del Padre Inquisitore di Torino concernente la famiglia-rità e il commercio de catholici con quelli della religione, &c.* . . . —*Scrittura del S. Conte Peyrani, contro quella di Monsignor Arcivescovo e del Padre Inquisitore, &c.* . . . —*Parere d'un Teologo di Roma, circa l'editto de S.A.R. a favore de Valdesi.*—*Scrittura de mandar a Roma toccante le valli di Lucerna, &c.*

¹ The documents connected with the disputes which followed the papal decree are too numerous to be quoted. They consist chiefly of despatches of *Marcello Di Gubernatis*, the resident of Savoy at Rome, in which he gives an account to Victor Amadeus of his negotiations with the pope and cardinals.—There are also extant dissertations, by Piedmontese jurists and theologians, on the force of the pontifical decree, some of these dissertations forming thick folio manuscripts.—There are, moreover, detached documents, *Progetto di lettera all' Inquisitione*; and, amongst others, a letter which is entirely in the handwriting of Victor Amadeus, and is addressed to the archbishop of Turin. The envelope which contains it bears this superscription:—*Minuta di lettera di S.A.R. all' Arcivescovo di Torino, in occasione d'una scrittura pubblicata in Torino, contro gl' eretici, &c.* (Archives of State, Turin.)

² *Lettres historiques*, No. for October, 1694, p. 367.

³ *Com' un effetto piu di giustizia che de grazia.* (*Copia di ramostranza del Proc. Gen. Rocca, sulla giustizia dell' arresto a sua istanza dato del senato contro il decreto della sagra congregazione, &c.* Archives of Turin.)

of the Holy See. Spain and Austria having made similar protestations, the pope seemed to discover that he had gone wrong, and ordered his nuncio at Turin not to publish the decree against which so many voices were raised.

This affair seemed, therefore, to have terminated; but as the court of Rome drew back, the Duke of Savoy became more jealous of his prerogatives, and proceeded further to require that the tribunal of the Inquisition should be abolished altogether, for having arrogated an authority which amounted, as he said, to an usurpation of his own. "You may well believe," says a contemporary, "that that tribunal, the haughtiest and most imperious in the world, is exceedingly enraged."¹ But Victor Amadeus had assumed the offensive only the better to secure his victory; and, after some negotiations, the matter was arranged.

The Vaudois, meanwhile, laboured to restore their ancient organization. Almost all the exiled families, and almost all that had joined the Church of Rome, had returned to the country and to the church in which they had been born. The Vaudois troops had taken their place among the regular forces of Victor Amadeus. The peasants were occupied with the cultivation of their lands, and the rebuilding of their houses and their sanctuaries;² and the spiritual guides of this small people laboured to increase their own numbers, or to make amends for the want of numbers by activity.

In 1692, ere yet the edict had been published which restored them to their former position, having received, by an order of the day, a promise of their speedy re-establishment in the heritages and rights of their fathers, they held a synod, "to begin," its acts say, "the restoration of good order among them, notwithstanding the troubles which always continue to disquiet them."³ Their first act was to appoint a religious festival, to be observed in all the valleys,⁴ to render thanks to God for having brought them back to that ancient sanctuary of the gospel, and a solemn fast, to obtain relief from the trials to which they were exposed.

"In the year 1692," says a memoir of that period,⁵ "there were already twelve churches in the valleys, but they were unable to

¹ *Lettres historiques*, p. 595.

² In the year 1686, all the Protestant places of worship in the valleys were thrown down to their foundations. *Memoire sur l'état présent des Eglises Vaudoises* (1705), communicated by the late M. Appia, of Frankfort.

³ Synodal acts of the Vaudois valleys. Archives of the Table. Synod of Les Copiers, 18th April, 1692.

⁴ It took place on the 4th of May.

⁵ Communicated by M. Appia. The substance of it is contained in the Records of the Venerable Company of Pastors at Geneva.

maintain their pastors. Queen Mary,¹ of eternal and blessed memory, having been informed of this distress, extended to them her charity, by establishing twelve pensions, of 100 crowns each, one for every pastor, and a like number, of fifty English crowns each, for every schoolmaster." This assistance was afterwards increased with the number of the parishes, and soon amounted to the sum of £150 sterling, which was annually sent by bills of exchange, payable at Turin. This sum not having appeared in the civil list during the reign of William III.,² the payment of it was suspended for some years after his death. A special deputation of the Vaudois was sent to London, to obtain the renewal of the benefaction.³

In 1692 there were only nine pastors in the valleys,⁴ of whom one alone supplied the valley of St. Martin. Their number increased after the first edict of re-establishment was issued.⁵ During

¹ Daughter of James II., and wife of William III., born Prince of Orange. Queen Mary died on 7th January, 1695—her husband on 19th March, 1702. Both the one and the other always manifested the liveliest interest in the Vaudois, and a constant jealousy of Louis XIV.

² These particulars are derived from the preface to the Records of the Church of Durmentz, a Vaudois colony in Wurtemberg.

³ From the same source. It was the pastor Montoux who was sent to London for this object.

⁴ These were David Léger, pastor at Bobi; James Jayer, at Pramol; Henry Arnaud, at Rora, and at the Vineyards of Lucerna; William Malanot, at Angrogna; Dumas, at St. John; Giraud, at La Tour; Javel, at Rocheplate (the same who was formerly at Stendal); and Montoux (who had been a prisoner from August, 1689, to July, 1690), in the valley of St. Martin.

⁵ In the month of June, 1692, the former pastor of Rocheplate, named Bernard Jayer, having returned to the valleys, was settled again in his old parish; and Javel was then conjoined with Montoux to preach in the valley of St. Martin. A few days after, another minister, Papon, also arrived, recommended by the Duke of Schonberg, who took a great interest in the Vaudois, and by Van-der-Meer, the resident of Holland. The parishes of St. Germain and Pomaret were assigned him as a sphere for his ministry; but in the month of November, the pastor having represented that he found it impossible properly to supply two places so distant from one another, his field of labour was restricted to St. Germain and L'Anvers Pinache. In the course of the same year, the parish of Ville Sèche, to which the Léger family belonged, demanded for their minister David Léger, who was then pastor at Bobi, but who had formerly been settled among them; and received the promise of him as soon as he could go to reside at Ville Sèche. At the same time the parish of Macel received a young minister, named Laurence Bertin, who had just terminated his studies; and next year, M. Cyrus Chyon presented himself, the old colleague of Arnaud and Montoux, who was to have accompanied the Vaudois in their return, but was taken prisoner on the first day. Having been detained at Chambéry till 1691, he then entered the service of the Duke of Schonberg, as chaplain to one of his regiments. He received the promise of the first place that should become vacant in the valleys. He occupied the parish of Pomaret for some weeks, after which we lose all trace of him. Perhaps he returned to the Grisons, where he had left his family in 1690. He was a native of Crest, in Dauphiny, and his first charge had been that of Pont-en-Royans, on the banks of the Isère. How adventurous was then the career of the ministers of the persecuted church!

the course of this year five synods were held.¹ The council for managing the affairs of the church, called the *Vaudois Table*, was then formed, as follows:—DAVID LÉGER, Moderator; HENRY ARNAUD, Moderator Adjoint; and WILLIAM MALANOT, Secretary. These ecclesiastical officers were charged with the duty of writing to the different Protestant states of Europe which took an interest in the Israel of the Alps, to inform them of their new situation, to thank them for benefits conferred, and to ask the continuance of their kind support, by the help of which alone it now seemed possible that the Vaudois Church could rise from the ruins accumulated in its valleys during six years of calamity.

Holland, in particular, responded to this appeal, sending contributions for the maintenance of a superior school, and for the relief of the more urgent cases of distress. One of the richest citizens of that country, M. Clignet, to whose generosity the Vaudois had been indebted for the pecuniary means necessary to the accomplishment of their expedition of return, completed his work by assisting them to carry out their schemes of consolidation. The universities of Lausanne, Basle, and Utrecht founded bursaries for the maintenance of young students from the valleys, who should devote themselves to the ministry of the gospel in their native land.²

One of the first decisions of the fifth synod of 1692 was (in the words of the synod), "that for the future it means and wishes that all Vaudois candidates for the ministry [*proposants*] refrain from offering themselves for examination, and from receiving imposition of hands out of the valleys, without the consent and advice of the pastors of the Vaudois Church."³ The synod following was occupied with the discipline of the Church. "The meeting, seeing with regret the excesses which are committed on the Sabbath day, in games and in public-houses, exhorts the faithful to employ that day in the service of God, and charges the consistory of each parish to attend to this matter."⁴ Military habits, a wandering life, and the interruption of regular public worship—all of which causes had exercised their influence on the Vaudois during the immediately preceding years—explain in part the abuses here complained of. But

¹ Viz., on 18th April, 20th June, 28th June, 1st September, and 30th November. The place of meeting was always at Les Copiers, the place of worship there being the only one, it is said, which remained undemolished in 1686.

² That of Utrecht lasted only for twelve years. The first bursary founded in Geneva for Vaudois students was not till 1725. (Succour of different kinds had, however, been regularly enough given them since 1655.) The Queen of England also offered, in 1694, to maintain at her own expense, in the universities of her kingdom, ten students of the Vaudois valleys. (See Synod of 6th October, 1694.)

³ Acts of Synod of November, 1692. (*Archives of the Table*.)

⁴ Same source.—Synod of 15th and 16th September, 1693.

the synodal meeting did not confine its solicitude to measures of repression; it felt that it was necessary also to prevent and correct; "and concerning the representation which has been made, that great ignorance prevails amongst the people concerning the mysteries of the gospel, it has been resolved that catechetical examinations shall be held upon week days and upon Sabbath evenings, in which adults shall be catechized as well as children."¹ This synod was occupied also with the organization of *particular consistories*, intended to watch over the interests of morality, and the exercise of discipline in each of the Vaudois parishes.

Next year the act relative to the sanctification of the Sabbath was renewed,² and parishes were exhorted to contribute *for the maintenance of their pastors*.³ At the same time, the deputies of

¹ Acts of Synod of 15th and 16th September, 1693. (*Archives of the Table*.)—The catechism of Drelincourt was adopted as a manual for these catechizings.

² Synod of 3d June, 1694.

³ Synod of 6th October, 1694. These voluntary contributions, which afterwards became obligatory, were long the occasion of many difficulties. I have passed over in silence the greater part of these painful contentions between the pastor and his parish, or a certain number of his parishioners.—I subjoin, as a memorandum of them, the rates of the spontaneous contributions which were afterwards fixed for each church of the valleys.* These churches were divided into *great* and *small*, according to their resources.

The *great churches of the valley of Lucerna* were to furnish—BOBI, 650 francs for the pastor (it had formerly given 700), and 150 francs for the schoolmaster; † VILLAR (with four annexed churches), 650 and 180 francs; ‡ LA TOUR, 600 for the pastor, and 170 for the schoolmaster. At ST. JOHN there was no pastor, but a master, who received 200 francs. ANGROGNA gave 600 francs to the pastor (it had formerly given 700), and 160 for the schoolmaster; ROBA, the only *small church* of the valley of Lucerna, gave only 100 francs to the pastor. The parish of *Pra-rusting and Rocheplate*, situated between the two valleys, and considered as a *great church*, gave to the pastor 580 francs, and 150 to the schoolmaster. ST. GERMAIN and PRAMOL, ranked among the *small churches*, gave, the former 500 francs, and the latter 400 francs to the pastor, and 50 francs each to the schoolmaster.

Churches of the valley of St. Martin.—VILLE SECHE, the only *great church*, which gave formerly 600 francs to the pastor, was now to give 550, but was in so exhausted a condition, that even this contribution was impossible. It continued to pay 48 francs to the schoolmaster. POMARET, although numbered among the *small churches*, gave 500 francs and 62 francs. MANEILLE and MACEL, PRAL and RODORET, two other *small churches*, gave 500 francs each to their respective pastors, and 48 francs to the schoolmaster. But the number of teachers was too small, for one for each parish was not sufficient, and yet there were many difficulties to overcome, in order to obtain payment of these contributions, and many delays before they were paid. The pastors who were least urgent in their demands allowed arrears to run up till payment became impossible; and when, pressed by imperious necessities, any of them demanded payment of what was due to him, deplorable

* When the supplies from England were reduced to £268 sterling, in consequence of the necessity of dividing these resources with the *Vaudois colonies* founded in Germany after 1698.

† There were in this commune four other schoolmasters besides, who taught only in winter, and received 20 francs.

‡ There were here also four district *regents*, who received 16 francs.

this Vaudois church, so long tossed with tempests, and scarcely yet restored to a position of security, manifested a truly Christian solicitude regarding their suffering brethren; and among the acts of the first synod of 1693 we read as follows:—"The company, sensibly touched with the pitiful state of our poor brethren who are unjustly detained in the galleys of France, resolved to write to the evangelical cantons of Switzerland, to entreat them to use their influence with the king in their favour." The synod then considered the case of those of the Vaudois who were in the same situation.¹ The assistance of a physician,² and the services of a *general regent*,³ were secured. The latter subsequently became rector of the Latin school. *Colloques*⁴ and *conferences* were then established, in which the consistories should meet together "for censure of pastors and elders, according to the ancient custom."⁵ Even private persons were invited to submit their differences to the arbitration of these bodies, in order to avoid the scandal and expense of lawsuits.⁶ Finally, as there flowed to the valleys a great number of vagabond foreigners, it was resolved that no one should be admitted to participation of the sacraments, in any congregation but his own, without a certificate from his pastor.⁷ The synod aimed also at forming a collection of documents, which might be of importance for the history of the recent events; but the persons who undertook this task never accomplished it.⁸

In the midst of these arrangements a new event once more changed the aspect of things in the Vaudois valleys. Victor Amadeus having regained possession of Pérouse,⁹ the synod sent a deputation to him, to request that its inhabitants might be permitted thenceforth to form one ecclesiastical body with their brethren of the other valleys.¹⁰ The duke replied in an evasive manner; and

disputes arose between the parish and its pastor. Facts of this kind abound in the Archives. (The contributions marked in this note all relate to the period extending from the end of the 17th to the end of the 18th century.)

¹ Synod of 6th October, 1694.

² At a cost of 400 francs, taken from the sum total of the contributions. The first who filled this situation was named Balcet.

³ A sum of 300 francs was assigned for his salary, and was to be paid proportionally by all the parishes.

⁴ Synod of 6th October, 1694.

⁵ Synod of 17th June, 1695. These conferences took place before the Easter festivals.

⁶ In October, 1694.

⁷ Synod of 25th April, 1697.

⁸ At first, M. Dubourdieu voluntarily offered to undertake it (Synod of 27th October, 1693); afterwards, John Pastre was charged with this duty by the Synod of 25th October, 1695.

⁹ By the treaty of Turin of 29th August, 1696.

¹⁰ Archives of Le Villar.—MS. vol. marked *Religionarii*, fol. 102 and 103.

shortly after he expressly prohibited all sorts of religious connection between the one and the other. Signs began also to appear of an increasing severity against the people of the valleys. The carrying off of children had re-commenced without being punished. Extraordinary contributions were demanded of the Vaudois for the cantoning of troops. The demand was even made that they should pay the public burdens for their lands for the whole time during which they had been exiled and their lands uncultivated.¹ The people, already so impoverished, thus found themselves oppressed with a debt of 300,000 francs, of which they had to pay the interest every year.² "It is impossible to imagine," said Walkenier, "how they can maintain their position in that country. By the burdens imposed upon them they are so laden with debt, that they are already all but compelled to go and seek the means of subsistence elsewhere. They will be obliged to sell their properties at a price far below their value, and for this many Roman Catholics are waiting in expectation."³

The peace which Victor Amadeus concluded with France in 1696, far from bringing to his subjects of the valleys the repose which seemed likely to flow from it, became more onerous to them than the war. The malignant jealousy and wrath of their popish neighbours began to be accompanied with some hope even of a new persecution.

In the spring of 1698, a Jesuit, attended by a number of monks, having visited all the valleys in succession, addressed a report to the pope; and in consequence of this report, the Marquis De Spada immediately set out from Rome for Turin, where he had a conference with the apostolic nuncio.⁴ Louis XIV. at this time was persecuting to the uttermost the Protestants of Dauphiny; and as the Duke of Savoy had just concluded a family alliance with that monarch, it was supposed that the conference above mentioned most probably had for its object a scheme for the total extirpation of the Vaudois. The Vaudois themselves say in a memorial,⁵ "Our condition is so lamentable that it is truly worthy of compassion. We

¹ Dieterici, G. VII.

² Memoir on the State of the Valleys. MS. in the library of the late M. Appia.

³ Letters of Walkenier, the resident of Holland in Switzerland, and reports cited by Dieterici, G. VII. (Year 1698.) Other letters on the same subject; *Archives of Berne*, compartment E; *Archives of the Pastors of Geneva*, vol. O, pp. 391, 421, &c.

⁴ These particulars are derived from the *letters of Walkenier*, quoted by Dieterici, and from others still unpublished.

⁵ *Briève description de l'état pitoyable des Eglises des vallées sous la domination du duc de Savoie*. (Quoted by Dieterici.) See also *Lettres historiques*, t. xiii. p. 168.

are every day alarmed by being told that we will not be long here, and that it has been resolved to make us leave the country."

These alarms were not without foundation. In the treaty of peace, concluded on the 18th of August, 1696, between France and Piedmont, was a secret article,¹ which was not published even after the treaty of Ryswick,² but of which the purport was gradually made manifest. This article was in the following terms:—"His royal highness (Victor Amadeus) will cause an edict to be published, forbidding, under pain of corporal punishment, the inhabitants of the valleys of Lucerna, known by the name of Vaudois, from having any religious communication with the subjects of his most Christian majesty (Louis XIV.), and from this day forth his royal highness will not permit the subjects of the King of France to settle in any manner in the said valleys. . . . He will, moreover, prohibit all preachers from setting foot on the French territory, . . . and, finally, he engages not to permit the pretended Reformed religion in the territories which have been ceded to him." These territories were neither more nor less than the valleys of Pérouse and Pragela.

Accordingly the Duke of Savoy issued, on the 1st of July, 1698, an edict,³ by which he ordained that all French Protestants settled in his dominions, *even ministers*, notwithstanding any permission previously obtained, should leave his dominions within the space of two months, *under pain of death*. "Those," he says, "who have become proprietors of lands in the country, and who shall not have sold their properties at that date, will then receive the estimated value of them from the hands of the intendant of Pignerol." All Vaudois pastors are, moreover, forbidden to penetrate into the dominions of the King of France, under pain of ten years of the galleys.

The preamble of this edict bears that it was issued in virtue of the seventh article of the treaties of Turin and Ryswick; "and wishing, therefore," it is then said, "to comply *with what has been signified to us* on the part of his majesty (Louis XIV.), we ordain all the inhabitants of the Vaudois valleys to have no intercourse with the subjects of his most Christian majesty in regard to matters of religion, under pain of three lashes with a rope (public flagellation) for each offence." It is easy to perceive that great trouble and painful separations must have ensued in the families affected by this edict. The greater part of the foreign refugees were connected with the Vaudois, either by blood or by common sympathies and

¹ It is § VII.

² 20th September, and 30th October, 1697.

³ It is printed in the *Lettres historiques*, t. xiv. pp. 136-139.

interests. But now they were driven to seek refuge elsewhere. In the year preceding, the inhabitants of Pragela had already taken steps with this view, for the character of the negotiations of Ryswick and the last orders of Louis XIV. had made them apprehensive of some new calamity. "They treat of peace," wrote Arnaud to Walkenier, "but, according to my poor judgment, it is not yet a time of peace."¹

Never, in fact, unless in 1686, had these fair regions been more distressfully agitated. More than 3000 emigrants left their home for foreign lands, to which we shall now follow them in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VIII.

HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS COLONIES FOUNDED IN WURTEMBERG AFTER THE EXPULSION OF 1698.—PART FIRST.²

(A.D. 1698 to A.D. 1699.)

Expulsion of ministers and people not natives of the valleys—Emigration from the valley of Pragela—Proposal for the establishment of a Vaudois colony near Gochsheim, in Wurtemberg—Generous conduct and enlightened views of the Count of Neustadt—He resists attempted intolerance—Three thousand Protestants leave the valleys—Their reception in Switzerland—Their negotiations with the government of Wurtemberg—Difficulties—Energy and activity of Arnaud—Walkenier negotiates for the exiles with the government of Wurtemberg, as plenipotentiary of Holland and other Protestant powers—Terms agreed upon—Pensions for pastors and schoolmasters obtained from England.

Of the thirteen pastors who ministered in the Vaudois Church in 1698, seven were foreigners by birth, and were obliged to leave

¹ Unpublished letter of Arnaud, dated from La Tour, 25th March, 1697. (Archives of Berne, compartment E.)

² AUTHORITIES.—Moser, "*History of the Admission of the Vaudois into Wurtemberg*." (Zurich, 1793, in German.) The author was a very aged man when he wrote this work; he promised a continuation of it, but was not able to accomplish it. This book contains, *in extenso*, a large number of lengthy documents, but they are not of very great interest. The narrative is often inaccurate, and always incomplete. (In reference to the return of the Vaudois to their own country, seven years before the period to which this history relates, the victorious expedition of Arnaud is confounded with the abortive and ill-managed attempt of Bourgeois.)—Dieterici, "*History of the Introduction of the Vaudois into the Dominions of Prussian Brandenburg*." (Berlin, 1831, in German.) This author gives a general epitome of the history of the Vaudois, and of their return under the conduct of Arnaud. The original part of the work is contained particularly in a collection or analysis of letters relative to the settlement of the exiled Vaudois at Stendal.—Erman and Reclam, "*Contributions to the History of the French Refugees in the Dominions of*

the country in consequence of the edict of the 1st of July.¹ Two of them² immediately set out for Switzerland and Germany, to seek an asylum for their fugitive flocks. A number of families had already quitted Pragela, to escape the vexations to which they were subjected by Louis XIV.;³ and about the end of the year 1697, a part of the inhabitants of the Val Pérouse joined these first exiles, in consequence of the refusal of Victor Amadeus to allow to the *religionaries* of the territory ceded by France the same rights with those of the other Vaudois valleys.

These families having passed through Switzerland without being able to settle there, addressed themselves, in the beginning of 1698,

the King of Prussia." (Berlin, 1786, in German.) In vol. vi. of this collection, most of the historic part of the preceding work will be found already published.—Lamberty, "*Materials for the History of the 18th Century.*" (Id.)—Keller, "*The Present State of the Vaudois*" (a work of no great value).—Hahn, "*History of the Vaudois and of Collateral Sects*" (in German. Stuttgart, 1847, 8vo, pp. 822). It is the second volume of a *History of the Sects of the Middle Ages*, published by this author. He gives, amongst his proof documents, the complete text of the Vaudois poems in the Romance tongue, of which Raynouard and Monastier had previously published only fragments.—Various *Academic Theses* (for example, Mayerhoff, "*Die Waldenser in unseren Tagen.*" (Berlin, 1834).—Some narratives of travels may also be consulted.—A learned native of the valleys of Piedmont, the late M. P. Appia, pastor of the French church at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, had made a collection of many documents, which he communicated to me.—Some other documents I have obtained by my own researches in the State Archives of Darmstadt and Stuttgart, as well as in most of the localities where the Vaudois were settled in Germany.—The last of the national pastors in that country, the late venerable and aged M. Mondon, by his recollections and private memoranda, more than once supplied deficiencies in other sources of information.—Various journals may also with great propriety be cited—as the *Archives of the Country of Baden*, t. I. No. 5, (where are to be seen twelve Vaudois letters, with observations by Mone, who afterwards published his work in a separate form)—the *Echo of the (Vaudois) Valleys*, containing some letters by M. Geymonat on the same subject—the *Historic Annals of Halle*, &c.

¹ Viz.:—ARNAUD, pastor at St. John; GIRAUD at La Tour; JORDAN at Le Villar; DUMAS at Rora; PAPON at Rocheplate and Prarusting; MONToux at Ville Sèche; and JAVEL at Le Pomaret.

The edict was not published in the valleys till the 13th of July; and on the very day on which it was signed, viz., the 1st of July, the pastors Dumas, Jordan, Montoux, and Javel took the oath of fidelity to Victor Amadeus, before the governor of Pignerol. Other inhabitants of the valleys, to the number of 218, were in like manner permitted to take the oath; yet by the edict which was signed at the same moment, they were all proscribed.—See, for the taking of this oath, the *Civil Archives of Pignerol*, Categoria I., Mazzo 31, No. 27.

² PAPON and HENRI ARNAUD.

³ Letters from Berne, 28th January, 1698, and from Zurich, 30th January, have for their object the preparation of supplies of food and raiment for these expatriated Vaudois. (Archives of Berne, compartment E.) Many summonses and prosecutions before the magistrates still took place in the name of Louis XIV., between April and June, 1698, in order to the erection of five Catholic charges in the valley of Pragela, instead of five Protestant charges. (The documents are in the Archives of the Bishopric of Pignerol.)

to the Duke of Wurtemberg, to obtain lands in his dominions. This prince was himself very favourably inclined towards them, but found obstacles to his benevolence in the Faculty of Theology of Tubingen, who considered the Vaudois as tainted with Calvinism, and whose opposition was strongly supported in the ducal council. But a prince of the second rank, the Count of Neustadt,¹ a man of good head and good heart, would not allow himself to be stayed by these prejudices. He considered that the industry of the Vaudois would be useful in his province; and there is a letter extant, in which he says:—"The day after my arrival at Gochsheim, thirty-five of these poor people came to me, asking permission to settle in my domains. Not being able to grant this without the consent of the duke, I requested them to wait a few days; and, in the meantime, I made them look through the country for a suitable situation. We agreed upon a plan of settlement and colonization, which will be immediately carried into effect if I can obtain a favourable answer from my dear cousin.² Three delegates have just come from them, asking permission to build huts for themselves before winter, and also the means of so doing, that they may be ready in spring to set about the erection of durable buildings and the cultivation of the ground. I warmly recommend to Councillor Justine³ the petition of these poor people; and I am firmly persuaded that this colony will promote the prosperity of my little town, because they propose to establish a considerable manufactory, and to bring together to the spot as many as 200 families."⁴

The privy council appointed a commission to examine this proposal.⁵ The commission made a favourable report; the council adopted its recommendations;⁶ and, a few days after,⁷ the first patent was issued, in virtue of which lands were granted to the Vaudois in Wurtemberg. This deed, drawn up both in French and German, was not yet signed by the grand duke, but only sealed with the ducal seal.⁸ It was immediately forwarded to the Count of Neustadt, who thanked his sovereign for it, as for a boon conferred upon himself;⁹ and, without delay, he assigned to the Vaudois a territory for colonization at a small distance from Gochsheim.

¹ Frederic Augustus, lord of the bailiwicks of Neustadt and Gochsheim, a prince of Wurtemberg.—Moser gives him the title of Duke.

² Whose vassal he was.

³ Of Mentzingen, to whom the letter is addressed.

⁴ This number indicates the importance of this emigration as a historic event. The letter is dated 3d August, 1698.—*Archives of Stuttgart*.—Moser, § lxii.

⁵ By decree of 5th August.

⁶ On 6th August.

⁷ On 9th August.

⁸ It may be seen amongst the proof documents in MOSER.

⁹ By letter of 20th September.

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An extent of fifteen arpents of arable land, two arpents of meadow, and as much of vineyard, was reserved for their future pastor. Finally, this kind nobleman desired that the colony should bear the name of *Augustistad* (Augustus-town), in memory of the interest which he took in its founders.

It must be borne in mind, however, that the patent of colonization was not yet final; and the confession of faith of the Vaudois having been presented to the privy council, a commission was again named to examine it. The judgment of the commission disappointed the expectations of the lord of Gochsheim. It set forth that this confession was neither conformable to the doctrines of the ancient Vaudois Church, nor to those of the Moravian brethren; but that it was the confession of the Reformed Church of France, pervaded throughout with Calvinism, and that, in consequence, the petitioners must be refused admission into Wurtemberg, at least, unless they adopted the Confession of Augsburg.¹ Nevertheless, the Count of Neustadt persisted in his scheme of colonization, generous towards the exiles, and profitable for his own estates; and if the Vaudois were afterwards made welcome in Wurtemberg, we cannot but recognize in his independence of mind, and in the noble example which he then set, causes which must have powerfully contributed to bring about this result.

Meanwhile the edict had been published in Piedmont ordaining foreign Protestants to quit the dominions of Savoy. It is alleged that Victor Amadeus hoped to see them submit to the Church of Rome, rather than to all the hardships of expatriation; but 2000 exiles arose, and made the sacrifice of their country for the sake of the gospel; for these beautiful valleys had indeed become their country; they had dwelt in them for ten or twelve years; they had aided the Vaudois in re-establishing themselves there; they had, in a sense, acquired them by conquest, in combating along with the Vaudois—praying, suffering, and hoping along with them—until the right of residing in that land was guaranteed to them by formal edicts.² Alliances of every kind had been formed among the different elements of the population; and, whether to follow their adopted families, or from fear that the arbitrary will of the sovereign might soon subject them to a similar measure,³ many

¹ This singular monument of intolerance is dated 18th October, 1698, and will be found amongst the proof documents in MOSER (No. xii.)

² Those of June, 1692, and May, 1694, by which Victor Amadeus himself invited to the valleys the refugees whom he now banished.

³ There exist deeds of sale, purchases, and transmissions of immovable property, which afford evidence of these departures, and the motives of them. A Vaudois woman, for example, who had married a Frenchman, sold her property, says the

Vaudois resolved to leave their country along with the exiles of foreign birth.¹ Moreover, all the Protestants who remained in the valley of Pérouse were obliged to join them; for Louis XIV., in ceding that territory to Piedmont, had stipulated, by a special clause, that the Reformed religion should not be tolerated in any part of the ceded territory.

The total number of the emigrants thus amounted to more than 3000. They set out about the end of 1698, in seven bands, each conducted by a pastor. The Duke of Savoy had given orders that their travelling expenses should be paid by the state; but, from the third day of their march, Gropello, the minister of finance, refused to furnish the requisite money, on the pretext that the exiles abused it, and gave themselves up to intemperance. The real motive, however, was no consideration of morals, nor even of economy, but simply one of proselytism. It was hoped that, the exiles being forced to travel at their own expense, the poorer of them would be prevented from accomplishing their journey, and would thus be obliged to remain in the country, where they would then be under the necessity of embracing Catholicism. But such was the spirit of Christian union and Christian love which animated them all, that not one of them was forced to leave the rest; the rich paid for the poor; and all, upheld by confidence in God, arrived at Geneva, that hospitable stage of all our great emigrations, where they were welcomed by their brethren, and relieved by the contributions which Holland and Britain had made haste to send. The evangelical cantons of Switzerland consented to receive them for the winter, on condition that they should quit the country in the spring of 1699, because of the too great population of Switzerland, and the bad harvest of 1698.

During this time Vaudois deputies² went to Wurtemberg, and took steps to obtain a fixed residence there. They arrived at Stuttgart in the month of October, 1698. Three councillors of

deed, *per non voler ne poter soffrire la separazione del suo marito obligato absentar da queste valli per l'ordine di S. A. R. del principio di Luglio.* (Archives of Le Villar, MS. vol. marked *Religionarii*, fol. 109.)

¹ These fears appear in many letters of the Vaudois "Although this edict relates to the refugees alone, it has the effect of shaking the whole body of the valleys, as the greater part of us are allied to the refugees, and apprehend that his royal highness may go farther yet in order to please France. (Letter of Blanchon to Walkenier.—In a report by Walkenier, dated 4th October, 1698, he says, "In the valley of Pérouse they have been deprived of all their properties; almost all their domestics, as refugees, are compelled to quit the country.)

² These were *Henry Arnaud*, for the refugees and Vaudois of the valley of Lucerna, *James Pastre* for those of Pragela, and *Stephen Muret* for those of Pérouse and St. Martin. *Papon* remained in Switzerland.

the government, acquainted with the French language, were appointed to confer with them, and conferences took place on the 19th and 24th of that month. *Arnaud*, Moser says,¹ was the *speaker in these conferences*. He showed, with true prudence and wisdom, that the doctrine of the Vaudois had not been modified to assimilate it to Calvinism; and when the confession of faith of the Bohemian brethren was laid before him, he said that he received it as well as that of St. Cyril; he added that, in the spirit of Christian charity, the Vaudois had never refused to take part in the worship of the Reformed churches, wherever it was tolerated, but their church was anterior to all those which sprung from the Reformation; that they acknowledged the Bible only as the foundation of their faith, and that if they were received into Wurtemberg, they would be faithful to the government of the country, both in peace and in war. Upon these explanations, the council of state unanimously adopted a report favourable to the admission of the exiles into Wurtemberg;² and, a few days after,³ the bailiff of Maulbronn⁴ received orders from the privy council to go through the country with their delegates, that they might look out the places most favourable for the establishment of the projected colonies. According to his report, nearly 300 families might have been distributed in a great number of different localities; but the Vaudois opposed this arrangement, because they desired to remain united, and to found villages of their own.

The question of their admission, however, was as yet only provisionally decided; to render the decision final, it required the approbation of the sovereign. The privy council convoked⁵ a general meeting of the superior councils, and of the former delegates of both chambers, that they might give their opinion as to the decision which the government should adopt in this matter. The report was still favourable;⁶ but the theological antipathy which was felt by the Lutheran bodies of Wurtemberg to the admission of a foreign religion into that country, found organs in the council of state, which ordered a new general meeting of the superior councils, and a more thorough examination of the questions of doctrine.⁷ The minute of the proceedings of this meeting was drawn up with care,⁸ and the conclusion of the report was still as favourable as before.

¹ § lxxv.

² It is dated 24th October, 1698.

³ On 31st October.

⁴ Named *Gerbert*; he displayed much activity and much good-will to the Vaudois.

⁵ By decree of 11th November, 1698.

⁶ It was agreed upon on 15th November, 1698.

⁷ This meeting took place on the 22d of November.

⁸ See MOSER, Proof Documents, No. xiii.

In the council of state¹ opinions were divided, some pronouncing for admission, others for rejection. The latter party argued (1), that the petitioners were for the most part refugees, and not Vaudois; (2), that they were too poor to be able to effect an advantageous settlement, without assistance in the first place, which would impoverish the country rather than enrich it; and (3), that there would be a danger of Louis XIV. demanding their expulsion from Wurtemberg, as he had demanded their expulsion from Piedmont. The council decided to reject the petition of the Vaudois delegates, until they should have furnished sufficient security against these contingencies.

The design of thus putting them off was to get quit of them altogether. The young Duke Eberhard Louis displayed more generosity than his council; the example of the Count of Neustadt had confirmed him in his good inclinations. He wished to converse with the framer of the report, and with the delegates; but the latter had already departed, not that they had lost courage, nor that a sort of puerile vexation had precipitated their departure; but, on the contrary, they went to labour with that calm and resolute perseverance which gets to the end of everything, to procure the securities which had been demanded from them.

Henry Arnaud now displayed again all the activity which he had formerly exhibited in battle-fields; he repaired to Holland,² and thence to England,³ obtained considerable collections, stimulated the zeal and activity of the Protestant powers, and was in the highest degree successful. Urgent solicitations in favour of the Vaudois were addressed by these powers to the Duke of Wurtemberg;⁴ and, at the same time, advantageous proposals were made to them by other princes.⁵ The Elector of Brandenburg in particular, with inexhaustible charity, came forward to their relief. He offered to take upon himself the burden of providing for the French refugees, as well as for the other inhabitants of the valleys, who might choose to return to his dominions.⁶ But they were not under the

¹ Or the privy council.

² A letter of the States-General to the Duke of Wurtemberg, dated 26th January, 1699, shows that Arnaud was there at that time.—*Archives of Stuttgart*.—MOSER, § lxxviii.

³ A letter of Arnaud to Duke Eberhard is dated from London, 22d February, 1699.—Id. It was at this time that the best portrait which we have of him was taken, at the bottom of which are the words, *Drawn and Engraved by Van Somer, London*.

⁴ By Holland, on 26th January, 1699; by Brandenburg, on 28th January; and by England, on 9th February.

⁵ The Landgraves of Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Hombourg; the Counts of Hanau and Ysemburg, &c.

⁶ Ordinance of 13th March, 1699.—*Theatrum Europæum*, t. xv. p. 549. In his

necessity of going so far to find an asylum. The collections made on their behalf enabled them to bring to Wurtemberg resources sufficient for the establishment of the projected colonies. The duke then hesitated no longer; and notwithstanding the opposition which he still encountered from Lutheran intolerance, the Vaudois were at last permitted to settle in his dominions.

A man of great activity, and at once a great diplomatist and a devoted Christian, Walkenier, was sent by Holland, and recognized by other Protestant states,¹ as a special plenipotentiary, commissioned to treat for the settlement of the exiles on the most advantageous terms. His duty was admirably discharged. Serious conferences were opened at Stuttgart on the 1st of March, 1699; and after a long succession of reports, discussions, protests and explanations, protocols and consultations,² Walkenier obtained at last letters-patent, to the following effect:³—

1. The Vaudois received in Wurtemberg shall be subjects of that state. (*Preface.*)

2. They shall enjoy perfect religious liberty. (§ i., v., vi., and xx.)

3. They shall have in each church a consistory, composed of the pastor, the deacons, and the elders. (§ iii.)

4. They shall have the power of convoking *colloques* (synods), and of receiving in them the representatives of the Vaudois colonies founded in the provinces of the neighbourhood; but a commissioner of the government shall be present at these assemblies. The election or the dismissal of a pastor shall be submitted to the approbation of the duke. (§ ii. and iv.)

5. They shall be bound to observe the festivals and fast-days observed in the Lutheran Church. (§ v.)

6. Their pastors and deacons shall never be bound to answer in

letter of 21st January, he had said: "We will welcome and entertain all the French, who amount, it is said, to *six thousand* in number, and the Vaudois, &c., . . . having this confidence in God, that he will be pleased to crown our good intention with his blessing." (MOSE, § lxviii., at the end.)

¹ Switzerland, England, and Brandenburg.

² See Moser, from § lxix. to § lxxvi. These preliminary proceedings were so long protracted, that in the interval between their commencement and their conclusion, Walkenier repaired to Darmstadt and Ysemburg, where he obtained (on 2d May and 11th August, 1699), favourable terms for the settlement of the Vaudois, whom he then began to introduce into these countries. This taking place on the frontiers of Wurtemberg, led to the ultimate decision of the latter country to receive the exiles likewise. Moser even speaks of a sum of 1000 florins, destined for their relief, and which had served to procure for them some venal friends. (Id. § lxxii.)

³ They were published in 1700, and republished in 1769, at the expense of the Vaudois colonies (Synod of Heimheims, May, 1764), in virtue of the 17th article of the Synod of Knittlingen (May, 1759). I give here only the principal provisions.

judicial proceedings as witnesses, concerning those things which have been committed to them under the seal of confession, except in regard to the crime of high treason. (§ vii.)

7. One-half of the property of those who shall die without heirs, during the first twenty years of their residence in Wurtemberg, shall be distributed among the poor of the parish in which they shall have died. (§ viii.)

8. Certain exemptions from taxes shall be granted them for some years, which shall be specified when they shall be settled. (§ ix. and xii.)

9. Not being able to point out precisely the localities which they are to occupy, we assign them as their place of settlement the bailiwicks of Maulbronn and Leonberg; bestowing upon them, as a free gift, all the lands which, since the great war of Germany,¹ have lain uncultivated and unoccupied in these districts. (§ ix. and x.)

10. They shall choose in these lands the places most agreeable to themselves for the construction of villages; and these villages shall enjoy the same privileges with the other villages of the country. (§ xiii., xiv., and xv.)

11. They shall be exempt from taxes and compulsory services for ten years. (§ xiii., xiv., and xv.)

12. For the administration of justice and of municipal affairs, they are authorized to establish, in each *community*, a secular council, to be chosen by the majority of votes, and to consist of a mayor, a sheriff, and such other persons as shall be deemed most capable. The council shall pronounce judgment in regard to the sum or value of twenty florins; but the parties shall have it in their power to appeal to the council of the bailiwick, to which cases of greater importance shall be carried at once. In other respects, the judicial usages of the country shall be followed. (§ xvi. and xvii.)

13. They and their descendants shall have power to remove themselves and their families whithersoever they will, without being subjected to the *right of recal*,² nor to any other kind of bondage. (§ xviii.)

14. No foreigner shall have the power of settling in the colonies which they have founded, without their consent and ours. (§ xix.)

15. They are permitted to trade throughout the whole of the

¹ *The Thirty Years' War*, which lasted from 1618 to 1648, and was terminated by the *Peace of Westphalia*, concluded on 24th October of the latter year, and subsequently ratified in 1654 by the *Diet of Ratisbon*.

² This *right of recal*, a species of serfdom, or adstriction to the soil, still exists in Swabia, under the name of *leibeigenschaft*.

duke's dominions, and to import into them, or export from them, all sorts of merchandise, upon payment of the duties fixed by law. (§ xxi., xxii.)

16. Their artisans shall not be obliged to take out a ticket of their craft¹ in the presence of foreign judges. They shall have power to elect judges and inspectors for themselves by majority of votes. (§ xxii. art. 1 and 4.)

17. They shall be empowered to establish such markets and fairs as they shall have need for. (§ xxii. art. 6.)

The same privileges shall be accorded to the Vaudois who shall settle in the lordship of Gochsheim. (§ xxiii.)²

These conditions were in great part copied from those which, at Walkenier's instance, the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt had just granted to the Vaudois. They served as the basis or model for almost all the other concessions of this kind which took place in the neighbouring states.

The eighth article of these letters-patent bore, that in order to aid the colonies in the maintenance of their pastors, schoolmasters, and physicians, a certain extent of the territory granted to them should belong to the *community*, and should be perpetually exempt from public burdens. It is easy enough to perceive, however, that this assistance must have been insufficient for people who had everything to create, and who themselves lived at this time on the bounty of foreigners. But Arnaud, during his stay in London, had provided against this difficulty. He had obtained the consent of the government to the proportional division, with the colonies now being founded, of the sums granted from the civil list to the pastors of the valleys. These pensions, which amounted at first to £555 sterling,³ were interrupted under the reign of George I.

¹ *Maitrise*, a diploma of ability.

² The impression of 1769 consists of 28 folio pages.

³ The following document affords evidence of the amount, and explains the origin of this supply. "To the Lords of the Treasury."—Their majesties King William and Queen Mary, of glorious memory, having obtained from the Duke of Savoy, when he joined the party of the allies, the concession to the Vaudois of the free exercise of their religion, . . . and their said majesties having found that the churches of the valleys were too poor to provide for the maintenance of their ministers and schoolmasters, . . . graciously appointed for their maintenance an annual pension of £550 sterling, which pension was regularly paid . . . until the death of Queen Anne.†

" . . . The foreign pastors having left these valleys along with the French, in the year 1699, settled in Wittemberg, &c., . . . and there formed seven churches, the seven pastors and seven schoolmasters of which continued to receive their proportion of the said pension of £555 sterling.

" . . . It is proposed to put them on a permanent and stable footing, by

* [A translation of a translation].

† Which took place on 12th August, 1714.

The Vaudois sought them again from him, sending a deputy for this purpose to London in 1716, who spent almost a year there in the prosecution of this affair. This deputy was Montoux,¹ pastor at Rohrbach, in the country of Hesse-Darmstadt. At his instance, the landgrave of that country himself wrote to the King of England, and received the following reply:—"I have for a long time intended to re-establish the pensions of the said churches; but various difficulties which have arisen with regard to the fund on which it was proposed to place them, have hitherto prevented this affair from being brought to a conclusion. I hope that next session of parliament will not pass without terminating it," &c.²

The king then caused a report to be made to him concerning this matter. In that report it is said, "Agreeably to your majesty's orders, notified to me by your secretary, Lord Stanhope, I have examined, &c. . . ." and the conclusion is as follows: "The funds of the Savoy hospital, which has been suppressed, are now at your majesty's disposal, and your majesty can lawfully give therefrom the payment desired, or dispose of them otherwise, as may please your majesty."³ George I. charged Lord Stanhope to speak of this subject in parliament, which that minister did in the following terms:—"My Lords,—The king has been most humbly petitioned, for some time past, to continue to the poor Vaudois the pensions which they had during the preceding reigns, for the support of their ministers and schoolmasters; and that the pensions should be paid to them from the rents of the Savoy hospital. This matter having been laid before the attorney-general, and his report having been taken into consideration by his majesty, he commands me to state to you on his part, that it is his gracious pleasure that

placing them upon a fund destined for pious uses; and there is none more proper for this purpose than that of the *Hospital of the Savoy*, which was abolished and united to the exchequer under the last reign. On which point the attorney-general, . . . having been consulted on the part of the king, gave the most favourable reply possible, on 30th May, 1716, of which a translation is here subjoined;* whereupon his majesty sent the annexed order* to the treasury for the establishment of the pensions in question upon the said fund. This order not having been executed, because of the king's departure for Germany, it is now humbly prayed that it may be carried into execution. . . .

"Signed, for the Vaudois colonies of Germany, by *Montoux*, their deputy at London for the promotion of their suit."

(This document is in the old consistorial record of Dürmentz, now forming part of the MSS. of the late M. Appia of Frankfort.)

¹ It is his petition which the preceding note contains.

² Letter of George I. to the Prince Ernest Louis, Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt. (State Archives of Darmstadt.)

³ Signed, *Edward Northey*, *Whitehall*, 30th May, and afterwards 9th June, 1726 (this ought to be 1716).—Paper copied into the Record of Darmstadt.

* All these papers are joined together at the back.

you present him with the necessary warrants for making over the sum of £555 sterling *per annum*, from the rents of the Savoy hospital, to be at the disposal of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Carlisle, Lord High Almoner to his majesty, and Messrs. Wil and Chetynd,¹ to be distributed by them as they deem best for the support of the before-mentioned Vaudois ministers and schoolmasters."

It would seem that parliament was favourable to this proposal; for, in the beginning of the following year, the banker Schetynd wrote to the Vaudois colonies and to the valleys, to announce that the supplies would speedily be sent, according to the plan which the Bishop of London, the Archbishop of Canterbury, &c., had adopted for their distribution.² There remained some arrears, which were afterwards obtained.

I have thought it proper to give these details even before recording the establishment of the colonies to which they relate, in order not to interrupt their history by falling back upon facts so remote from the present state of things.

¹ The exact orthography of these proper names ought, I believe, to be *Wilns* or *Milns*, and *Schetuynd* or *Chetwynd*. So at least they seemed to me to be written in the autograph signatures of these persons.

² These subsidies, under the reign of George II., amounted only to £500 sterling. Their distribution took place half-yearly, in the manner following:—

£500 sterling per annum, for six months	£250 0 0
Deduct, Tax on the Civil List, 6d. per pound	£6 5 0
" Payer's Fee	6 5 0
" Land Tax	37 10 0
Total Deduction	50 0 0
Remaining to be divided	200 0 0
To each of the fifteen ministers of the valleys,* £6 11 0 = 90 13 9	} 129 19 8½
To each of the thirteen schoolmasters, 3 0 5½ = 39 5 11½	
To each of the seven ministers in Germany,† 6 13 4 = 46 13 4	} 70 0 0
To each of the seven schoolmasters 3 6 8 = 23 6 8	
Balanced	£200 0 0†

(From the Records of Darmstadt.)

These supplies were again suspended from 1765 to 1767, and also in 1804; but, upon new petitions, payment was again resumed.

* The number remaining was six in 1699; it was thirteen in 1700; fourteen in 1710; and fifteen on 25th March, 1728, the date of this paper.

† These seven ministers were those of—1, GROS VILLAR; 2, DÜRMENTZ; 3, PINACHE; 4, LUCERNA or WURMBERG (pronounced *Foorberg*), in Wurtemberg; 5, the minister of ROHRBACH, WEMBACH, and HEIM, in the grand-duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt; 6, the minister of WALDORF, near Frankfurt; and, 7, the minister of DORNHOLZHAUSEN, near Homburg. The pastors of Walkenberg, Pérouse, Nordhausen, and New Ernestedt, received a small pension from Holland, which will be noticed in the following chapters.

‡ The sum total amounts, in strict accuracy, only to £199, 19s. 8½d.

CHAPTER IX.

HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS COLONIES FOUNDED IN WURTEMBERG AFTER THE EXPULSION OF 1698.—PART SECOND.¹

(A.D. 1689 TO A.D. 1824.)

The Vaudois settlers in the bailiwick of Maulbronn—The settlement at *Pérouse*, in the bailiwick of Leonberg—*Pinache*, in the bailiwick of Wiermsheim—*Lucerna* or *Wurtemberg*—*Serres*—*Chorres* and *Sengach*, in the bailiwick of Dürmentz—*Mulacre*—*Schönberg*—Reminiscences of Arnaud—*Grand Villar*, near Knittlingen—Disinclination of some of the exiles to settle in any place away from their own valleys—Remonstrances of Walkenier—*New Engstedt*, in the bailiwick of Calw—Another emigration from the valley of Pragela—Settlement at *Nordhausen*—Habits of the people—Endeavours made to induce the Vaudois churches to unite themselves with the National Lutheran Church—Introduction of the German language in their public services—The union with the National Church is finally accomplished.

Six months before the letters-patent were signed which authorized the Vaudois to settle in Wurtemberg,² the greater part of them had already arrived in the bailiwick of Maulbronn.³ They had been lodged for the meantime in the redoubts and *blockhouses*⁴ erected at the time of the last French invasion.⁵ The States-general of Holland had furnished money to assist in their settlement.⁶ In the month of July, 1699, Walkenier had begun to distribute a part of it amongst the settlers.⁷ The worthy bailie of Maulbronn says, in a report dated in the month of August, that in the *community* of Pinache men, women, and children had made a very good beginning; that they had grubbed up the fields which had lain uncultivated for half a century, and which might now, therefore, receive the seed before the end of the year. He praises their way of proceeding in agriculture, and their industrious and orderly

¹ AUTHORITIES.—The same as in the preceding chapter.

² These letters-patent are dated in September, 1699; and on the 18th of April eighty Vaudois had already arrived. Seventeen hundred arrived on the 12th of May.

³ The list of the Vaudois families which had arrived in that bailiwick on the 1st of April, 1699, is printed by HAHN (*Proof Documents*, No. iv.), p. 774.

⁴ An isolated fortification, built of wood.

⁵ The invasion by Louvois, in 1688.

⁶ Erman and Reclam say 10,000 crowns.

⁷ To every man above sixteen years, three florins; to every woman, and to boys and girls between ten and sixteen years, two florins; and to every child under ten years, one florin. The Grand Duke of Wurtemberg afterwards granted, for the support of the Vaudois pastors, two *timer* of wine, fifteen sacks of spelt, and thirty-five florins per annum; and to every schoolmaster, two *simri* of silk and two sacks of spelt. (Note of the Dean, or Perpetual Moderator, as he designates himself, of the Vaudois and French Churches of Germany, dated from Canstadt, 12th October, 1816.)

behaviour, and signifies his expectation of happy results for the country from their settlement there.

The autumn and winter of the first year were, however, very trying for these poor settlers. The greater part of them had no proper dwelling; their huts could not protect them from the cold; and besides, they had no seed, and no cattle, and wanted many things of the first necessity. Through the attentive kindness of the Dutch ambassador and of the government of Wurtemberg, these wants were gradually supplied; and in this way the following villages were erected, all of which bear names borrowed from places in the Vaudois valleys.

In the bailiwick of LEONBERG,¹ there were more than 1000 arpents of uncultivated land in the neighbourhood of Heimsheim, and here it was that the colony of *Pérouse* was founded.² It is a village of no great size, the houses of which are almost all separated from one another by little gardens, and surrounded by orchards. The place of worship is built upon the rising ground of the Halberg, and the view is bounded upon one side by hills covered with forests, and upon the other by an undulating and verdant plain, which extends as far as Eltingen, where also a few Vaudois families subsequently settled.

In the bailiwick of WIERMSHEIM is *Pinache*, a settlement consisting originally of seventeen families, which divided themselves into three groups, in order to settle in three different spots,³ determined by the extent of the lands of which they had the disposal. Some of the surrounding communes also ceded to them some waste lands, in order to augment their lot. This colony was one of the most active and flourishing. The lower part of the houses is built of stones, the middle part of bricks or of clay, all striped with rafters which are visible from the outside. The upper part is sometimes of wood, and the roof often of thatch. Here also the horizon is bounded by forests. The use of the patois was long retained here after the French language had disappeared.

At a small distance to the south is the colony of *Lucerna*, of which the German name is Wurmberg.⁴ It is only of late years

¹ The village of this name is celebrated as the birthplace of the philosopher Schelling.

² A list of names of the families which settled in this locality, and in the other colonies of Wurtemberg, is given by HAHN, p. 233, note iii. This note terminates as follows:—"A number of these families must have removed to other places soon after their settlement; for there are, at the present time, scarcely seventy or eighty Vaudois families at Pérouse."

³ On the one side towards *Dürmentz*; on the other, towards *Grossen-Glappach* and *Iptingen*.

⁴ This village is situated, I believe, in the bailiwick of *Dietlingen*. The want of

that it has enjoyed a place of worship. The houses are of wood; the supporting beams project upon the outside, and are sometimes painted black, and present to the spectator coloured lines, lozenges, and crossings, not without some analogy to the fantastic ornaments of savages. In a great number of German villages, however, we meet with this peculiarity of houses seemingly tattooed. The inhabitants of this colony possess flocks of sheep and of geese, and cultivate fruits and grain.

Between Lucerna and Pinache is the hamlet of *Serres*. The miserable cottages of which it is composed are scattered without order on the side of a gently sloping hill. Here also the use of the patois was preserved longer than the French. Some thorny shrubs bound its paths, but the great roads are shaded by fruit-trees.

Beyond Pinache, towards the valley of the Eintz, but separated from it by a table-land covered with magnificent forests, we enter the bailiwick of DÜRMENTZ. Here 115 Vaudois families were to be settled; but, besides these, ninety-six other persons still presented themselves. These different settlers were divided on the two banks of the Eintz; on the one side under the imposing ruins of the castle of Loeffelstelz,¹ which forms the principal feature in the landscape; and on the other towards Lommersheim and Ortisheim. The villages which they erected received the names of *Chorres* and *Sengach*. This colony had a pastor of its own, resident at Sengach. The artisans were authorized to settle in Dürmentz itself, where they built a street, which still bears the name of the *Welchstrass*.² They formed part of the church of *Schönberg*. This station was called *Queyras*. On the opposite bank of the Eintz is Mülacre, where a few of the Vaudois also fixed their residence. Here is to be seen the house which Arnaud built, and in which he lived.³ This is the only place, of all that were founded by the Vaudois, which presents anything of the regularity and elegance of a little town. Its situation is also extremely beautiful. On one side extends a plain, sprinkled with villages, and on the other side a chain of hills, beyond which appear the blue and picturesque summits of the mountains of Maulbronn.

Crossing over these hills, we arrive at *Schönberg*,⁴ formerly

maps on a large scale prevents me from giving these particulars with entire certainty. Annexed to Lucerna was *New Barenthal*. (Manuscript cited by Hahn, p. 233.)

¹ In the patois of the country it is called *Mugensturn*.

² French Street.

³ It is the last but one, on the left, in leaving the village by the road to Durlach.

⁴ Or *Schoenberg*, i.e., beautiful mountain. The *Manuscript of the Allerthvereins*, fol. v., quoted by HAHN, p. 233, gives as annexed to Schoenberg—*Corrès*, *Sengach*, and *Lommersheim*.

called *Les Muriers*, where, also, some of the companions of Arnaud found a resting-place. He himself resided there for twenty years,¹ during which he was subjected to many annoyances, and even to odious accusations;² but he was always sustained by his serenity of character, and his confidence in God. Not knowing the German language, he found himself much embarrassed at first in his new country; but he went every day to visit his companions in exile, and to encourage them in their labours. "God hears all languages," said he to them, "when prayer comes from the heart. Work on, take courage, have confidence in him." Such were the words which were often on his lips—the only words of his which the aged men of that village were able to tell me, with even the measure of certainty which tradition can give. His remains repose in the humble place of worship at Schönberg, in which he so often preached the gospel. His tomb is marked only by a flat stone, placed in front

¹ He died in 1721, aged eighty years. The inventory of his goods was taken on 29th January, 1722. He left five children; three sons, of whom *Scipio* succeeded him at Schönberg, and was afterwards pastor at Gros Villar. (He had two sons, of whom the one died at Campe, in Holland, and the other in America.) *John Vincent* was a pastor in the Vaudois valleys. *William* was, at the time of his father's death, studying law in London. Arnaud had also two daughters, of whom *Margaret* was married to Joseph Rostan, at La Tour, in the valley of Lucerna; and *Elizabeth* became the wife of Philip Kolb, receiver of taxes at Bretten (or Bretheim, the birthplace of Melancthon). All these were the children of Arnaud by his first wife, *Margaret Bastie*, of La Tour. By *Rénée Rebondy*, his second wife, he had no children. He had also a sister, married at St. John to a M. Gauthier. Queen Anne gave him a pension of £226 sterling, and William III. gave him a colonel's commission, as appears from the terms of the following commission, granted to one of his grandsons:—"William III. . . . To Daniel Arnaud, called La Lozière, greeting. We, confiding in your fidelity, courage, and good conduct, appoint you, by these presents, lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of infantry in our service, of which HENRY ARNAUD, Vaudois pastor, is COLONEL. We appoint you, also, captain of a company in the same regiment, &c. . . . Given at the Hague, the 14th day of March, 1690, and of our reign the third year. By the king.—NOTTINGHAM."

This document (derived from the memoirs of Paul Appia, representative of the canton of Lucerna in the general council of the Po, under the French empire) is cited by *Hahn*, p. 225. The title of colonel afforded a delicate method, by which the King of England could prevail upon Arnaud to accept the pension which he gave him. (See the *Return*, dedication, fol. 12, right hand page.) I find, moreover, in the old consistorial records of Dürmentz (p. 31), that a *Demoiselle* Arnaud, settled in Germany, received a pension from the crown of England in 1727. It may be supposed that this pension was allowed to the widow of the celebrated pastor; for at that period the title of *demoiselle* was applied to married women, as well as to those who had never been so.

Messrs. Bracebridge and Acland have published interesting particulars concerning the life and family of Arnaud. I have given some, hitherto unpublished, in a note to the chapter which treats of the return of the Vaudois, and in a subsequent place, in the years 1704 and 1707.

² With regard to these, see the Archives of the Venerable Company of Pastors of Geneva, vol. S., pp. 823, 826, 837, and vol. T., p. 15, where the accusations are set aside as disproved.

of the pulpit, under a table which is used for the dispensation of the Lord's Supper. Two inscriptions are engraved upon it, but they are already almost illegible.¹

The environs of Schönberg present an open and smiling landscape, but the summit of the hill is covered with forests of beech and pine. Passing through these, we arrive at the bailiwick of Knittlingen, adjacent to that of Maulbronn. "Here it was," says M. Monastier,² "that, only a few leagues from the place of their destination, the Vaudois exiles took possession of the land, by depositing in it the remains of one of their faithful pastors, named Dumas, to whom death scarcely allowed time to reach a place of refuge, there to die."

These sad and tedious emigrations were indeed attended with many circumstances of affliction. Bands of ragged³ strangers wearily making their way through a country of whose language they were ignorant, were regarded with more suspicion than sympathy by the people among whom they came to settle.⁴ In many a village the poor Vaudois were made the subjects of coarse jests,⁵ or were enviously repulsed from the inhospitable neighbourhood.⁶ We shall soon see how they afterwards gradually renounced their primitive character, and became assimilated to the German nation.

¹ Around the margin of the stone is this inscription:—*Sub hoc tumultu jacet Valdensium Pedemontanorum pastor nec non militum præfectus vener. ac. str. Henr. Arnaud.* Above an escutcheon, very coarsely traced, on the upper part of the slab, is the following:—*Nescit labi virtus;* and below it, *Ad utrumque paratus.* The principal inscription is as follows:—*Cernis hic Arnaldi cineres, sed gesta, labores, infractumque animum pingere nemo potest. Millia in Ailophilum Jessidis militat unus, unus et Ailophilum castra ducemque quatit. Obiit et Set. 1721. Ann. æt. 80.*

² ii. 163.

³ The picture, drawn by eye-witnesses in various letters (*Moser, Dieterici*), the circumstances of their departure, and the fatigues of the journey, make it certain enough how applicable this description must have been.

⁴ This feeling of suspicion endured for almost a century, and was owing, above all, to the differences of religion and of race. Illustrative facts might be stated in abundance.

⁵ An anecdote, selected from amongst those which are least offensive, and perhaps more authentic than many others, may give an idea of this:—An aged Vaudois woman having bought a bacon bone to season her soup, used it for a number of days in succession; and the neighbours—so the story went—came and asked it from her, one after another, saying, *Coumayre, prestame un poc votre SAVOURAIRE* (Gossip, lend me your *seasoner* for a little); so that the poor condiment made the round of the village, bearing the common tribute of its meagre savour successively to all the pots of the vicinity.

⁶ Many of the poorest communes, and of those most disinclined to receive the Vaudois, with a view to oppose their settlement within their bounds, pretended to cultivate, before their arrival, lands which had received no cultivation within the memory of man, in order that the new-comers might not be able to settle upon them, as upon the waste lands which had been granted to them.

But the foundation of some other colonies still remains to be noticed.

More than 300 families arrived in the district of MAULBRONN. They were divided into three groups. One group, towards Dertingen, founded the villages of *Petit Villar* and *Pausselot*, on the elevated parts of the uneven, and by no means very fertile tract which was to be brought into cultivation. Another group received 300 arpents of land, on the banks of the Lake of Bretheim,¹ not far from which are Balmbach and Mutschelbach,² belonging to the grand duchy of Baden.³ The third group remained nearer to Knittlingen, and founded the village of *Grand Villar*,⁴ which became the most considerable of these little colonies.⁵

Two streets, intersecting one another in the form of a cross, form the whole village. The place of worship is built at their point of junction, and its front looks down that street which represents the support of the cross. A small steeple rises above the entrance gate; it has a clock, the vibrations of whose pendulum are heard on the outside—the pulsations of time, which passes slowly and painfully in exile, and often seems too long to the distressed. The houses of this village, like the greater part of those of the peasantry in Swabia, have only a ground floor, with small windows and very steep roofs. The gardens, which are not remarkable for their luxuriance, are surrounded with indifferent plum trees, the sour fruit of which the inhabitants boil with toasted bread, and sometimes use this plum soup instead of other soup at their meals. Grace is always said, both before and after meat, except in the public-houses and at marriage feasts. In a number of families in which the use of the German language had already prevailed, this grace was long said in French, and sometimes without being understood. “The churches of these humble villages are in keeping with the poverty of the inhabitants; but their doors are never closed, and the traveller may enter at all times, either for contemplation or for repose. The Bible is to be found in every house; and a work entitled *La Nourriture de l’Âme*⁶ was in former days the most popular book of devotion.

A few cottages detached from Gros Villar form the hamlet of

¹ Or Bretten, the birthplace of Melancthon. Not far off is Gochsheim, where also a number of Vaudois were settled. (MS. cited by Hahn, p. 233.)

² Balmbach and Shellbach.

³ Mutschelbach belonged to Wurtemberg till 1805.

⁴ Or *Gros Villar*. This name, as well as that of *Petit Villar*, was given by the Vaudois to these new villages, in remembrance of Villar Pinache and Villar Pérouse, from which they had come.

⁵ Its population amounted to 1000 inhabitants. (Monastier, ii. 164, note i.)

⁶ The Food of the Soul.

Tiphbach,¹ where there exists now only one family of Vaudois origin.

Two years after their expulsion, however, and when these expatriated families had founded the colonies above mentioned, there still remained a considerable number of persons without any fixed place of abode. Many hoped to be able soon to return to the valleys, as had been the case two years and a half after the expulsion of 1686. A few even bent their steps thither again, and were made fast in the bonds of apostasy. The firm and severe language of Walkenier put a stop to these scandals. He published a circular, in which he said, “We certify all the French and Vaudois who are under our direction, that having learned with sensible displeasure . . . that numbers run about from place to place, and that others of them return, some to France and some to Piedmont, . . . &c. . . . that they must renounce all such thoughts *in the present state of things*. For those who have returned, have been obliged on their arrival to abjure their religion, and to promise that they will never embrace it again, declaring that they look upon their ancestors as persons damned to all eternity, . . . publicly asking pardon before the Popish churches, in their shirts, with their feet bare, a taper in their hand, a rope about their neck, and other similar indignities. . . . We therefore command the mayors and sheriffs of each colony to grant no succour to any one whomsoever, . . . until they shall first have solemnly taken oath to continue faithful all their lives to God and to our holy religion. . . .”²

Through these remonstrances, the last of the emigrants, who were still scattered and wandering from place to place, were induced to assemble and settle. The most productive lands were already occupied. “But what matters it,” said they, in their obstinate love of their own country, “what lands they give us? Be they great or small, fertile or arid, these temporary possessions will suffice us very well for a few days, and sooner or later we will return to our valleys.”³ They were located in the bailiwick of CALW. In

¹ Or rather *Diefenbach*. This village, as well as *Gochsheim*, was annexed to Grand Villar till 1795.

² This circular is dated from Frankfort, 10th May, 1700, and is to be found in the State Archives of Hesse-Darmstadt, as well as amongst the papers of several Vaudois colonies.

³ These particulars have been gathered from the lips of a woman almost 100 years of age, who had herself known many of the first emigrants. “How often have I heard our old people tell,” said she, “that in their days, in the midst of the first labours of colonization, if they had but heard an air of their own country accidentally sung by their children, it would have made them stop short in their work, and shed tears. In the evening we used to assemble in one of our straw huts (for the houses were not then built), and there we spoke about our own country, which

the midst of the Black Forest, on a table-land entirely covered with pines, an extensive cleared space is to be seen, of treeless meadows, in the centre of which are some humble cottages with little gardens around them. It is the last of the Vaudois colonies that were founded in Wurtemberg after the expulsion of 1698. The settlers called it *Bourset*, after a village of that name situated in the valley of Pragela; it is now known, however, by the name of New Engstedt, which it has derived from a neighbouring village. Its inhabitants found their chief resource in the manufactories of Calw, in which they obtained work. They afterwards made upon their own account large quantities of stockings, by means of a knitting frame. This branch of industry is now almost extinct. Pastor Keller, the author of a little German work, which exhibits no very friendly feeling towards the Vaudois, was minister of the parish of New Engstedt for a few years.¹

The administration of these little communities was confided to a syndic and a deacon, who were usually also elders of the church. Besides these, there were two other elders, and all together bore the name of *justiciers*. Either the pastor or the syndic presided in the consistory. At Pinache, a syndic, six councillors, a secretary, and a serjeant² were elected. At Grand Villar it was the same, except that the number of councillors was reduced to four.

Four years after the foundation of these colonies, new events forced 1000 persons more to leave the valley of Pragela. These also were received in Wurtemberg, and subsequently located in the district of HEILBRONN, near Brackenheim. This situation offered advantages very superior to those of the other colonies. The land was capable of growing vines and mulberries; and was not so immediately in the vicinity of great forests. Holland furnished the means of building a church and a school. Some of the settlers, being natives of Usseaux, some of Mentoules, and some of Fenestrelles,³ they each wished to give to the village which they built

the uninviting appearance and unproductive soil of the lands we had to break up made us regret the more. Sometimes the supper hour passed in these conversations; for our grief prevented us from feeling hunger; and there, as we called to remembrance the events of our history, some prayed, and others deplored their fate; and some, with their elbows on their knees, held their head with both hands; and you might see the tears run from their eyes, whilst they wept without ceasing." The worthy old woman from whom I derived this account, nearly twenty years since, had then thirty-one grandchildren, and six great-grandchildren.

¹ During this time he was always at law with his parish, about a field which he desired to appropriate to himself, and which he could not obtain. (Note communicated by the late M. Mondon, the last of the Vaudois pastors at Grand Villar.)

² A public functionary, combining the characters of officer of court, constable, and rural policeman.

³ A part of the inhabitants who forsook these same villages founded the colony

the name of that in which they were born; but as their lands were situated between Nordheim and Hausen, they agreed that it should bear the name of *Nordhausen*. For some time, however, the upper part of the village received amongst its inhabitants the name of *Mentoul*, and the lower part of *Fenestrelle*. There are districts in the neighbourhood which bear the names of other localities in the Vaudois valleys, as *Lanvers*, *Les Vignes*, *La Cartéra*, *Le Saret*, *La Giourna*; and there are some with names derived from the Bible, as *Goshen* and *Horeb*.

This colony is situated in a pleasant little valley, surrounded on one side by vineyards, and by orchards on the other. The bottom of the valley is occupied with meadows, separated by rows of willows. The climate is mild, and there is little snow in winter; the roofs of the houses are, therefore, less steep in their slope than in other localities. It is richer than any other of the colonies which we have seen, and is the only one which can be considered as entirely Vaudois; for it cannot be denied that the majority of the exiles of 1698 were French refugees. The parish of Nordhausen was not erected till 1703.¹ Here the traces of Vaudois origin have been most perfectly retained, in the costume and accent of the people. Here has been preserved, as in the Vaudois valleys, the custom of presenting to the guests at a marriage festival, a small piece of ribbon, known by the name of a *livery*. The very profiles of the people often bear some resemblance to the Italian type. Keener eyes, darker hair, and features less expanded, generally form the characteristics by which these inheritors of a warmer blood, still telling of a southern sun, may, for a long time, be recognized in the midst of a German population.

One thing which must have contributed much to maintain their national peculiarities, was the care which these emigrants long took to contract marriages only amongst themselves, and the difficulty which they even found of being admitted into other families. They were accustomed also to meet often for conversation regarding of *Waldensberg*, in Hanau, in the principality of Ysemburg. Some account will be given of it in next chapter.

¹ The emigrants arrived there under the guidance of their pastor, John Martin. (Note by M. Schmidt, pastor of Waldensberg, 5th June, 1824.) But it would seem that this minister did not long survive his banishment; for the first pastor of Nordhausen who is mentioned is M. Geymar. (Records of Nordhausen, consulted in 1833.) This colony, with *Pérouse* and *New Engstedt*, did not participate in the English subsidies; but its pastors received a pension of 200 francs from Holland. The French colony of Canstadt was indebted to the same quarter for the support of its pastor. (MS. paper by M. Archausser, pastor of the French churches of Canstadt and Ludwigsburg.) This pension was afterwards withdrawn. Application was then made to the Duke of Wurtemberg, who granted eighty-five florins *per annum* to the pastor, and forty or fifty florins to the schoolmaster.

former days. The traveller who came from their own land was asked many questions concerning the life which the people led there, the aspect of the country, and the value of land. They introduced into Germany the culture of the mulberry and the potato, the latter of which would, no doubt, have become general without them, but which was then little known.¹ Some of their communities possess flocks of 100 or 200 sheep. The profit of these flocks is ordinarily farmed at a fixed rent. The peasants still wear little leathern caps, such as may be seen in the portraits of Luther and Calvin on the heads of these Reformers. They have no forests, but they have the right to gather dry branches and dead wood in the neighbouring forests. Some of these forests contain stags, roebucks, and wild boars. Hence in every village may be seen a hostelry with the sign of the stag.

During the wars of Napoleon, the inhabitants of these peaceful colonies were often chosen to serve as interpreters to the French, and when the use of the French language was lost, the patois of the Alps was still spoken in the domestic intercourse of families; but a large number of German words and phrases were soon mingled with it. At the present day the primitive idiom is completely forgotten, except by the aged; whereas at first there were instances of the German children of the neighbourhood learning and speaking it. The device of the Vaudois, a lamp surrounded with stars, is still painted on the pulpits of some of the churches,² but the only language now heard in them is that of the adopted country.

The Grand Consistory of Stuttgart had always earnestly desired to accomplish a union of the Vaudois with the National Church;³ indeed, they had been received into Wurtemberg only upon their declaration that they were not Calvinists, and in the expectation

¹ In 1710 the German physicians still considered potatoes as injurious to health. A Vaudois, named Signoret, brought 200 of them to Arnaud, who cultivated them at Schoenberg (in 1701), and afterwards sent some of them to each Vaudois colony. (Letter of Arnaud, dated from Les Muriers de Schönberg, 24th November, 1710, quoted by HAHN, pp. 231, 232, with many other particulars.) We read in Moser (§ lxxvii.), that the Duke of Wurtemberg having caused 200 mulberry trees to be bought, in order to be sold again to the Vaudois, the Vaudois refused to take them. But this only proves how well they understood the cultivation of that tree, which requires a preparation of the ground beforehand; and the name of *Les Muriers*, given to a place at Schoenberg, sufficiently attests the interest which they took in it. They extended the cultivation of the vine also to Nordhausen and Gros Villar.

² Particularly at Grand Villar and Petit Villar, Balmbach, and Waldorf. (But this observation refers to 1833.)

³ "At first there were Vaudois families in almost all the villages of the bailiwick of Maulbronn. Those in which they were most numerous were *Oetisheim*, *Schmiehe*, *Oelbronn*, *Kaisersweiher*, &c." (MS. cited by HAHN, p. 233.) These scattered families were the first to join the National Church.

that they might one day be induced to join the ranks of Lutheranism. These two branches of the same stem were destined to approach one another more nearly in their further growth; and now they intermingle their foliage. The union of the two churches is now only a question of ritual uniformity, rather than of doctrinal differences. But at first it was not so.

Promises and threats were employed in succession, to induce the particular consistories of the Vaudois churches to acknowledge the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Lutheran consistory. As long as Wurtemberg was governed by Catholic princes—which was till 1797—the government of that country had no interest in favouring the one more than the other. Under the reign of Frederic,¹ the first Lutheran sovereign, some of the French pastors ministering in the Vaudois colonies were induced to sign a petition, in which they set forth that the employment of the German language having now become most general among their parishioners in the ordinary intercourse of their neighbourhoods, it would be a proper thing to introduce it in public instruction and in preaching. The government replied that his majesty *would permit* the introduction of the German language in the colonies, if it were not opposed by any of the Vaudois. But this qualifying clause was not made public. The Dean of Stuttgart only announced that the introduction of this language *was authorized*, and he *ordered* that religious services should thenceforth be everywhere conducted in German. The king was then at Ludwigsburg; some of the Vaudois complained to him, and Frederic ordered that the use of the French language should be immediately resumed.² He even added an express prohibition of all innovation, and a severe admonition addressed to those who had taken upon them to introduce these changes.

In 1806, it was merely granted, as a thing pertaining to regularity, that the particular administrations of each colony should be placed under those of their respective bailiwicks. This was at once to subordinate the Protestant to the Lutheran consistories. In 1808, it was ordained that all civil registers, then intrusted by the state to the pastors, should be kept in German. The Vaudois, however, had still their *General Dean*,³ who maintained the apparent integrity of their ecclesiastical constitution. But after the

¹ Frederic I., who obtained the title of King, in virtue of the treaty of Presburg, in 1805.

² This prince had passed his youth at Montbeliard (till he was 10 years old), and at Lausanne (till he was 18). He was very well acquainted with the French language, loved the Reformed Church, and was not displeased to see both churches flourishing in his dominions.

³ Called *Moderator* in their first Synodal Acts.

death of Frederic, and the accession of William I. to the throne, new attempts were made to germanize the Vaudois churches. This was first done by favouring mixed marriages between Vaudois and Lutherans; but the spirit of nationality was still too strong in the Vaudois to be overcome by this means. The schoolmasters were next *requested* to teach the German language along with the French; and finally, as their maintenance, along with that of the pastors, was too heavy a burden for these poor colonial parishes, an offer was made of provision for all this, if they would accept German pastors; but the reply was an unanimous refusal.—“We will rather work with our hands,” said the colonists, “to support our pastors and teachers, than show ourselves so forgetful of our ancestors, and cease to be their children.” “Is not this in bad feeling?” it was said on the other hand. “Is not this to despise the king’s kindness? Do not these southerners¹ thus display their haughty and obstinate character?” Such were the sentiments with which that refusal was listened to when it reached the ears of those who stood around the throne.² At last an assembly of the states, held at Stuttgart, in 1821, decided that a sum of 12,000 florins should be allowed annually to the ecclesiastical administration of the country, for the relief of those Vaudois churches which had given up, or should yet give up, to that administration the right of choosing their pastors and schoolmasters.

Then began a period of annoyance and agitation, resistance and manœuvre of every kind, the design being to induce each of these little colonies to conclude a separate arrangement for itself upon this basis. The pastors and schoolmasters, who alone were to profit by the 12,000 florins, almost everywhere, and with very few exceptions,³ strongly recommended compliance with the terms proposed. The people alone resisted; but although they had the right of sending lay deputies to the synods, the difficulty which a countryman always feels in expressing himself on questions which are not familiar to him, and the silence to which he is reduced by the first observations made in opposition to what he says, paralyzed their energies in that sphere.

The last general synod of the Vaudois churches in Wurtemberg was held at Stuttgart in 1823.⁴ Much was said about effecting a

¹ *Welches*, an expression of contempt employed in Germany against the French.

² I owe the reply of the Vaudois, and the observations which follow, to a privy councillor, who himself took part in these events.

³ The schoolmaster of Nordhausen, for example, by name *Clapier*, far from seeking this augmentation of his salary, refused to receive it, when the germanization of the Vaudois churches had been resolved upon by the Synod of 1823.

⁴ One of the members of that assembly said to me, “The last really free synod

fusion of the two Protestant churches into one, under the common name of *Evangelical*, as had already been done in Baden. The Vaudois deputies said that they were very far from being opposed to that union, but that they wished to preserve the use of the French language in their churches. “But,” they were asked, “are you not obliged to make use of the German language every day, and will you refuse to allow it to be taught in your schools?”—“No,” they replied.—“If then,” it was urged, “you are not opposed to the union of our churches, there remains no objection to the Lutheran children of the villages which you inhabit going to the same schools with yours, and *vice versa*. You would thus also obtain schoolmasters better remunerated and better superintended.” This point being gained, they were given to understand that when all their children should know German, and these children, being grown up, should form a new generation, there could then be no reasonable motive for refusing to allow German sermons in their places of worship. They dared not to protest, but they insisted that at least no modification should be made in their worship before the decease of their present pastors. They demanded also the preservation of the same discipline, and stipulated for the translation of their religious books into German for the use of the new generation.

In consequence of these arrangements, each parish came to undergo the change singly on the death of its pastor; but the greater part of them made only a conditional renunciation of their right of election. *Pinache* had given up the right only *for one time*; these words were not inserted in the deed of renunciation, and the right was lost. *Nordhausen*, having built a place of worship, of which the expense was very considerable, gave up this right on condition that the king should pay the cost of this edifice. He paid only a part of it, but kept the right entirely. *New Engstedt* demanded that the crown should take upon itself the entire maintenance of the pastor and schoolmaster, in order to be able to sell the lands which had been set apart for this object, and so to pay the debts of the commune. These conditions, also, were but partially fulfilled. *Le Villar* required only the erection of a minister’s house at the expense of the government, and an annual allocation to the minister’s use of some loads of wood from the state forests; but the right, which was given up, was lost, and nothing was obtained instead. In fact, each parish made its arrangements separately, and regret was soon felt everywhere that so much had been conceded.

was held in 1821; for in 1823 no anxiety was any longer felt as to what we might do.”

Under the pretext of reforming the consistorial boundaries, these little churches were dismembered, and the number of their pastors was diminished.¹ The revenues of the suppressed parishes proved nearly sufficient to cover the sum of 12,000 florins, which had been granted in order to effect these changes. The Vaudois complained; but it was too late. German preachers were sent to them even before their French preachers died, and those of the French preachers who still survived, were caused to retire, and received a pension to spend their latter years in peace,² whilst they beheld the parochial duties discharged by a young German minister, who was designated the vicar.

"It grieved us beyond expression" said an old man to me, "when we then entered our churches, and heard in them a foreign tongue. Numbers refused to go to them; some absented themselves from the communion; almost all kept silence when other songs than our own good old psalms were sung. There were even some who never set foot again within their accustomed sanctuaries. Others went a number of leagues every Sabbath, to hear a French sermon in some great town. But ere long these pulpits also were closed.³ There remained to us, then, nothing but our hereditary

¹ Those of *Lucerna, Schönberg and Dürmentz, Sengach and Chorres*, were suppressed. All the ecclesiastical lands of the church of Dürmentz were sold for behoof of the Lutheran deanery. The seats of the church, and the pastor's house itself, shared the same fate. There remains only a portion of the steeple still rising above four deserted walls, as if to attest that the Vaudois formerly had a church there.

² The last two pastors of Vaudois origin who enjoyed this retiring pension, were those of Grand Villar and New Engstedt. The latter, whose name was *Geymonat*, was born at Le Villar, in the valley of Lucerna. After having learned English in the house of M. Paul Appia, then pastor at Bobi, he went to England, where he became for the first time a communicant. Afterwards, coming to Geneva, he learned watchmaking there, which he abandoned at the age of twenty-three years, and competed for a bursary at Lausanne. Having obtained it, he completed his studies there. Being subsequently called to minister in the Vaudois churches, he died unmarried at New Engstedt, at an advanced age. His learning and talents made his company to be desired, but his uncouth manners often repelled visitors. He spent much in charity, but was more forward to do so in the case of strangers than of his own compatriots; he even expressed himself concerning his parishioners in a manner not very favourable; and his last days were spent in complete isolation.

The pastor of Grand Villar survived him some years. He was thus the patriarch and the last of the Vaudois ministers in Wurttemberg. He was a native of Bobi, in the valley of Lucerna, and his name was *Mondon*. He had studied at Basle, and was called to the Vaudois colonies in 1792. He died at the age of almost 100 years, in his adopted country, leaving there five children, and a memory venerated throughout the whole neighbourhood. I regret that the tribute of gratitude, called forth by the remembrance of his kind hospitality, can now only be paid to his memory.

³ The French churches of *Canstadt, Stuttgart, and Ludwigsburg* were suppressed at this period.

bibles, and I can assure you," he added, "that before we admitted into our houses the German bibles, there were in each village assiduous conferences, which lasted more than a year, during which meetings were held in the evenings, to examine, line by line, if all that was contained in the new editions was really accordant with our own old text.¹ But upon being assured that they were accordant, we were a little comforted. Besides, our children no longer understood French. We alone had those recollections and associations, which made the change distressful. When we shall be no more, no one will regret the absence of an unknown language, and of the distinctive character which was left us by our fathers."

The whole population, however, looked upon these changes with regret.² There resulted therefore an estrangement between the pastor and his flock,³ and thence again a religious indifference, of which the traces subsist to the present day. Yet it must be acknowledged that in many respects the union of the Vaudois colonies at that time to the National Church was opportune—that it put an end to many abuses, was attended with some happy results, and would sooner or later have become inevitable. The French language was, in fact, falling into disuetude in these little villages, lost in the midst of a German population; the attention of their mother-country was more and more withdrawn from them; in the election of pastors, and more particularly in that of schoolmasters, there were often intrigues, divisions, and very bad choices made. Ecclesiastical discipline had lost its power. In this matter, consistency and regularity, at least in administration, have taken the place of weakness and capriciousness. The schools are more carefully conducted. All the children learn reading and arithmetic. They attend school for five hours each day, from the age of six to that of fourteen years. Then they are *confirmed*, and from fourteen to eighteen years they only attend the Sabbath-school, where they are questioned as catechumens. Scholars from the age of ten to fourteen years are also required to attend on these religious instructions. Formerly they were caused to learn and repeat the catechism; now they are only taught the gospel. Expositions, specially intended for the young, were held at first on

¹ There were still, however, many poor families who did not possess the means to purchase a bible. The German pastor in London, M. Steinkopf, a member of a religious society for diffusing the Sacred Scriptures, zealously exerted himself to procure bibles for them. (Note by Dean *Anhaeusser*.)

² The Vaudois then numbered 3000; in 1699 there had arrived only 700 or 800. (Same source.)

³ In some of these Vaudois parishes the people even refused, for some days at first, to sell to the new German pastor the provisions necessary for his house, such as milk, vegetables, and fruit.

Sabbaths, Wednesdays, and Fridays. They are now less frequent. Inspections and pastoral visitations, conferences and colloquies exercise a happy influence on the state of these churches. The service of song is better conducted than in former times. Moreover, the separation which existed between the Vaudois and the inhabitants of the country, diminishes every day. When the Vaudois spoke amongst themselves a foreign tongue, they inspired distrust. The independence of their church excited also a certain jealousy on the part of the national church. These causes of division have at last disappeared.

Under these external forms—important, certainly, but which are often so remote from life—may they be enabled to preserve in its integrity the faith which gave being to their church! for it was because they would yield up nothing of their faith, that their fathers were proscribed. May the memories of the Janavels, the Arnauds, and all the other illustrious confessors of the Crucified One be ever preserved among them! Above all, may their piety endure—that best inheritance which the children of the Israel of the Alps, in days still future, can derive from the former periods of its history!

CHAPTER X.

HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS COLONIES FOUNDED IN HESSE-DARMSTADT AND OTHER PARTS OF GERMANY, IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE EXPULSION OF 1698, AND SUBSEQUENT EMIGRATIONS.¹

(A.D. 1698 TO A.D. 1818.)

Application to the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt in 1686—Letters-patent authorizing the settlement of Vaudois in Hesse-Darmstadt in 1699—Description of the Vaudois villages—Painful consequences of the French Revolution—Emigrations to America—Vaudois settlements in the grand duchy of Baden—Vaudois settlement of *Waldensberg*, in Hanau—Vaudois colony of *Dornholzhausen*, near Homburg—Minor settlements.

At the time of their first expulsion, in 1686, the Vaudois had made application to the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, with the view of obtaining an asylum in his dominions. They suffered for their religious opinions, for their attachment to the gospel, and

¹ AUTHORITIES.—The same as in Part III., Chapter VIII., except *Moser, Keller, and Dieterici*; with the addition of some documents, which are indicated at the bottom of the pages.

because of the regard which they had to their conscientious convictions; and, in the confidence of their sincere faith, they did not hesitate to say in their petition:—"As the ark of the covenant, when it was received into the house of Obededom, brought great blessings upon him and upon all his house, so every Christian suffering for the truth, that is received by your most serene highness, will infallibly bring blessings from heaven upon your sacred person and your most serene family."¹ The faculty of theology of Giesen was called to give its judgment concerning their admission. It decided that they should be admitted, on condition that they should avoid all religious controversy, and that they should acknowledge the sovereign as head of the church (*Summus Episcopus*), without, however, being required to make any modification of their confession of faith.²

The reader has already been informed how these poor exiles afterwards returned to their own country in 1689; how they were re-established there in 1692; what part they took in the war which Victor Amadeus waged against France; and what welcome the French refugees, proscribed by Louis XIV. in 1685 and subsequent years, received in the valleys, with the consent and even the express encouragement of the Duke of Savoy. But after the duke had made peace for himself with the King of France, the whole aspect of things was changed; the influence of Louis XIV. was again in the ascendant, and the persecutions which he directed against his Protestant subjects of the valleys of Pragela, La Doire, and Bardonnèche, awakened the just fears of their brethren in the neighbouring valleys, under the dominion of the Duke of Savoy. Then one of those Vaudois pastors, who were soon to be proscribed, wrote to the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt a letter, in which he said—"My lord, things have so changed in this country, that the greater part of those who fear God think only of leaving it, and seeking a retreat elsewhere. Each has his own intention, and mine is simply to take a few good families with me, and to retire into the dominions of your highness."³

This design, voluntarily conceived, was soon to be hastened to compulsory execution. The edict of 1st July, 1698, by which

¹ *State Archives of Darmstadt*. This document bears no date, as is the case generally with all the ancient petitions of the Vaudois, whether in Piedmont or in their colonies. The date of the petition is often to be discovered only from that of the reply to it.

² This report is dated 4th September, 1688, and is quoted by HAHN, p. 241 (from a manuscript notice of it).

³ This letter is dated from the Val Lucerna, the 25th of October, 1696, and is signed by Papon, who was then pastor at *Rocheplate* and *Prarusting*. Transcribed from the *State Archives of Hesse-Darmstadt*.

Victor Amadeus banished from his dominions all Protestants of French origin, gave a complete triumph to the persecuting influence of Louis XIV.; and the author of this letter, along with six other ministers of the Vaudois valleys, were obliged to leave the country. A great number of the inhabitants of the country, who had allied themselves to the French refugees, as well as the refugees themselves, and all foreigners who happened to be in the valleys, found themselves under the necessity of leaving the dominions of Savoy in the autumn of 1698. The greater part of these exiles passed the following winter in Switzerland, and in the spring of 1699 resumed their designs of colonization in Germany. We have already seen how a part of these emigrants settled in Wurtemberg; but the first grants made to them were in Hesse-Darmstadt. These grants, signed¹ by the Landgrave Ernest Louis, served as a model for those which they afterwards obtained from Eberhard Louis, Grand Duke of Wurtemberg. The following were the terms of the letters patent which they obtained from the landgrave:²—

"His Britannic majesty, and their high mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, having in a very particular manner recommended to us the Vaudois who left the valleys of Piedmont in the month of September last (1698), in consequence of an express order of his royal highness the Duke of Savoy, and some electors and Protestant princes of the empire having afterwards written to us very strongly in their favour, and the Sieur Peter Walkenier, in his capacity of envoy extraordinary of their high mightinesses, having made application to us on the same subject;

"And we, being moved with lively compassion in beholding that people wandering about, despoiled of everything, and in quest of a retreat and asylum in Germany, have resolved, in the exercise of our sovereign power, and with the advice of our council, to set apart for them a portion of our dominions, in which they may be settled, and received under our protection. . . . So that no one shall have any title to disquiet or vex them in any way whatever, whilst they conscientiously observe our orders, and submit themselves to our laws, conformably to the privileges which it is our good pleasure to grant them in the articles following:—

"I. They, and their descendants for ever, shall enjoy the free exercise of their religion. . . . They shall have the right of

¹ On 22d April (2d May), 1699.

² According to the second edition, printed at Darmstadt in 1734 (a quarto of eight leaves, not paged).

conducting their worship in French, Italian, or German, . . . in their churches or houses, . . . preaching the word of God . . . according to the rules of their own *Discipline*.

"II. They shall have the power of choosing as many pastors and schoolmasters as are requisite for them, and of calling them, by their own synod, from whencesoever they think fit. The pastors shall take the oath of fidelity to the landgrave, and shall be inducted by a commissioner of the government.

"III. Each parish shall be entitled to have its consistory (*consortium ecclesiasticum*), composed of elders, deacons, and the pastor.

"IV. They shall have synods 'to maintain good order, to terminate disputes, . . . to suspend, depose, or dismiss pastors of heterodox doctrine or of scandalous life;' all in accordance with their own discipline, and with the approbation of the government.

"V. They shall be entitled to hold general synods, composed of representatives of all the German colonies, in whatsoever state they may be founded, and wheresoever the synod may be held. The landgrave reserves to himself the right of sending a commissioner.

"VI. 'Neither they, nor their descendants, born, or to be born, shall ever be obliged, under any pretext whatsoever, to recognize any other customs than those which belong to themselves, or any other ecclesiastical government than that of their own *Discipline*.'

"VII. Their pastors shall have power to visit with full freedom all sick persons of their own nation, in whatsoever part of our dominions they may be, 'showing the ordinary civilities to the pastor of the place.' The same authorization is granted as to the visiting of prisoners.

"VIII.¹ Their pastors and deacons shall never be required to answer in courts of justice, as witnesses, concerning things which may have been revealed to them in secret, 'or in their ecclesiastical assemblies, *sub sigillo confessionis*,' except in case of the crime of high treason.

"IX. For the administration of justice, they shall have the right to establish amongst themselves a *secular council*, composed of mayors and sheriffs, with other capable persons, elected by them and approved by us. This council shall have power of deciding without appeal in regard to sums not exceeding *fifty florins*. It is our pleasure also that it take cognizance of their criminal cases, and pronounce sentence in our name; but the sentence shall not be carried into execution without our ratification, . . . we reserving to ourselves the right of pardon. No seizure shall take

¹ This number is marked thus, IIX. in the original.

place of the person or goods of any Vaudois, without the sentence of the aforesaid council.

X. Besides this council, which shall also regulate and administer matters of police according to their customs, it is our pleasure that they shall likewise have, of their own number, sergeants, notaries-public, and other persons necessary for the preservation of order in society.

"XI. The right of carrying arms and of exercise in the use of them, is granted in perpetuity to the inhabitants of these colonies. In case of war, they shall form a corps by themselves, commanded by their own officers; and they shall never be obliged to bear arms beyond the limits of our dominions.

"XII. We declare them and their descendants, from this time forward and for ever, to be admissible to all public offices—civil, political, or ecclesiastical—for which they shall have the requisite qualifications. Their children shall be admitted into the colleges and universities.

"XIII. Their pastors, and persons holding office in connection with the administration of justice, or with matters of police, or as military officers, shall perpetually enjoy the same honours and advantages which are enjoyed at the time by functionaries of the corresponding class in our dominions.

"XIV. They shall have power to dispose of their properties according to their own pleasure. If any of them shall happen to die intestate, his property shall fall to his nearest relatives; if he shall have no heirs, it shall be divided between the state and the poor of his commune. In this latter case, a council of administration, named by the consistory, shall have the management of the property.

"XV. The Vaudois colonies shall be subjected to no servitude, and shall hold of the sovereign alone.

"XVI. No stranger shall be entitled to settle among them without their consent.

"XVII. During the fifteen years of exemption from taxes which are granted them, they shall be free from all charge for the lodging of soldiers.

"XVIII. All their public institutions and public property shall be exempt from public burdens.

"XIX. They shall be entitled to trade in any part of our dominions, without authorization or patent.

"XX. They shall be permitted to carry on any kind of manufacture, under the management and direction of persons appointed by themselves.

"XXI. 'If, by the blessing of God, they shall extend, prosper, and multiply, they shall have power to establish a *council of merchants*, to judge and decide in litigations connected with commerce.'

"XXII. We grant to them that, when it shall please God to visit them with pestilence, they shall not be forced away from their villages.

"XXIII. They are exempted for fifteen years from excise duties (indirect taxation).

"XXIV. The lands which shall be assigned them¹ shall be their own property.

"XXV. With regard to the woods and other undivided properties belonging to the people of the communes in which they shall settle, they shall have the same right to them that the people of these communes have.

"XXVI.—We authorize the Vaudois, *and other Protestants* who shall settle there, to build a town near Keltersbach, where lands shall be allotted to them without price.

"XXVII.—They shall be entitled to divide these lands amongst themselves, and to cultivate them as they think fit.

"XXVIII.—Facilities shall be accorded them for procuring timber for carpenter-work, and for the transport of materials.

"XXIX.—They are exempted from compulsory services, taxes, and burdens, for fifteen years.

"XXX.—These exemptions shall be continued to their heirs, if those who now enjoy them shall die within that time.

"XXXI.—After that period they shall pay taxes like our other subjects.

"XXXII.—During these fifteen years they shall pay no tithes; and after that period a part of the tithes shall be given up to them for the maintenance of orphans, the poor, or the servants of their church.

"XXXIII.—They shall, in all respects, be treated as the other inhabitants of the country. Our successors shall sign the present letters-patent, as we sign them ourselves."²

It will be seen that in this deed the Landgrave Ernest Louis expressed himself in the most generous terms. But letters-patent will no more suffice to people and enrich a country, than constitutions will to make it moral. There is mention in this grant of cities to be founded, of tribunals of commerce to be instituted, of

¹ In the communes and dependencies of *Areilghem*, *Merselden*, *Russelsheim*, and *Keltersbach*.

² This paper bears only two signatures, that of *Ernest Louis*, Landgrave of Hesse, and that of *Valkenier*, Envoy Extraordinary of the States-General of the Netherlands.

manufactures to be established upon a great scale; but alas! there were in reality only a few poor little villages to be constructed in the midst of the forests, sad hiding-places of misery and adversity, less resembling towns than temporary hamlets, reminding the spectator of the huts of travellers, or the tents of the patriarchs in the desert.

To the north-east of Darmstadt there stretches a monotonous expanse, whose serrated horizon line indicates the vast extent of the forest. The ground is undulating, and exhibits a confused mass of little hills, presenting sometimes bare and arid summits, and sometimes bushy declivities, where the bushes are closely interwoven by brambles and hops. These sombre woods are traversed only by bad and tortuous roads, full of mud and stones, and almost everywhere inaccessible to wheeled carriages. Stagnant waters fill the hollows, on the banks of which stand trees of great age. Here and there picturesque scenes occur, but they are not gladdened by any appearance of life. After some hours' walking, the traveller arrives at the hills of Schlampeberg, beyond which he finds the pleasant little town of Ober Ramstadt, which has the honour of having given birth to Lichtemberg, a man of literary eminence, remarkable at once for erudition and for originality. Hills less wooded then present themselves, and less fertile lands are seen, and having passed through these, we come to the Vaudois settlements.

Hesse-Darmstadt contains five of these. Rorbach,¹ Wembach, and Heim,² are situated in the district we have now supposed ourselves to enter. There were some Vaudois settled also at Raunen and Aarheilgen,³ villages of the neighbourhood. The other two are Waldorf and Welchneureth, which is pronounced simply Neireth, and is not far from Waldorf, but is situated, I think, in the neighbouring territory of Hesse. Rorbach is situated in a little hollow formed of meadow-land, bounded by forests or fields of little fertility.⁴ It was the residence of Montoux,⁵ and a sort of capital for

¹ Or rather *Rohrbach*. The word signifies *The Brook of Reeds*.

² Sometimes written *Haam* or *Hahm*.

³ Pronounced *Arleiguen*. The Archives of Darmstadt contain petitions addressed to the landgrave by the Vaudois of these localities. Those of Raunen demanded leave to quit that country, because of the pernicious fevers engendered by the marshes. (This petition has no date, but it bears the signature of Montoux.)

⁴ In 1834, the burgomaster of Rorbach was of the name of *Geymet*, and the schoolmaster's name was *Pastre*. The latter still knew a little of the patois of the Vaudois valleys.

⁵ The name of the pastor Montoux, who left the Vaudois valleys, was Jacob.—His son Daniel, who, in 1730, was pastor of Dürmentz, in Wurtemberg, became pastor of the parish of Rorbach after the death of his father.—The son of the latter was John Montoux, who was also a pastor in the Vaudois colonies.

the other colonies founded in the neighbourhood. *Wembach* is at a short distance. The situation is almost exactly similar, but the country is still poorer; and finally, a small group of houses, like a handful of stones and chips of wood flung down upon the slope of a hill, constitutes the hamlet of *Heim*.¹ It is on the frontiers of Hesse. In front of the village magnificent forests cover an abruptly terminating table-land. Not far from this is *Waldorf*, which, like Rorbach, was the residence of a pastor. It is a small village, of which the houses are mingled with orchards and gardens, hidden amidst woods, on the left bank of the Maine, a few leagues from Frankfort. These woods, broken by frequent pieces of open ground, forming wet meadows of considerable extent, contain, in the district of Waldorf, a number of isolated farms, of which some are occupied by descendants of the Vaudois.

All these humble parishes, founded by the exiles from Piedmont, remained closely connected with those of Wurtemberg. Associated as members of one body, they lent each other mutual assistance. They held their synods in common; their pastors participated in the same supplies from foreign parts, and were removed from one colony to another, according to the wants of the flocks, without at all changing their ecclesiastical connections, even although their abodes were in different states. But in respect of material prosperity, the colonies in Wurtemberg enjoyed it most; those of the grand duchy of Darmstadt were poorer, and had much to suffer, especially after the French Revolution. Deprived of foreign aid, they made sacrifices beyond their strength, without being able to supply the want of it. The position of the pastors and schoolmasters became more and more painful. They remained, however, at their post, both from motives of duty and of affection. But some of their villages were ravaged by the wars which took place between that period and 1814. They were thus deprived of the resources previously at their disposal.

"In Wurtemberg," says a manuscript note,² "the king made up the loss to them in part, by incorporating them as much as possible

¹ In 1820 there were at *Rorbach* 53 families, composed of 243 persons; at *Wembach*, 38 families, or 180 persons; at *Heim*, 14 families, of 73 persons in all. (HAHN, p. 241.)

² This note, which has no signature, was transmitted to me as a document, by M. APPIA, of Frankfort. It is dated from *Paris*, 13th September, 1830, and concludes thus:—"The author of this note knows the wants of these unfortunate churches; and without having received from them any commission to act in that matter, he knows, from previous transactions, in which he was engaged on their behalf, that facilities of emigration would be eagerly embraced by them as a deliverance."

with his other subjects.¹ But in the grand duchy of Darmstadt their situation has become intolerable, for they are now crushed under the double weight of the tithes which they owe to the sovereign as farmers² of his domains, and of all the annual imposts which his other subjects pay to him. In this last respect they have been assimilated to the people of the country since the invasion,³ without the return of peace having brought them any relief. Their poverty has therefore dreadfully increased. Twenty-five or thirty families, at least, have already emigrated to America. Almost all the population of one village had engaged to go to Brazil, but received warning that the founder of that scheme of colonization was a knave, and this false step has aggravated their misery. In this state of things many families would still be ready to emigrate, if they were assured of a good settlement, and of facilities for their passage. They would be composed of artisans and hardy labourers, accustomed to a rough life, and acquainted only with hardships."⁴

"About 1801," says another document,⁵ "a colony of sixty-five or seventy families, among whom were four families of Vaudois,⁶ set out for America, putting into the hands of their leader⁷ the whole price of what they had possessed. With this a great tract of country was purchased near Philadelphia, which they brought into cultivation. At the end of seven years it was sold again at a considerable profit, and the colonists purchased in its stead another larger and more fertile tract on the banks of the Mississippi. There this little colony, which has now become very populous, resolved that no stranger should ever be permitted to settle within its territory." Accounts are given of its prosperity, and of the manner

¹ This incorporation took place also in Darmstadt. It was effected there even sooner (1821) than in Wurtemberg (1824); the latter country having to assimilate to itself a greater number of communes. But the true causes of the distress of the Vaudois in Hesse will be pointed out afterwards.

² This word cannot be taken in the sense which we now give to it, for the lands occupied by the Vaudois had been granted to them as their own property. (Letters-patent of 22d April, 1699. Arts. vi., xv., xvii., and from § xxiii. to xxxiii.)

³ This assimilation took place in 1815.

⁴ In a subsequent part of this paper it is said, "A Vaudois writes me from Brussels, that perhaps General Lafayette, the friend of all the oppressed, will consent to recommend these descendants of the martyrs to one of the United States of America, that they may obtain a district to clear. . . . But the government of Darmstadt impedes all emigration, by chancery difficulties . . ." &c.

⁵ Communicated by M. Mondon, the last of the Vaudois pastors in Wurtemberg.

⁶ Viz., one from Gros-Villar, two from Petit-Villar, and one from Tiphbach.

⁷ The name of this leader was REPLET. He was a native of Iptingen; he was first a weaver, afterwards a Communist preacher. It is said that at his death he left property worth six millions [of francs, £250,000].

of life amongst the colonists in these distant regions,¹ which are too extraordinary to be admitted into this history without inquiry, or without more precise information.

Some of the Vaudois also settled, in 1699, in the GRAND DUCHY OF BADEN. The privileges granted to them by the Grand Duke Frederic Magnus, were almost the same with those which they enjoyed in other states. The free exercise of their religion, and the use of the French language, were accorded to them by article v.; the maintenance of their ecclesiastical discipline by § vi. to ix.; the privileges of their pastors by § x. and xi.; and concerning the support of their pastors, we read, "His most serene highness aforesaid, also promises to the petitioners to contribute thereto an annual sum of fifty florins. They shall receive, moreover, five *coupes* of wheat, ten *coupes* of rye, and a whole cask of wine. Their regent (schoolmaster) shall receive the half of the above; and all shall be furnished by the *Economy* of Durlach."² (§ xii.)

These provisions related especially to the colonies of *Balmbach* and *Mutschelbach*,³ situated on the frontiers of Wurtemberg, to which they belonged for some time. The situation which they occupy is verdant and wooded, but cold. The use of the French language has been completely lost there since the commencement of the present century.

Some interesting details have been published concerning the difficulties of various kinds which the colonists had to encounter.⁴ The colony of *Frederichsthal* was founded in 1710, near Carlsruhe, by some French refugees, with whom were associated a few Vaudois of Pragela. This little village is situated in a level country, entirely surrounded by forests, and at a short distance from the Rhine. Its first pastor was not called till 1720.⁵ His name was Isaiah Aubry.

¹ All their labours, it is said, are performed in common. Property belongs to the community, &c.

² Derived from the *Archives of the Venerable Company of Pastors of Geneva*, vol. T., p. 176, where we find "Extract of the privileges which his most serene highness Frederic Magnus, Margrave of Baden and Hochberg, granted in the year 1699 to the Vaudois Reformed, his petitioners, in the time of their universal desolation, by a regular deed."

³ The second of these was annexed to the first (until 1821, when the fusion of these parishes took place with the German church). *Mutschelbach* formed part of the bailiwick of Neunberg (Wurtemberg) till 1805.

⁴ In the *Archives of the Country of Baden*, vol. i., No. v (a German journal, published at Carlsruhe).—This number contains *twelve letters* concerning the Vaudois, with observations by F. J. MONE (who was professor of history at Louvaine before 1831, when that university was suppressed). The *Universal Gazette of Halle* (No. lix., March, 1821) gives an analysis of this publication. The publication itself I have not had opportunity to examine.

⁵ About Christmas, with the approbation of the grand duke, and upon the recom-

It was by his care that the scattered members of the Reformed Church were organized as a parish, elected a consistory, and commenced public worship; but of this pastor they were soon deprived by the puerile intolerance which then prevailed in the State Church.¹

It is impossible to indicate precisely all the places in which, at this period, some of the Vaudois families may have settled, which left the valley of Pragela singly, or in little groups, from 1698 to 1730; but a distinct parish was founded by them in the country of HANAU, in the principality of Ysemburg, and bailiwick of Waechtersbach. When Arnaud and Papon came to Germany, in 1698, they addressed themselves to the greater part of the Protestant princes of that country,² in order to obtain an asylum for their compatriots expelled from Piedmont. The Count Charles De Ysemburg was one of the first to reply to them favourably,³ and on the 11th of August, 1699, he signed the letters-patent for their settlement. Drawn up under the influence of Walkenier, who so indefatigably exerted himself to find a resting-place for so many wandering families, these letters-patent contain almost exactly the

mentation of the Ecclesiastical Senates of Heidelberg.—Extract from an attestation given by the church of Frederichsthal. (*Archives of the Pastors of Geneva*, vol. T., p. 178.)

¹ The circumstances were these:—The daughter of a Protestant woman had been baptized by a Romish priest. She was married at Altenthal, in 1672, and continued always to live in the Reformed religion; but in her old age, being attacked by hypochondria, she imagined that the baptism which she had received was invalid, and that the priest, instead of having blessed her, had devoted her to Satan. In her gloomy visions, she professed to see the devil, who pursued her everywhere to claim her soul. For a number of years she had demanded to be re-baptized according to the rites of the Reformed Church, assured that Satan would then have no more hold of her. She went from church to church to ask this favour, but all the pastors refused to do it. These reiterated refusals threw her into a sort of frenzy. At last she found the pastor of Frederichsthal, and flung herself at his knees, weeping, and entreating him in the name of Jesus that he would restore peace to her soul. M. Aubry yielded to her desire; and he himself gives the following account of the scene:—"Having caused her to make a brief confession of her faith, I made her kneel down, and then I invoked the name of Jesus over his poor and wretched servant; and after my prayer, which she repeated in her heart, I poured water upon her head, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. She went away rejoicing, blessing God, and persuaded that she would henceforth be delivered from the persecutions of the evil spirit." Thereupon Aubry was accused of being an Anabaptist. The consistory of Carlsruhe pronounced his dismissal, 1st June, 1722. Aubry appealed to the grand duke, who asked the judgment of six faculties of theology, of which three were Protestant, viz., those of Geneva, Basle, and Marburg; and three Lutheran, Jena, Halle, and Tubingue. But the deprivation of the pastor of Frederichsthal was sustained, contrary to the petitions of his congregation. (*Registers of the Company of Pastors of Geneva*, vol. T., pp. 169, 172, 178.)

² From the same source. (Cited by HAHN, pp. 238-240.)

³ By his letter of 19th May, 1699, addressed to his brother (no doubt the Count Maximilian). It is preserved in the Archives of Waechtersbach.

same articles in favour of the exiles which had been already adopted in Darmstadt, and the adoption of which in Wurtemberg he obtained a few days after.¹

The free exercise of their religion was guaranteed to the Vaudois. (§ i., iii., iv., and v.)² Until they should have places of worship of their own, they were authorized to hold their religious assemblies in the churches of Spilberg or Widgenborn, except only at the hours appropriated to the German services. (§ ii.) Their secular council was not to have power to judge in regard to sums exceeding eighteen florins. (§ vi.) They were exempted for *ten years* from all compulsory services, contributions, and military taxes. (§ xvii., xix.) They were required to establish their settlement at their own expense; but the succours received from Holland and England enabled them the more easily to do so.

Such was the origin of the village of Waldensberg.³ It is situated on an elevated plain, which rests, like an immense bench, against the mountains of Vogelsberg. In order to reach it, it is necessary to pass amidst a succession of little hills and valleys, which are often very picturesque. Upon the summit of a hill at Golenhausen, three towers, apparently threatening to fall, still mark the remains of the castle of Barbaroussa. Walnut and other fruit trees are scattered over the landscape; the highways are sometimes lined with them; but as we approach Waldensberg we find the roads in worse repair. It is a melancholy looking, isolated village. The luxuriance of a few little gardens beside the houses, alone redeems its mean and miserable aspect.

The exiles who founded it came from Mentoules, in Pragela; they had left their country in the autumn of 1698, and had passed the winter in Switzerland, and the spring of 1699 in Darmstadt. They were not all assembled even in 1700. Walkenier made continual efforts to bring to one spot the members of this dispersed flock,⁴ and to prevent them from being lost by a dissemination, which would have resulted in their being completely forgotten.

¹ At Darmstadt, on 22d April, 1699; at Homburg, on 4th May; at Ysemburg, on 11th August; and in Wurtemberg on 18th September.

² These letters-patent contain twenty-eight articles. They are issued in the name of Ferdinand Maximilian, Count of Ysemburg and Bidingen; and are signed both by the count himself and by Walkenier.

³ *The Hill of the Vaudois.* This name is sometimes written *Valdbert* or *Valsbert*, *Waldsberg* or *Waldenberg*; but only in old papers, of a period when the Vaudois were not acquainted with German orthography. In a paper contained in the Archives of Waechtersbach (of date 1700), we read that the Vaudois of Waldberg asked for waggons, to go to Hanau for their luggage and their children.

⁴ Letter of 10th May, 1700, to induce the Vaudois to settle. (Obtained at Waldensberg.)

The first pastor of Waldensberg was settled in that parish on 27th July, 1701, by Walkenier himself.¹ But this colony had no proper building for public worship till 1739. The following is a fragment of the sermon preached at its dedication, in that year, by the pastor, David Plan:—"See," said he to the Vaudois, "how, in the extremest affliction which men could endure, God has raised up for your deliverance means in which his power and providence are singularly observable. You have seen the greatest powers of Europe interest themselves in that just quarrel in which you suffer for the truth." And then, taking notice of what Holland and England had done, and of the manner in which they had been received by the Count of Budingen, he adds, "From thenceforth you had at once a sovereign, a father, and a country. From thenceforth you were confounded with his natural subjects. What did I say? Confounded! You were distinguished by the most important privileges, . . . and you have enjoyed them to this day, which is itself a new token of the love of God to you."²

They had, however, painful trials to encounter. At the commencement of their residence at Waldensberg they had no church, no schoolhouse, and no minister's house; but, by the help of collections made for them in foreign countries, and by their own exertions, they had succeeded, at the end of half a century, in obtaining all these. For the stipend of their pastor they were at first obliged to give up fifty arpents of the lands which had been assigned to them, and twenty-five for the salary of the schoolmaster. These were let to farmers of the country, at about one florin per arpent. This yielded seventy-five florins, of which they were obliged to take ten, for ringing the bells and winding up the clock. Such are the terms of the entries in their account-books at that period. But their situation gradually improved; they received assistance from Holland; the colony was increased by additional refugees in the end of 1730, as we shall see in the history of Pragela; and a pastor of Waldensberg (whose name was Barillon) undertook a tour for the purpose of collecting money on behalf of his congregation. The object of the collection was the erection of a place of worship at

¹ This pastor's name was *Roman*. He was a native of Baden, in Switzerland. The minute of his installation is in the *Archives of Waechtersbach*, signed by Walkenier. Nothing less authoritative than this document would have led me to set aside the following words, written by the pastor of Waldensberg in 1824:—"This colony was at first without a minister, and the name of its first minister was Mr. John Archer." (Note by M. Schmid, transmitted by M. Appia.)

² *La construction de Béthel, ou sermon sur le chap. II., 19-22, de l'Ép. aux Ephés. Pour le 14 du mois d'Octobre, 1739, jour de la dédicace du temple de Waldensberg, colonie Vaudois réfugiée.* 4to. Frankfort, 1740.

Waldensberg. The surplus of the sum received having been placed at interest, afforded an annual revenue of 100 francs, which improved the circumstances of this poor parish. A sum of thirty-five florins had at first been granted by England for the support of the public school, but this pension ceased in 1740.

"The inhabitants of the colony," says a pastor of the place,¹ "are almost all poor; not one of them is rich; some, however, are in easy circumstances, and there is not a beggar among them,"² although there are a number of indigent families.³ Besides the cultivation of their lands, which are not very good, they have to gain their subsistence by two branches of industry, which almost all of them understand. Some of them make stockings for the manufacturers of *Leiblas*, a village near *Gelnhausen*, or for travelling merchants; and others are flax-dressers. Those who devote themselves to this occupation, disperse themselves in autumn to work in the villages of the neighbourhood, from the end of harvest to the middle of winter. Most of them return on Saturday evening, to pass the Sabbath with their families, and attend public worship. They retain such a love for their religion, and such pure and simple manners, that they are loved and honoured throughout the whole country—"praising God, and having favour with all the people," as it is said of the first Christians.⁴ These people, however, are too poor to be able to devote much time to education. They spoke at first the patois of their own country, and understood the French language, but now they speak a German patois, and scarcely understand the language when correctly spoken.⁵ The schoolmaster is so poorly paid, that no man, however pious, excellent, and devoted, could raise himself above mediocrity, because he must have recourse to manual labour to earn his daily bread. The pastors generally remain here only for a few years, when they remove to parishes where they enjoy greater emoluments; and when a minister leaves

¹ M. SCHMID. In a note of 5th June, 1824, transmitted by M. Appia.

² "But the most of the families give, perhaps, too much to beggars, and maintain themselves in tolerable circumstances only by assiduous industry, and by extreme simplicity in their living; even those who are in more easy circumstances are so only by their industry, and by their simple mode of life. Their houses, their furniture, their dress, and their food, all indicate poverty." (Another note by the pastor, M. SCHMID, dated from *Ostheim*, 9th February, 1827.)

³ *Charles Nagel*, burdened with five children, carried on at one time a little merchandise, but all he had was taken from him in 1813, by some robbers, in the forest of Budingen.—*Peter Peleng* is a widower with six children, &c. . . . (Note of the condition of the poor of Waldensberg, transmitted by the pastor, M. SCHMID.)

⁴ Acts ii. 47.

⁵ It was in 1815 that the use of the German language was substituted for that of French in public worship.

the colony, it almost always remains for a long time destitute of a pastor. This deserted condition is sometimes prolonged for whole years." But public attention, and the care of the government, having of late been directed to this interesting spot, many improvements have already been effected.

Others of the Vaudois settled also at Offenbach, Ysemburg, and Hanau.¹ "I am not aware," says a recent author, "that there ever were any Vaudois colonies in the ancient landgravate of Hesse-Cassel;² but a few Vaudois families were received into the Walloon community of Hanau, and I think, also, into the communities of French refugees in Marburg and its neighbourhood,³ and afterwards into that of Cassel itself."⁴

But at a short distance from Homberg is the Vaudois colony of DORNHOLZHAUSEN. This name, which signifies the *Thorny Wood Houses*, or *Bramble Houses*, indicates the uncultivated and barren state in which the country was when the village was built. The situation is not, however, without its recommendations. With a vast pine forest behind it, on the gentle slope of a hill formed by the last undulations of Mount Taunus, this little town lies pleasantly exposed to the southern sun, and looks upon a rich landscape. The air, however, is very cold; the fields are by no means fertile, the meadows are poor, and the trees of the orchards gnarled and stunted; but every house has its little garden, in which are a few fruit trees.

The deed by which this barren hill was granted to the Vaudois, is dated 4th May,⁵ 1699, and is signed by the Landgrave Frederic, and by Walkenier. I shall not here exhibit its terms, because they are in accordance with those of other documents of the same nature, already quoted in this chapter. There were at first only twenty-three Vaudois families at Dornholzhausen; a few others, indeed, settled at Homburg, of which this *town of brambles* is a sort of dependency and rural suburb. The pastor of the Vaudois colony, who ministered also to the French congregation in Homburg, participated annually, to the extent of 400 florins in the English subsidies destined to the support of seven of the parishes founded by the exiles of Piedmont.⁶ (This stipend, after several interruptions in

¹ According to a document dated 28th Jan., 1716. (*Archives of Waechtersbach*.)

² There were, however, a few isolated Vaudois settled at Frankenheim, near Cassel.

³ Viz., *Louisendorf*, *Schwabendorf*, and *Todtenhausen*.

⁴ Manuscript account, quoted by HAHN, p. 243. ⁵ Or 28th April, Old Style.

⁶ In 1728 they were served by the following pastors:—PETER RICHIER at Homburg and Dornholzhausen, RESPLANDIN at Waldorf, JACOB MONToux at Rhorbach, JOHN FAUCHER at Grand Villar, SCIPIO ARNAUD at Dürmentz (where he supplied also the church of Schönberg, from which he went to that of Grand Villar),

its payment, ceased altogether in 1805.) It was not till 1755 that the Vaudois of Dornholzhausen, by means of collections made in foreign countries, were enabled to build a place of worship, and to call a pastor.¹

Their manner of life is as simple as that of their brethren of Waldensberg. Poor and laborious, they are obliged to eke out the insufficient produce of their lands by the resources derived from some small branches of manufacture. The principal of these branches of manufacture is the weaving of woollen stockings, which once afforded the means of subsistence to almost all the population of Dornholzhausen, but which has considerably diminished since 1808. The reputation recently acquired by the baths of Homburg, attracting to that town a great number of strangers every year, the Vaudois have found opportunity of engaging in different sorts of manual service, which have to a small extent compensated them for the resources which they have lost. Their lands, although bad, are heavily burdened with taxes. The commune is in debt, and the people very insufficiently educated. Much encouragement has recently, however, been given to elementary education. Bible societies have provided with the Word of God the families previously destitute of it; and assistance has been afforded in various ways to the poor people of Dornholzhausen. The late M. Appia, pastor at Frankfort—an eminent man, deriving his descent, like themselves, from the valleys of Piedmont, and remarkable alike for his talents and his Christian charity—displayed the most active solicitude in their favour, and was well entitled to be called the benefactor of this colony.

I subjoin some interesting notices, which will exhibit its condition at the commencement of the present century. They have been obtained from the local authorities, and their own words are here employed:—

"The accounts of the commune are quite distinct from those of the church.

"The lands of Dornholzhausen are far from being productive, and contain only 194 arpents.

"In consequence of various arrears of taxes and sums of money borrowed, the commune was in debt in 1810 to the amount of 1700 florins. In 1815, in consequence of the war, its debt had increased to 8000 florins. To pay the interest of this sum, a tax

JOHN MONToux at Pinache, S. WOLFF at Wurmberg or Lucerna. (Extracted from the Records of the Central Consistory of Dürmentz.)

¹ Notice published by M. Appia in the *Echo des Vallées*, first year, No. IV., pp. 57-59.

is levied from the inhabitants every year, in proportion to their means; but many of them are so poor that they can contribute nothing whatever towards this object.

"In consequence of the suppression of the English subsidies, and of loans which it has contracted, the church, burdened with the support of the school and of the pastor, is in debt to the amount of 1800 florins.

"Its revenues amount to 408 florins,¹ its expenses to 265 florins.² But to the latter must be added a payment of 110 florins allowed to the pastor, which raises the total expenses to 375 florins."³

"The pastor of Dornholzhausen still remained in that village," says M. Appia, "for three years after 1806, when the English subsidies ceased to be paid, living in poverty, and always hoping that communications with England might be reopened, and that he might be enabled to continue in the discharge of his pastoral duties. But on the 1st of October, 1809, constrained by the inflexible law of necessity, he removed from his parish, which was thus reduced to a state of involuntary widowhood. Nor was this church left only without a resident pastor, but completely destitute even of public worship, because the French refugee church of Homburg had also been suppressed."

This state of abandonment continued till 1817. "At that period, Frederic Joseph, Landgrave of Hesse-Homburg, had asked and obtained the hand of the Princess Elizabeth, the sister of the King of England. He went to London in 1818, for the celebration of his marriage. Having, whilst there, informed his brother-in-law, King George IV., of the truly Christian history and the necessities of the church of Dornholzhausen, formerly supported by his illustrious predecessors, that monarch was pleased to send to the landgrave, as one of the marriage presents, the sum of £500 sterling, destined for the formation of a permanent fund, the interest of which should place this interesting community in circumstances always to pay a stipend to a pastor, and to resume public worship."⁴

Some causes of delay prevented the re-establishment of a gospel

¹ Viz., 263 florins from landed property of the church, disposed of as hereditary fees; 60 florins from country tithes; 80 florins from rent of the minister's house, as at that time there was no minister.

² Viz., 100 florins for schoolmaster's salary; 90 florins for interest of the debt of 1800 florins; 50 florins for maintenance of public buildings, and 25 florins for insurance against fire, seigneurial dues, and various other expenses.

³ These are extracts from a manuscript report, dated at Dornholzhausen, 19th October, 1816, and signed Abraham Bertalot, elder; Francis Bertalot, elder; Louis Achard, mayor.

⁴ *Echo des Vallées*, No. IV., notice already quoted.

ministry at Dornholzhausen till 1824. A little festival was then held, like one which had been held in 1801, on the centenary of the first settlement of the Vaudois in these countries. At this time the landgrave and his court came to Dornholzhausen. The inhabitants of the country went to meet them, singing the forty-second psalm, which their ancestors had sung more than a century before, when they came to thank the great-grandfather of that landgrave for the permission which he had granted them to settle in his dominions. Verdant arches were erected at the entrance of the village, and in the public square there was a pyramid, composed entirely of significant emblems. At its base were wild herbs, brambles, thistles, great stones, and young pines and thorns, strikingly figurative of what the *Hill of Brambles* was before the arrival of the Vaudois. A little higher up were rye, oats, and potatoes, the first-fruits obtained by cultivation after the ground was cleared. Higher still were wheat, maize, and delicate roots, the produce of a more improved soil. After these appeared in succession all sorts of plants of the kitchen garden, the results of colonization; and finally, vines and fruit-trees, evidence of the progress of the colony. The pyramid was terminated by a fine vase of blooming flowers, an emblem full of the promise of prosperity, of the progress of the arts, and the first sweets of civilization. A choir of little boys decked out with bouquets, and of young girls wearing crowns, then gratified the court by singing to an appropriate air words adapted to the occasion; after which all repaired to the church, where the landgrave renewed, and signed upon the altar the grant of the privileges of the Vaudois. He was then invited, with his court, to a rustic banquet, where the young people of the village served the guests. A religious service in the evening terminated this patriotic festival.

Since that time public worship has continued to be celebrated in the French language at Dornholzhausen. "Thus," says M. Appia, "the Vaudois of Piedmont may still fraternize in feeling with a small remnant of their brethren in religion, sprung from the same race with themselves, and who, although exiled to the side of a German forest, read the Bible and worship God in the same tongue. As to the other thirteen colonies, they are irrevocably Germanized. May the same voice come from their tomb which comes from that of Abel!"¹

I will add but a few words, to mention that upon some of the different emigrations which took place from the Vaudois valleys to Germany, between 1698 and 1730, there were a few families which

¹ *Echo des Vallées*, No. IV.; notice already quoted.

settled at *Frederichsdorff*, not far from Dornholzhausen;¹ at *Erlangen*, in Franconia; at *Neufville*, near Nuremberg; at *Dupphausen* and at *Braunfelz*, near Wetzlar, in the county of Salms, at that time forming part of Nassau, and now of Prussia. Some of them also settled at *Greiffenthal*, a place ecclesiastically annexed to Dupphausen; at *Dodenhausen*, near Malburg; and in some small villages of the neighbourhood, as *St. Ile* and *Gethsemane*. Finally, it remains to be added that a few retired to the Valteline, where they settled near *Gressoney*, and where they have retained the use of the Vaudois idiom, it is said, to the present day.

The difficulty of procuring exact information is extreme. No complete account has yet been published. I have myself visited these colonies, and have looked through all their archives, but I cannot affect to doubt that their history is still incomplete. To render it otherwise, much greater space would need to be assigned to it, and the accumulation of materials would require resources more abundant than I have been able to command. What I have done, in regard to this part of my subject, is at least in proportion to the rest of the work. May it have the effect of reanimating, in the hearts of these descendants of the martyrs, the faith of their fathers, too easily forgotten! Recalling to mind the distresses which they endured, may it move the Vaudois of the present time to increased zeal and gratitude in the enjoyment of the peaceful lot which Providence has assigned them!

¹ Documents transmitted by the mayor of that commune, No. III. In my own possession.

CHAPTER XI.

HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS OF PRAGELA AND THE
ADJACENT VALLEYS.FIRST PERIOD.—THE VALLEYS OF BARDONÈCHE AND OF THE
CLUSON UNDER THE REIGN OF CHARLES IX.¹

(INTRODUCTION; COMMENCING WITH THE MIDDLE AGES. HISTORY DOWN TO 1574.)

Description of the valley of Pragela—Flourishing state of the church there before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes—The church in Pragela in earlier times—The Synod of Le Laus before 1332—Vaudois missionaries in France—Temporal condition of the inhabitants of Pragela—Pragela under the Dauphins—Inquisitors and persecution in the fourteenth century—Persecutions in the sixteenth century—The Vaudois of France and Piedmont mutually support one another—The religious wars in France—The Baron Des Adrets disgraces the Protestant cause by his proceedings in Pragela—Unhappy consequences to the Protestants of the valley—Combats and massacres—Exploits of the Vaudois at Exilles—The Edict of Amboise—New dangers—Fast—St. Bartholomew's Day—Conversion of the people of Pramol to Protestantism—The Vaudois defend themselves against Birague, the French governor of Pignerol—The "War of La Rade."—Accession of Henry III. to the throne of France.

THE history of the Vaudois of Pragela² is quite distinct from that of the other Vaudois valleys. They were often persecuted when these enjoyed tranquillity, and they sometimes had seasons of tranquillity when these were persecuted; for Pragela belonged to France, whilst the other valleys belonged to Piedmont. This state of things lasted till 1713. I could not, therefore, mix up the history of the Vaudois of Pragela with that of their brethren.

¹ AUTHORITIES.—Almost nothing is derived from printed works. The manuscript authorities are very numerous, principally in the State Archives at Turin, and in those of the bishopric of Pignerol, those of Fenestrelles, and those of Briançon; also in the Records of the Council of State of Geneva, and in various public and private libraries. I cannot here give a detailed list of all these documents: the reader will find, at the bottom of the pages, notice taken of those of which I have made use.

² It is often written *Pragelas*, but erroneously; for the word signifies *Cold Meadow*, and has not the *s* in old authors (Perrin, Gilles, &c.) It was originally applied only to the upper part of the valley of the Cluson, extending from the *Col de Sestrières* to *La Rua*. The lower part bore successively the names of *Val de Laus*, *Val Cluson*, and *Val Pérouse*. The Princess Adelaide of Suza made a donation of the whole of the valley of Pragela, as far as *Pierre de Sestrières*, to the abbey of Pignerol, by a deed of 29th April, 1078, afterwards confirmed by a bull of Calixtus II. The name is, therefore, employed either in a more restricted or a more general sense. In the latter sense, the districts of Oulx and Exilles may be regarded as forming part of Pragela, although situated in the valley of the Doire.

Neither could I place it by itself, before or after theirs, because their history begins before it, and continues after it. I thought, therefore, that it would best be exhibited at the period when the same events, becoming common to both countries, decimated both, and sent forth, from both of them at once, bands of exiles, to found in Germany the colonies of which an account has just been given.

The country with which we have now to do, extends along the banks of two rivers, whose courses are nearly parallel—the Cluson and the Doire. It descends from the highest ridge of the Alps as far as Pignerol on the one side, and on the other to Bussolino, near Suza. The adjacent valleys, which open into or prolong that of the Doire, are those of Mathias and of Méane on the right; those of Chaumont, Exilles, and Bardonnèche on the left; and those of Thures and Sauzet, towards the bottom of the valley. These latter fork away from one another at Sèzane, and the higher parts of them are concealed amongst the peaks of the Alps. The Col de Sestrières separates this region from the valley of Pragela, where the Cluson flows; and from this branch off the lateral vales of Traverses, Le Puy, Pourrières, and Le Villaret. The latter, again, communicates by a mountain-pass with the narrow valley of Méane, which returns and opens towards Suza. The history of the Vaudois who have inhabited these regions has hitherto been entirely unknown; yet, before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, they had eleven parishes there, eighteen churches, and sixty-four places set apart for religious assemblies, where worship was conducted morning and evening in as many hamlets.¹

¹ The following is a list of the places in each valley. The names in capital letters are those of the villages in which there were places of worship; those in italics were places where regular religious meetings were held:—

On the course of the Doire. VALLEY OF SÈZANE: Thures, Remille, Sauzet, CLAVIÈRES, Sèzane.

VALLEY OF BARDONNÈCHE: Melezet, Merdavine, Rochemolle, MILLAUZE, Bolard, Savoula.

VALLEY OF OULX: Déserts, FENILS, Chanal, Chateau Dauphin, Oulx, St. Eusèbe.

VALLEY OF EXILLES: Bonets, Exilles, CHAUMONT, Rama, Closniers, SALABERTRANS, Mollaret, Gravel, Suza.

VALLEY OF MÉANE: Méane, Lagesard, Serre, La Buisse, Jalas, Gattoudié, Sauvage, Jartouzières, Le Passaur, LA CHAPELLE, Larche, Méronne. (In the adjacent vale of Mathias.)

On the course of the Cluson. VALLEY OF PRAGELA: Sestrières, LE PLAN, Jossau, La Dut or Durit, TRAVERSES, Rullières, Pragela, LA RUA, ZUCHIÈRES or SOUCHIÈRES, Le Puy, Rullières, Great and Little Fayet, Les Fraises or Fraissen, Porrières, Chargin, Lavet, Balbouset or Barbonté, Rivet, Laval, Patemouche, Tronchée, Rif, Eleus, Allevé, Balbouset d'Usseaux, Fraysses d'Usseaux, Le Laux, Almont, Garniers, USSEAUX, Fenestrelles, Chambons-Gleisole, Vigneaux, Fayet, Pocherel.

Gilles merely makes incidental mention of the six communes of Pragela,¹ from which the Vaudois, towards the end of the fourteenth century,² proceeded to establish themselves in the valley of Méane, and on the banks of the Doire, in the higher parts of its course; but from the most ancient times they occupied the banks of the Cluson; for the greater part of their old manuscripts in the Romance tongue have been derived from the valley of Pragela.³ In these we have evidence, valuable from its antiquity, concerning the gospel in the middle ages, and most precious monuments of those hidden churches, which expanded in the light of the Sun of Righteousness. Whether near to one another or remote, all these Christian communities formed part of the same ecclesiastical body, confirming their unity of spirit by the bond of peace, and their unity of action by a complete organization. They had general assemblies, in which the most distant were represented.

It was at Le Laus, in Pragela, that the famous synod was held, in which 140 pastors were assembled,⁴ and which must have met almost two centuries before the Reformation, if a simple comparison of circumstances can be allowed to establish with certainty a historic date.⁵ As these regions formed part of Dauphiny, or opened into that province, it was, therefore, here that those missionary colporteurs penetrated into France, whose patient and secret work of evangelization is one of the most striking features of the Vaudois

VALLEY OF LE ROURE (of the oak): Le Roure, La Balma, MENTOUL, VILLABET, Bouvet, Petit-Fayet, Ville Close, La Latte, Fon-du-Fan or de Fantina, La Clée, Serres, Bourset, Chabert, Bosco, Lara, Gamiers, Tourons, CHATEAU DU BOIS, Charabésiers, Vignals, Nonfrières, Sappey, Cazette, Chargeoir, and Chazalot.

VALLEY OF PÉROUSE: Ailbone or Arbona, Agrevol (the name of a branch stream), L'Eyra, Les Granges, Bonisoles, Pérouse, Le Rif de la Briéra, Le Séné des Arties, La Chalme, La Branca, La Baisse, and Champlan.

VALLEY OF PINACHE: Rochin, Tronferes, PINACHE, Colombier, Rivoire, Valfrid, La Moretière, L'Albaréa, Rochas, Soleil-Bœuf, L'Eyrat, La Combe, Les Balcets, La Grangette, Rousset, Doublon or Diblon, Le Grand Doublon, Le Puy, Serrières, Talucco, VILLAR-PINACHE, Chenèvières, Chambeyroux, Riz de la Grua, after which we come to St. Benoit, and the Abbey of Pignerol.—It must be observed, that the churches and places of meeting above noted were not all open for worship at any one time; but in 1675 there existed at once more than seventy of them.

¹ Ch. i. p. 10.

² Ch. ii. p. 18.

³ See LÉGER, Part I. p. 23; Perrin, p. 57. *Actes Synodaux* of the assembly held at Mentoules in 1612, &c.

⁴ Gilles, p. 17.

⁵ In the brief of John XXII., dated 23d July, 1332 (*Rorengo*, p. 16), it is said that heresy is so widely spread, that the Vaudois had recently held synods of more than 500 deputies, *In quibus, quingenti Valdenses fuerunt congregati*. But Gilles speaks of 140 pastors, each of whom being accompanied by two or three lay deputies, there results a number approximating to that mentioned in the brief. The most numerous of these synods has attracted the notice of Gilles, and he places it at Laus: it has attracted the notice of John XXII., and he places it before 1332. Thus it seems that the place and the date may be determined.

Church in those remote times. They had spread the knowledge of the gospel as far as the Diois and the Valentinois. "Fifteen years ago," says an author of the fifteenth century,¹ "one Talmon of Beauregard said to me, 'There are two men in my house, whose discourse is full of sweetness and wisdom; will you come and hear them?' I went; and the most aged of these persons began to read a little book which he carried with him, assuring us that it contained the precepts of the Divine law. And, indeed, he delivered excellent maxims, such as 'Thou shalt not do to another what thou wouldst not that he should do to thee;' and he said that the Sabbath should be observed with more respect than all the other festivals, which have been established only by the church; that God alone has power to save us, and that good works done by a man before his death, will profit him more than those which are done for him when he is no more; and, finally, that the clergy have been corrupted by wealth, whilst the *Barbas* have always remained in evangelical poverty."

This language may recal to our thoughts that which Reynerus puts into the mouths of the Vaudois, when he makes one of their colporteurs say, in offering some jewels to a gentleman, "I have stones still rarer, and jewels more precious than these, and I will give you them for nothing if you desire them;" after which he begins to speak of the gospel.² But it is surprising that an ecclesiastic did not recognize the gospel in that *little book* which was in the hands of the *Barbas*. In these two persons, the one young and the other old, we cannot but perceive the *regidor* and *coadjutor* of our Vaudois missions.³ The author from whom we have borrowed this narrative, adds with great simplicity, "This sect has the peculiarity of imposing upon men by an appearance of holiness, and of always appealing for its doctrine and conduct to the examples of the primitive church."⁴

Independence and frugality were also hereditary characteristics of the inhabitants of Pragela. "This country is rugged, of little fertility and exceedingly cold," says an anonymous author; "for justice, it depends on the bailiwick of Briançon and parliament

¹ CHRISTOPHE DE SALIENS, secretary to the Bishop of Valence, in his *Mémoires*, cited by COLOMB DE MANOSC, *De gestis Episc. Diensium et Valentini*, l. iv. p. 330.

² REYNERUS, *contra Valdenses*, ch. viii. *Quomodo se ingerant familiaritati Magnorum*. GRETZERUS, t. xii. Quoted entire, Muston, t. i. (published in 1834), pp. 200-203.—Pseudo-Reynerus, GIESELER, iii. 16, 17.

³ See the first chapter of the *Israel of the Alps*.

⁴ "Habebat hoc proprium secta, quod specie sanctitatis blandiebatur hominibus, et vitæ exempla ac doctrinam ab ipsa ecclesiâ Christianâ exordiis repetebat. (Johannis Columbi Mannasc. opusc. varia, Lugduni, 1563, lib. iv.)

of Grenoble. There are here four or five communes which have their consuls, about seventy villages or hamlets, and more than 15,000 inhabitants. . . . The people have somewhat the same character with the country: they are rude and poor. The richest live only on the produce of the dairy, and on the little which they derive from their fields or from the sale of cattle. Their houses are, for the most part, only built of pines, cut in the neighbouring mountains, and fixed in the soil in the form of a palisade, the inside being rudely plastered with earth and mud. During summer, almost all the men disperse themselves over the plain and throughout the neighbouring districts to earn a little money; in winter they return home, passing a good part of the year in the stables with their cattle, in order the more easily to secure themselves against the severity of the cold. In the whole valley there is not a single noble family, nor any temporal or ecclesiastical superior except the king. This renders the people proud and haughty, notwithstanding their wretched condition; accordingly, the people of this region esteem themselves all independent, . . . and it is a remarkable thing that, during almost twenty-four years, no person in the whole valley has ventured to make profession of the Catholic religion."¹ Some search was necessary to find its adherents, even before the Reformation;² however, "there were anciently but five *Barbas*, or ministers, for the six communes of Pragela."³ Subsequently several annexed churches were erected: one at *Les Traverses* for La Rua, one at *Les Chambons* for Mentoules, and one at *La Balma* for Villaret; but besides these eight ministers, there was in every village an elder, who conducted prayer and instructed the people in a little place of worship, to which all the hamlet was called by a bell."⁴

Such was the representation of the state of the Vaudois which was made to two kings of France,⁵ when on their way to Italy, and

¹ *Sommaire de l'état de la religion dans la vallée de Pragela en Dauphiné* (4to, without date or place of publication), pp. 1 and 2.

² *Protocol of the notary Orceel, showing that the Catholic religion was professed in Pragela prior to 1531, as is evident from pious legacies, &c.* . . . A very thick 4to manuscript, very ill written. (In the State Archives at Turin, No. of series, 578.)

³ "One at *La Rua*, for the commune of Pragela; a second at *Usseaux*, a third at *Mentoules*, a fourth at *Fenestrelles*, and a fifth at *Villaret*, for the community of *Le Roure*. (*Rélation historique des Vallées*, &c. . . . MS. of 22 fol. pages, in the library of Professor Camille Aillaud, at Pignerol.)

⁴ *Description des vallées du Piémont* . . . avec une carte dressée sur les mémoires de Valerius Crassus et de Jean Léger. A Paris, chez J. B. Nolin; Quai de l'Horloge, MDCXC.

⁵ Charles VIII. at Oulx (named *Ours*), 2d Sept., 1494.—Godefroy . . . p. 195. Louis XIII. at Sezane and Suza (from 28th April to 4th March, 1629); *Sommaire de* VOL. II.

as a prelude to a petition for the establishment of the Catholic religion by force in a country where prayer and the Christian virtues still reigned alone. This was in effect to ask that Bible doctrines should be put down, as we shall soon see that they accordingly were; but the Vaudois did not now for the first time suffer persecution.

Before their country had become a part of the dominions of the kings of France, it had been under the sceptre of the dauphins,¹ and in the accounts of the Delphinal chatelain, given in on the 6th of November, 1315, for the valley of the Cluson, we find enumerated amongst the disbursements the charges due to the inquisitors of that valley for the exercise of their functions;² and it appears, from the accounts of the year 1345, that proceedings of the inquisitors against the heretics of the valley of Pragela were then carried on with great vigour, because we find amongst the receipts and disbursements many items occasioned by these persecutions.³ After having mentioned those which took place in 1556 against the evangelical Christians of Piedmont, an old author adds: "A few days after, the Vaudois churches of Larche, Méronne, Méane, and Suza were very fiercely attacked. The minister of Méane was taken and cruelly put to death. The church of Larche was also much tormented. To give a particular account of all the tricks, intrigues, robberies, outrages, and cruelties which were perpetrated there, would occupy a very long time."⁴

Vétat de la religion dans la vallée de Pragela, 4to, p. 3. (Archives of the Court at Turin, No. of series, 548.)

¹ The upper parts of the valley of the Cluson, where Pragela is, and those of the Doire, where Bardonnèche, Exilles, and Salabertrans are, belonged to the ancient domain of the dauphins, as appears from various acts (those of the 17th of the Calends of July, 1243; of the Ides of August, 1258, &c.), mentioned in the inventory of the Archives of the Court of Accounts at Grenoble (Registers of the *Embrunois*, t. i. fol. 283). The valley of the Cluson was ceded to the King of Sicily by a deed of May 5, 1344 (id. fol. 701), but it continued to pay seigneurial dues to the dauphins (acts of October 14, 1441, fol. 705; of 1st August, 1344, fol. 702, &c.)

A few communes redeemed these burdens; but they always depended on the French jurisdiction, on that of the Parliament of Grenoble in civil matters, and on that of the Bishop of Embrun in matters of religion. These two jurisdictions were often confounded.

² "Item, pro expensis Inquisitorum, reddit litteras 63, 6, turn. item, pro expensis eorumdem 24, 9 (i.e., in all, 93 livres tournois, and 3 deniers, being 92 francs of our money). Extract from the *Archives of Fenestrelle*, examined by Professor Aillaud of Pignerol.

³ These receipts resulted from the sale of the confiscated properties of heretics. In the accounts of 1345, there is mention of one *Simon de Challier*, burned alive for heresy. The expenses were the inquisitor's charges, purchase of pulleys, rings, and iron hooks, for torturing heretics, &c. *Same source*.

⁴ *Histoire des persecutions et guerres faites . . . contre le peuple Vaudois*, &c. *Nouvellement imprimé*, MDLXII, 8vo, p. 43. This work was published in Latin, under the name of *Reichardus*. It is to be found in *Crespin* (folio edition), fol.

Persecution was not then a mere ecclesiastical measure, but an affair of party; and the different Vaudois communities reciprocally supported each other as often as they were menaced. The reader will recollect the attack which the seigneurs of Le Perrier made with an armed force upon the inhabitants of Rioclaret in 1560, and how the latter were assisted and delivered by the Vaudois of Pragela. "The fugitives were restored to their homes with great thanksgivings to God, and to the defenders whom he had sent them."¹

"The valley of Pérouse," says Gilles, "was not oppressed by the seigneurs, but it had at its gates other enemies not less formidable, and far more inveterate—the monks of the abbey of Pignerol. As they were very wealthy, and the sovereign had given permission to every one, and even ordered his own troops to molest the Vaudois,² these monks took into their pay a band of about 300 fanatics, full of hatred against the Reformed, but of affection for their properties, who robbed and ravaged throughout all the neighbouring country, killing men and women, or carrying them prisoners to the abbey. There they awaited the coming of the commissioners,³ who condemned them without fail to the stake or to the galleys, if they refused to abjure their religion."⁴ The Vaudois of the valley of Lucerna now, in their turn, sent defenders to their compatriots of the banks of the Cluson, and the latter, by reason of the presence of their brethren, were able to apply themselves to their field labours, and to terminate their harvest work without being disturbed.⁵

In the year following, these children of the same country and the same faith, although belonging to two different states,⁶ desirous

532-547. These events are not more particularly related by Gilles, ch. xiii. p. 75, nor by Rorengo, p. 40. They took place under the influence of the inquisitor Giacomello, to be afterwards mentioned.

¹ Gilles, ch. xiii. pp. 89, 90.—*Israel of the Alps*, part ii. ch. i.

² In 1560, Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, forbade all the inhabitants of his dominions from going to hear the Vaudois ministers, and forbade these ministers from celebrating their worship beyond the bounds of the valleys. (Edict of Nice, 15th February, 1560; Rorengo, pp. 39, 40.) But this edict did not precisely specify the extent of the territory of the Vaudois valleys, and special delegates were appointed, under the name of *ducal commissioners*, to watch over its execution. These officers committed many cruelties. These measures were adopted at the instigation of the court of Rome, and of the court of Spain. (Gilles, p. 72.)

³ These commissioners were *De Corbio* (senator) and *Giacomello* (inquisitor). Rorengo, p. 40.

⁴ Gilles, ch. xiv.

⁵ Id. p. 93. The inhabitants of Suza, Larche, and Méane, were, however, subjected to much annoyance by the chatelain of Suza, because they went to the preaching at Pragela. Id. pp. 215, 216.

⁶ The valley of Pérouse was only given back to France in 1562, with Pignerol, Savillan, and Levadis; but Pragela and the higher parts of the Doire already formed part of Dauphiny.

of confirming the union which had always existed between the Vaudois valleys of Dauphiny and those of Piedmont, renewed amongst themselves the solemn oath mutually to support one another in all circumstances in which their church might be concerned;¹ and they were indebted to their union for the concession of liberty of conscience, which was made in 1561² to all those of them who dwelt within the dominions of the Duke of Savoy. But all the country to which this chapter relates belonged at that time to France, except the small valleys of Mathias and Méane, to which alone, therefore, this concession brought any advantage.³ The religious meetings of the last-named little valley were even held in a hamlet⁴ situated on the boundary of the two states; so that the Protestant place of worship was in the dominions of the Duke of Savoy, and the pastor's house was in France.⁵ The road from Méane to Pérouse terminated at Le Villaret, the last village to which the cultivation of the vine extends, its cultivation being impossible in all the upper part of Pragela.

France was at this time troubled by religious wars; and Charles IX. was too feeble to resist, even if he had wished to do so, the influence of the Guises, the Marshal Du Retz, and Catherine De Medicis. The Protestants, on the other hand, had the Princes of Condé, Admiral De Coligny, and the King of Navarre for their defenders. Their worship, still prohibited within the precincts of towns, was authorized in the country parts;⁶ but by what precise mark could towns be distinguished from villages? Many conflicts took place in consequence of this very measure, which had been adopted to prevent them. The chiefs of the Huguenot party in Dauphiny were the intrepid Montbrun⁷ and the savage Des Adrets.⁸ The latter disgraced their cause by needless acts of violence. He invaded Pragela at the commencement of the year 1562, laid waste the Catholic institutions, burned the monastery of Oulx, allowed his troops to pillage, interdicted the celebration of mass, and sought to impose the Protestant religion upon every one,

¹ Gilles, ch. xxii. p. 136.

² Treaty of Cavour, 5th June, 1561.

³ "Their properties which have been confiscated shall be restored, &c. . . . to all the fugitives of the said valleys persevering in their religion, . . . and to those of Méane." (Gilles, ch. xxviii. p. 170). Larche formed part of it. (Id. p. 173.)

⁴ La Chapelle.

⁵ Gilles, ch. i. p. 10.

⁶ By edict of January 1562. (The Parliament of Paris refused to register it, and only did so after three successive orders.)

⁷ Surnamed *the Brave*. In 1570 he bade defiance to the Catholic army of the Marquis De Gordes, governor of Dauphiny; he marched against the troops of Henry III. when they were besieging Livron, in 1570, and was arrested at Die, and executed at Grenoble, in 1575.

⁸ He died in 1587.

under pain of death.¹ He did injury only to his own church, which he exposed to the same reproaches of violence so often brought by her against the Church of Rome.

The responsibility of the lawless deeds which he perpetrated at that time, pressed afterwards, and for many years, very cruelly upon the valley of Pragela, although its inhabitants had nothing to do with these excesses. But, indeed, they were the first to suffer for them. The Baron Des Adrets having been repulsed from the valleys of the Cluson and the Doire, the Catholic party took revenge for their momentary defeat by perpetual aggressions upon the Protestants of these regions. "In some places," says Gilles,² "the Vaudois durst no longer celebrate their worship, except at night; for if they attempted to hold their meetings in open day, according to the liberty which was then allowed to their brethren of the same religion throughout the rest of France, they were assailed by armed parties seeking their destruction." These audacious attempts were favoured by their isolation. Their party,

¹ As his proclamations are rare, I subjoin a few passages of that which, upon this occasion, he addressed to the inhabitants of Pragela:—"On the part of the King Dauphin, our sovereign lord and master; the ordinance of my lord the Baron des Adrets, gentleman in ordinary of the king's chamber, colonel of the legions of Dauphiny, Provence, Lyonnais, and Auvergne, chosen commander-in-chief of the companies assembled for the service of God, the liberty and deliverance of the king, and of the queen, his mother, conservator of the greatness and authority of their majesties:

"It is commanded to all the countrymen and inhabitants of the places [i.e., towns or villages] and parishes of Mentoules, . . . that they attend and hear the preaching of the Word of God. . . . It is forbidden to celebrate masses and other papal ceremonies from this time forth, . . . also public dances, and all confraternities whatsoever; . . . and to be present thereat, in any parish whatsoever, under pain of banishment . . . and of confiscation of goods.

"Moreover, it is commanded to the above-named consuls, countrymen, and inhabitants of the places and parishes of Mentoules, that they immediately, and without delay, produce the images, copes, chasubles, crosses, chalices, cloths, and other things appropriated to the papal mass, in order that they may be disposed of as shall be decided by the commissioners, under pain of death.

"Finally, it is commanded to all persons capable of bearing arms, that they appear with their arms at Fenestrelle, this day, at two o'clock afternoon, under pain of hanging and strangulation."

In this proclamation it is ordained that all shall learn and know the catechism within one month, . . . under arbitrary penalties.

(A copy of this document is given at the end of the *Sommaire* of the Archives of the *Prévôté* of Oulx.) According to these Archives, the monastery of Oulx was burned in 1562, at the instigation of some chiefs of Oulx itself, and of Césane; the steeple was demolished in 1574, by the malice and wickedness of Oulx, and the bells taken away by those of the pretended Reformed religion; and the hospice was destroyed in 1574, by those of the pretended Reformed religion in Pragela and Valengrogne.* Numerous judicial investigations ensued upon these devastations.

² Ch. xi. p. 279.

* It was destroyed because their enemies sought to intrench themselves in it.

which was powerful in Dauphiny, was not, however, able to defend them upon the extreme frontier of that province. The Vaudois of the Piedmontese valleys alone were able to render them any assistance. This they did not fail to do; and by their devoted friendship secured the repose of their brethren, after having sealed with their blood the act of union which bound together their ancient valleys.

A great number of petty combats took place at this time between the Vaudois and their enemies, in the valley of the Doire and in that of the Cluson. The Papists were commanded by a captain belonging to Oulx, named La Cazette,¹ and by the Seigneur De Mures, who, like him, made war for pleasure, and who sometimes came from Lower Dauphiny with a troop of volunteers, to his assistance; for, "for one death on the side of the Vaudois," says Gilles,² "there were almost always a number amongst the aggressors; and what they imagined that they had gained one day, they lost upon the morrow, to their great astonishment, but to the glory of those whom they assailed; who upon that account, were for a long time dreaded by their neighbours, and held in great reputation."

However, the Vaudois experienced reverses also. At Briançon, for example, of which they obtained possession for a short time, they were surrounded by the French troops, and massacred without mercy. It was in mountain warfare that they triumphed, where combatants seem to multiply their numbers by their activity, and where the advantage of positions, surprises, and ambuscades makes amends for paucity of numbers; but whenever they adopted the course of shutting themselves up in a stronghold, or in a limited place of defence, they almost always experienced some disaster. Thus it was that half a company of their soldiers was also massacred, which had retired into a ruined chapel between Rouillères and Pragela. A similar misfortune, says Gilles,³ befell forty men of the Val Lucerna, who allowed themselves to be shut up in a paltry village near Bardonnèche, where they had neither provisions nor munitions of war.

This story is related in the following manner, by an elegant writer of that period, whose narrative is composed in Latin:⁴—

¹ " . . . Vulgo dictus, le gros La Cazette; ejus etiam ductu aggressi sunt Catholici, dictos Hugonotos, Sezania, &c. . . . (MS. relation of 1563.)

² Ch. xl.

³ P. 280.

⁴ I add, in foot-notes, some passages which I have not translated.—*Propter rebellantium hereticorum rabiem, nulla huic erat fides nec securitas, inter parentes et vicinos, religionis causa, ac præsertim in Plebania Ulcensi.* (In the Plebanie of Oulx.)

"In 1562," says he, "the snows of winter still lay upon our mountains, till their first melting caused a terrible inundation in the month of May, an evident presage of the approaching ravages of the Calvinists. These came from the valley of the Cluson and the valley of Lucerna. Many bloody rencounters took place at Chalmont, at Les Chenevrières, and at Salabertrans; and although victory was sometimes equally balanced, the Huguenots always gathered strength. However, the Catholics ranged themselves under the command of the great *La Cazette*, who surprised the unbelievers at Sezane, and cut in pieces as many as 150 of them.¹ To recover from this loss they called new reinforcements to their aid,² and marched upon Briançon. They passed over Mount Genève, and came within a mile of the place; but meeting there with a different reception from what they expected, they fell back towards the source of the Durance, into the valley of Les Prés,³ and, pursued by those whom they had come to attack, they gained the heights of the mountain of L'Echelle,⁴ from which they fled into the valley of Bardonnèche, and there remained for some days. There it was that the illustrious De La Cazette surprised them in broad day, with his ordinary guard,⁵ augmented by a few courageous soldiers, not without having taken precautions to prevent his being discovered; and being supported by the Catholics of the place, he cut them in pieces. The Vaudois not being able for the contest, on account of the inferiority of their forces, retired in disorder into the castle, as into a fortress. There they defended themselves till night; and all who did not perish in the flames, were destroyed by the sword.⁶ "Thus," adds our author, "that pest of heresy disappeared from the valley."

It does not appear, however, that the defeat of the Vaudois was so complete as his account would lead us to infer; for a few days

"Ut notat Bellonius, scriba publicus Ulcensis, de cujus scripto manu propria authenticato, hæc omnia translata fideliter. . . ."

² "Supplementum militum a sociis, vallium dictarum Clusoni et Angroninæ, acceperunt. . . ."

³ "In vallem pratorum deflectere coacti sunt."

⁴ "Per montem, Scalæ ut dicunt, Bardonescham ingressi. . . .—(I quote the passages which contain proper names, to secure myself against all charge of inaccuracy.)

⁵ Ibi, jam aliquibus diebus morabantur, cum ecce egregius De La Cazette, sumptis secum aliquibus e suis militibus, quos custodiæ causa secum semper habebat, et adjunctis aliis incolis hujus regionis . . . pleno meridie, caute tamen et prudenter adortus, magnum eorum impetu edidit stragem, adjuvantibus præcipue dicti loci incolis," &c.

⁶ "Quos enim flamma comburere non poterat eosdem interfecit gladius."—The anonymous author of this narrative makes the number who thus perished no less than 140. Gilles reduces it to 40 (p. 280); but perhaps the latter number only refers to the Vaudois of the Val Lucerna, who were included in this catastrophe.

after, they seized the fortress of Exilles, a place to them of far greater importance than all the places hitherto mentioned. But when they entered upon possession of it they found it destitute of munitions, and they were besieged in it by La Cazette, without having it in their power to procure any. This captain kept up a very strict blockade, in order to reduce them by famine. With them were the best chiefs and the best soldiers of the valleys; they made vigorous sorties, but were not able to break up the blockade of the place. All the valleys, says Gilles,¹ then made a great effort, and did their duty marvellously in order to rescue them. Their people having passed the mountains which separate the Cluson and the Doire, in front of the fortress, approached it so that they could communicate with the besieged without being seen by the besiegers. The fort of Exilles is situated on a precipitous rock, which rises isolated in the midst of steep mountains pressing closely upon it upon every side, in one of the narrowest parts of the valley. The Vaudois, captives on this rock, saw their brethren come to their assistance. Captain Frache, who commanded at Exilles, taking his sword in both hands, then rushed out with all his band upon the troops of the enemy. He cleared their barricades, penetrated into their intrenchments, and overthrew all that opposed his passage. Whilst he thus attacked the enemy in front, his compatriots rushed from the mountain heights, and fell upon them in the rear. The troops of La Cazette, thus caught, as it were, between two avalanches which met at their ranks, were broken and dispersed. Their chiefs made fruitless efforts to keep them firm, or to rally them. The place was released from siege, the whole garrison escaped by this audacious breach, joined the corps which had come to its assistance, and along with it regained the mountains, ready for new combats. It was at this period also that the affairs of Abriès and St. Crespin took place, of which we have already spoken in the history of the Vaudois of Queyras.

The religious wars in France were calmed for a moment by the edict of pacification which Charles IX. signed at Amboise, on the 19th of March, 1563. The conditions embodied in this edict were more favourable than any which the Reformed had previously obtained; but it was modified by a royal ordinance, issued from Lyons, on the 9th of August in the following year.² A peace,

¹ Page 231.

² It was at Lyons, also, that Charles IX. issued, five days before (4th August, 1564), the edict which fixed the commencement of the year at the first of January. At this time Catherine de Medicis was causing the foundations of the palace of the Tuileries to be laid at Paris.

threatening and precarious like the calm which precedes a storm, deadened for a short time the political passions which religious quarrels had exasperated, and over which they exerted a predominating power. The haughty and artful Catherine de Medicis, whether from motives of kindness or of duplicity, had sought for a little to reconcile the two parties. In secret, however, she was raising troops to fight against the Huguenots. This was in 1567. The king resided at the park of Monceaux. Condé and Coligny formed the project of carrying off both him and his mother; but this design failed.

The Duke of Clèves passed through Piedmont at this time with a Spanish army, intending to proceed to Flanders. He arrived at Pignerol. The valleys of the Cluson, the Pragela, and the Upper Doire all belonged to France, as well as the marquisate of Saluces. The Queen of Spain was the sister of Charles IX. The Duke of Clèves was the king's lieutenant. No sooner had he heard of these events, than he ordered all the Reformed, Vaudois or strangers, to come and have their names individually taken down by the governor of the province in which they dwelt.¹ The same measure was adopted with regard to those who belonged to France.² The object of it was to know the number and strength of the party. Moreover, Birague, who was then governor of Pignerol, forbade all who were under his authority to lodge Protestants, under pain of death.³ The steps which the Protestants had taken to obtain more liberty in their religious exercises, became the very heads of accusation against them.⁴ From all sides the Vaudois received disquieting news, or heard ominous rumours. Now it was said that the Spanish army was going to exterminate them; now, that their worship would be completely prohibited; but it was agreed upon all hands that near and imminent dangers gathered around their church.⁵

The Vaudois churches held a synod in the Val Cluson,⁶ and

¹ "Louis Gonzague of Clèves, Prince of Mantua, Duke of Nancy, and governor and lieutenant-general of his most Christian majesty on this side of the mountains, with the advice of his majesty's council of state, sitting at Pignerol. . . . We ordain . . . that every religionary shall, within twenty-four hours, present himself before the governor, and have his name taken down." (Pignerol, 10th October, 1567.) Mentioned in the *Chronique des Sollaro*. MS. of the Royal Library at Turin.

² By edict of October, 1567.

³ " . . . Quale si colui che alloghera, come quello che sarà alloggiato; inonerano, per la prima volta, a chiaschedun d'essi nella pena di cento scudi; la seconda, di doi batti di corda e ducento scudi; e la terza, della perdita della vita e beni." (Pignerol, 19th October, 1567.) *Chronique des Sollaro*.

⁴ Same source, under date 28th November, 1567.

⁵ Gilles, p. 238.

⁶ End of May, 1567.

appointed an universal fast, to turn away, by humiliation and prayer, *the chastisements of the Lord and the fierceness of his wrath*.¹ And, like a cloud which, being driven by the wind, carries elsewhere the thunders with which it was charged, these mournful omens and causes of fear passed over the valleys without any harm.

But this respite was not of long duration.² St. Bartholomew's Day drenched France with blood.³ Alarm again extended over Piedmont. The Catholics, says Gilles,⁴ made great rejoicings, and mocked at the religionaries, *as if God had been abolished*. Protestant worship, at least, was interdicted in the French dominions. The inhabitants of St. Germain and of Pérouse complained to the governor of Pignerol. "When our valley was ceded to France,"⁵ said they, "it was agreed that the privileges which we enjoyed at that period should be secured to us."⁶ Birague paid no regard to this; and the pastor of St. Germain, whilst the place of worship in his parish was shut up, ascended to Pramol, and invited the parish priest of that place to a public discussion. The priest fled to avoid it, and the Protestant pastor won the whole of that commune to Protestantism, it having previously been Catholic.

This produced great excitement among the clergy; and the Vaudois continuing their worship in the fields or in private houses, Birague was urged to proceed against them by force of arms; but he dreaded the valour of these mountaineers, of which they had already given proof, and the mutual aid which they afforded to one another. To prevent the valleys of Lucerna and St. Martin, which belonged to the Duke of Savoy, from carrying assistance to their brethren of the Val Pérouse, he complained of their intervention, as if it had already taken place. The Duke of Savoy, dreading

¹ Gilles, p. 239.

² On 23th September, 1571, Charles IX. had even written to the Duke of Savoy a pressing letter in favour of the Vaudois. It will be found in Gilles, pp. 242, 243.

³ From the 23d August to the 2d September, 1572. During the interval the *Moriamur* crusade was organized against the Reformed (12th March, 1568). This association had taken for its device, *Eamus nos, moriamur cum Christo*. The peace of Longjumeau was concluded on the 27th of March, which lasted only till September, 1568. In 1569 the battle of Jarnac took place, where the Prince of Condé was killed by a traitor. The King of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV., put himself at the head of the Reformed. The battle of Montcontour was fought on the 3d of October, 1569, where Admiral De Coligny was defeated by the Duke of Anjou. On the 15th of August, 1570, the peace of St. Germain-en-Laye was concluded. Catherine de Medici attracted to Paris the Queen of Navarre, the mother of Henry IV. (Jeanne D'Albret), who died on 10th June, 1572. Her son married the sister of Charles IX., on the 18th of August. Five days after, the massacre of the Protestants commenced.

⁴ P. 250.

⁵ In 1562.

⁶ Petition of 2d August, 1573. Archives of the Court at Turin, No. of series, 226.

that political difficulties might arise with France,¹ prohibited the Vaudois of his dominions from crossing the frontier in arms;² and Coestrocuzo, who was charged with the transmission of this order, endeavoured to make the syndics and pastors of the communes responsible for its execution. They, being assembled on the 5th of January, 1573, began by protesting their loyalty to their sovereign, and representing to him that they had no executive power in their hands—that their exhortations, always directed to the object of keeping every one within the path of duty, were nevertheless often fruitless—that, therefore, they prayed him not to make the whole of the Vaudois responsible for the faults of a few—that besides, he himself, in ceding the valley of Pérouse to Charles IX., had guaranteed the maintenance of the privileges which it enjoyed, and that the Vaudois could not see their brethren destroyed without feeling themselves impelled to succour them, by considerations of duty as well as of affection, and that they therefore humbly entreated his royal highness to be graciously pleased to exert his influence, that the inhabitants of Pérouse and St. Germain might be allowed to remain in peace.³

Under the respectful language of this document there is manifest evidence of the firm resolution of the Vaudois to stand by one another for mutual defence. This resolution caused a suspension of the proceedings against the Val Pérouse. Meanwhile, Charles De Birague succeeded his brother Louis as lieutenant of the King of France in the government of Pignerol. Anxious to signalize his entry upon his office by some striking measure, and urged moreover by the royal council⁴ of that city, which was itself stirred up by the clergy, this governor ordered the Protestants of the country to cease from all religious assemblies.

They refused. Birague armed his garrison, and marching by night, surprised the town of St. Germain before dawn.⁵ Five men were seized, who were hanged shortly after on the trees of La Turina; but the rest of the inhabitants defended themselves vigorously; the alarm was given, and Captain Frache, one of the most valiant men of his time, the chronicles say,⁶ hastened from the heights of Angrogna, with the veteran band which had so gloriously broken up the siege of Exilles, rescued St. Germain, and drove the troops of Birague above La Pérouse and below Pignerol.

¹ *Resigo di tirarmi la guerra alle spalle*. . . . Instructions to the senator De Ruffia, delegated to the valleys, 10th August, 1573. (Archives of Turin, No. of series, 226.)

² By letters of 30th December, 1572.

³ Gilles, ch. xxxvi., pp. 251-253.

⁴ Sometimes also called the *Senate of Pignerol*.

⁵ On 22d July, 1573.

⁶ Gilles, p. 255.

These troops, however, returned to the charge a few days after, under the command of Colonel De La Rade. All the communes of the Val Lucerna sent a contingent for the defence of their brethren, notwithstanding severe measures and special commissions, by which the Duke of Savoy sought to prevent them from so doing.¹ Many engagements took place upon the banks of the Cluson during the whole of the month of August. In one of these skirmishes, Peter Couper of La Tour, a man distinguished for his intrepidity, but too confidently bold, was killed at the head of his troop, near Pinache, where the collision had taken place.

The numerous losses which the assailants had experienced in these encounters, and the trouble which resulted from them to the Vaudois in their agricultural labours, made both parties desirous of peace. These conflicts have received the name of the *War of La Rade*, from the leader of the enemy, who especially signalized himself in it. At last the Vaudois of the manor [*châtellenie*] of Pérouse, in a spirit of accommodation, offered to Birague to suspend the publicity of their religious services for a month, and to send away their pastor,² on condition that arms should be laid down upon both sides, that prisoners should be restored without ransom, and that no prosecution should be instituted upon account of anything that had taken place.³ Birague himself, before the commencement of hostilities, had asked no more of the Vaudois, in order to his leaving them in tranquillity, than that they would interrupt their worship for a month;⁴ but they had refused, in the fear that this concession would only render their adversaries more difficult to deal with, and encourage them to make greater demands. However, Birague did not demand anything more after this than he had done before the resistance commenced; and these stipulations were

¹ Very full particulars on this subject are contained in a paper in the Archives of Turin, entitled, *Istruzione a voi Messer Cesare Cambrani di signori di Ruffia, Messer senatore, di quello che haverete a fare e dire in le valli di Lucerna, Angrogna, San Martino, &c., per servizio nostro*. It is dated 10th August, 1573. The following are a few passages from it: "Farete intendere che havano trovato strano, che quei populi, nostri sudditti, senza proposito, se siano levati et habbino tolto le arme . . . per volere diffendere quelli di San Germano, che sono di aliena giurisdittione . . . contro un principe tanto potente con e il Re di Francia . . . e se vi dicono che essi delle valli sarrano usciti in adiuto di quelli della valle della Perosa e di Pragellato per essere tutti scritti (formati) in Xrispo (Christo) com' essi dicano . . . li poteti rispondere che qui non si tratta di religione, ma de rebellion, &c. . . ."

Mention is made, at the end of this paper, of a letter which the Duchess of Savoy wrote on the same subject, to Stephen Noël, pastor of Angrogna.

² Francis Guérin, who had brought about the renunciation of the Popish Church by all the inhabitants of Pramol.

³ By petition of 31st August, 1573. Gilles, p. 257-259.

⁴ Id. p. 254.

converted into a treaty.¹ The king approved it; but he desired that the Vaudois of the Val Pérouse should renounce their public worship entirely. Birague signified to them this resolution. They replied, with dignity, that they set a higher value upon religious life than upon the mere life of the body, and that there was no need for their having laid down their arms if it was intended to compel them so soon to take them up again. This language induced Birague to refrain from insisting; and it was even given out that he had been authorized, by a secret permission from the king, to tolerate the exercise of public worship, according to the Reformed religion, in the valley of Pérouse.

But in the following year Charles IX. died of a tragical malady,² and Henry III., his brother, furtively quitted the throne of Poland, to which he had been called two months before, and came to assert his right to the crown of France. Passing through Turin on his way, he was received with great honours, and he testified his gratitude to the Duke of Savoy by restoring to him, as a royal gift, the towns of Pignerol, Savillan, and Levadis, along with the valley of Pérouse. The inhabitants of this locality, therefore, returned for a short time under the government whose blessings were then enjoyed by the Vaudois of Piedmont, and had some years of repose. They will demand our attention again in the course of this history; meanwhile, let us consider what took place in the high valleys of the Doire and Pragela.

¹ Concluded at Pignerol, 1st September, 1573.

² At Vincennes, 30th May, 1574.

CHAPTER XII.

HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS OF PRAGELA AND THE
ADJACENT VALLEYS.

SECOND PERIOD.—LESDIGUIÉRES IN PRAGELA.

(A.D. 1574 TO A.D. 1601.)

Reign of Henry III. in France—THE LEAGUE—Agitations in the French Vaudois valleys—Assassins—Jesuits—Rumours of impending danger—Settlement of Popish priests in the parishes of the *Plebanie* of Oulx—Progress of the Protestant cause—Death of La Cayette—Lesdiguières invades Piedmont—Various events of the war—Unjust attempt to deprive the Vaudois of Pinache of their place of worship—Attempt to massacre them—Polemical discussions—Letter of Lesdiguières to the Piedmontese Vaudois, promising them protection—Apostasy of Captain Jahier of Pramol—His miserable death—Peace of 1601 between France and Savoy.

IMMEDIATELY on his return to France, and before he had even reached Paris, Henry III. declared against religious liberty. His mother, Catherine de Medicis, had gone to meet him as far as the bridge of Beauvoisin. There Montbrun, the chief of the Calvinists of Dauphiny, plundered the equipages of the new king. For this Henry III. retained a feeling of personal resentment; and no sooner did he arrive at Lyons¹ than he held a great council, in which, contrary to the advice of the wiser part, it was decided to continue the cruel intestine war for the destruction of the Huguenots.

The Huguenots very soon had at their head three princes of the blood.² Their enemies were then forced to think of peace; and, by an edict of the 14th of May, 1576, the Protestants obtained the free exercise of their religion, admission into the parliaments, and a certain number of fortified places, which were to remain in the possession of their troops, as a sort of hostages, under the name of *places of security*. These concessions excited the liveliest dissatisfaction among the Catholics; the more ardent leagued themselves together; the crowd followed them; ambitious

¹ On 6th September, 1574.

² The Prince of Condé, who had just returned to France; the Duke of Alençon (afterwards Duke of Anjou), who made his escape from the court of his mother (Catherine de Medicis) on the 15th of September, 1575, to go to join the confederate Protestants; and the King of Navarre (afterwards Henry IV.) who had espoused Margaret of France, the sister of Henry III. and of Charles IX., and who also rejoined his brethren in religion in February, 1576.

men put themselves at their head; the indecision of the king allowed them to gain strength; and thus *the League* arose.

To repress it, the party whom it threatened demanded a meeting of the states-general, which were opened by the king at Blois, on the 6th of December, 1576. But the Calvinists did not derive the advantage from this which they expected. This assembly, of which all the members were Catholics, revoked their privileges, sanctioned the League, and compelled the king himself to sign it. No enemy could have given him worse counsel. The civil war was thus kindled again with more fury than ever; but ere long, apprehensive that the Reformed might call in foreign troops to their assistance, Henry III. granted them a new *Edict of Pacification*.¹ It was the sixth, but it was not more durable than the others. The war continued, sometimes in secret plots and intrigues, sometimes in open violence, sometimes general, sometimes confined to particular localities, but always full of hatred and fury.

These great convulsions, which shook France to its centre, were attended with corresponding local commotions in the Vaudois valleys which belonged to it. The archives of the monastery of Oulx,² in the valley of the Doire, have preserved the remembrance of some of these shocks, in so far at least as they affected that establishment; for it frequently had to suffer from them,³ although rather at the hand of Calvinists who came from the interior of the country, than of the Vaudois who were settled in the neighbourhood itself. The latter, indeed, exhibited, even towards the missionaries who were sent to convert them, the mildness and generosity which result from the long-continued influence of the gospel—qualities which were acknowledged by their adversaries. Now we find the Capuchins pursued by robbers, and taking refuge in the house of a Vaudois, to whom they are indebted for their lives.⁴ Now a pastor accords to these monks an obliging hospitality.⁵ Again, we

¹ According to a treaty signed on the 17th of September, 1577, at Bergerac, and ratified by the king, on the 5th of October, at Poitiers.

² I have seen only the *Sommaire*, which is a manuscript of 838 pages, in small folio, deposited in the Archives of the Bishopric of Pignerol.

³ See fol. 25, fol. 37 (right-hand page), 38 (left-hand), and 39, 117, 314 (left-hand), 315 (right-hand), &c.

⁴ *Notes on the Missions of the Capuchins in the Vaudois Valleys*, in Italian, without any particular title; in the Archives of the Bishopric of Pignerol. In the paragraph beginning with these words: *S'introvano in queste valli, un eretico bandito famoso . . . uomo perverso, inimico de catholici, di Dio, e massime delli Capucini.*

⁵ "Audando noi per una terra di Pragela . . . andassimo alla casa d'un ministro, per provare se l'haverebbe fatto la carita. E lo trovassimo a canto alla porta. Li chiamarsino limosina. E il ministro rispose cheravamo troppo scrupulosi d'endar per il mondo senza denari.—Il Padre Giovanni li rispose: che noi imitavano

are told of some poor villagers who are astonished at seeing them walk barefooted,¹ a circumstance which of itself proves how little the presence of monks was then familiar to the inhabitants of Pragela.

But whilst displaying this kindness and good nature towards these inoffensive personages, the Vaudois of Pragela evinced no common energy in repelling armed aggressions. They were then, it is true, supported by their brethren of the other valleys,² according to the covenant of union which both they and their brethren had sworn to observe. Thus, the superior of the abbey of Pignerol having, in 1583 and 1584, arbitrarily caused some of the Protestants of the Val Pérouse to be arrested when they went into that city on their private business, their compatriots took up arms for their deliverance; and the governor of La Tour, having ordered the inhabitants of the Val Lucerna not to intermeddle with this affair, the Vaudois replied that they would never make any opposition to the regular course of justice, but that if the chiefs of a rival religion attempted to encroach upon their recognized rights, they could never abandon one another.³

Shortly afterwards the minister of St. Germain, and the minister of Le Roure, in Pragela, were assailed near La Pérouse by some soldiers of that garrison, who left the latter covered with wounds. The report of his death having immediately spread, the people ran together in arms, from all the mountains, to avenge their pastor. The principal inhabitants of La Pérouse, although Catholics, had caused the wounded man to be transported into the town, and bestowed upon him all the attention which his circumstances required. "But," says Gilles, "they were greatly afraid when they heard with what fury the people were animated; wherefore the governor of the castle, having come down to the town, requested the pastor of Pinache, Elias Schiop by name, a grave man and much respected,

Giesu Christo e li Apostoli.—Dice il ministro che la nostra povertà era volontaria. —E poi ne fece entrar in casa, conducendosi per mano. Fece preparar subito la tanla; e mentre mangiamo, stette sempre in piedi, con il capello in mano: servendosi la ministra (the pastor's wife), con grande riverenza, tagliandosi fin al pane. . . . Tutte le ragione che il Padre Giovanni diceva al ministro, egli le teneva per buone. N'accompagnò poi fuori della casa, facendone esibitione della cosa e di denarii." (*Notes on the Missions of the Capuchins in the Vaudois Valleys.*)

¹ Same Manuscript.

² I find, under date 8th June, 1579, a notarial paper, in twelve folio pages, containing the testimonies of a great number of people, who give evidence that the Vaudois of the valleys of St. Martin and Lucerna had recently brought assistance, by arms, to those of Pragela. This paper is followed by various letters from the syndics of Le Villar, Bobi, St. John, Rora, and Angrogna, replying that this was done without their participation. (All these documents are in the State Archives at Turin, No. of series, 317-320.)

³ Gilles, ch. xli. p. 235.

to go and meet this torrent of people, in order to calm them, by representing to them that the minister Garnier was not dead, that care would be taken of him, and that the guilty would be punished. Pastor Schiop succeeded in his mission of conciliation; but the people, although appeased, crowded into the town of Pérouse, and around the house where the wounded man lay, whom they took and bore in their arms to his own place of residence. He recovered, but his assailants were never punished.

After the assassins, the Jesuits came to trouble the valley. They appeared there in 1584. Although their assaults did not cause blood to flow, yet they were a precursory indication of new calamities.

The *League*, which had been formed in France for the destruction of the Reformed, emboldened the enemies of the Vaudois in Piedmont. They spoke of nothing less than a coalition between Henry III., Philip II.,¹ and the Duke of Savoy, to annihilate the church of the valleys. To these rumours of extermination, and lofty threats, the Israel of the Alps responded by a public fast, a time set apart for humiliation and prayer.²

The Vaudois valleys, which were under the dominion of the Duke of Savoy, then enjoyed tranquillity, for that prince, far from joining the *League*, condemned its excesses. But the valleys of the Doire and the Cluson, whose history we now write, had their share of these commotions. As Henry III. had been declared chief of the *League*, it was in the name of his government that, in the year 1583, the *Plébanie* of Oulx began to be visited by persons appointed to settle priests in all the Protestant parishes;³ and upon representations, addressed by the archbishop of the diocese to the court of the Parliament of Grenoble, a formal edict was issued on the 14th of August, 1603, rendering that restoration imperative. All gentlemen holding ecclesiastical property were to be declared plebeians, and to have their own property confiscated, if within the space of one month after the publication of the edict they had not restored to the clergy the patrimony which they kept from them.

These proceedings were continued till 1618.⁴ Nevertheless, Pro-

¹ King of Spain, father-in-law of Charles Emmanuel.

² This public fast took place in all the valleys on the 15th and 16th, and also on the 22d and 23d of May, 1585.

³ *Visites générales de la Plébanie d'Oulx*, 1583 and 1584. (A thick 4to MS. in the Archives of the Bishopric of Pignerol.) These visits were made in virtue of a special ordinance of the Parliament of Grenoble in 1583. Louis De Birague intrusted the Grand Vicar of Oulx with the execution of it, by a mandate of 7th October, 1583.

⁴ In 1605 Jerome De Birague (for first Louis, then Charles, and afterwards Vol. II.

testantism still triumphed. Lesdiguières had, in the meantime, acquired a predominant power in Dauphiny. The personal enemies of the Vaudois became more timid. Captain De La Cazette was taken in 1590 by orders from the Protestant headquarters, in spite of a guard of twenty-four men, who watched day and night around his house. A detachment of forty picked men, sent on this inglorious expedition, came to Oulx by night, surrounded the abode of the persecutor, burst open the doors by means of a petard, and accusing La Cazette of treason, slew him, without giving him opportunity of making any defence. But, even in order to punish a traitor, is it right to act like traitors? This blow seems to have been struck by order of General the Count De Gattinara, whose army remained for some time, in 1590, in the valley of La Pérouse, which they oppressed by taxes and contributions. This army had been brought thither in consequence of the invasion of the marquisate of Saluces, which the Duke of Savoy had seized in 1588, and of the incursion which he afterwards made with an armed force into Provence.

The clergy of Suza took advantage of this absence of their sovereign to get the Vaudois of Mathias and of Méane interdicted from the exercise of their religion; but they, having made a representation of the case to the Duchess of Savoy, who was always favourable to them, obtained, though not without some considerable expense,¹ the confirmation of all their privileges.²

Meanwhile Lesdiguières, desirous of uniting the interests of the crown of France with the exercise of the power which he had acquired in Dauphiny as leader of the Huguenots, prepared to invade Piedmont, in order to punish the Duke of Savoy for his seizure of the province of Saluces, and his invasion of Provence. A similar expedition had already been attempted, in 1591, against the valley of Lucerna, by Colonel De Perdeyer, which failed before the fort of Mirabouc. Lesdiguières was more successful; and having occupied Sézane on the 26th of September, 1592, he descended next day by the valley of Pragela, sending an advanced guard to apprehend all the inhabitants, lest they might precede him, and betray the secret of his march. He thus appeared unexpectedly under the walls of Pérouse, and entered it in the evening,³ by the clear light

Jerome were governors of Pignerol) commanded the prior of Suza to come in person, and be present at these inspections. In 1609 he ordained that in all parishes the Romish worship should be celebrated according to the ritual adopted by the Council of Trent. In 1611 he employed the vicar-general to visit certain priories, and in 1617 to inspect the whole Plébanie. (These documents are in the Archives of the Bishopric of Pignerol.)

¹ Under date, 10th May, 1591.

² For the sum of 650 golden crowns.

³ Saturday, 27th September, 1592.

of the moon. The keeper of the gates was killed; the garrison had only time to retire into the castle, with the governor, Cachéran, who was exceedingly mortified at having allowed himself to be surprised. No one was killed in the town, except a man who was found in the street armed with a pike and a cutlass. His name was Rouger, and "he had," says Gilles,¹ "the appearance and manners of a proud soldier, rather than of a humble parish minister." He was, however, the ecclesiastical director of a Catholic parish of the neighbourhood; but his flock themselves were ashamed of his ministry, not so much for his military air as for his immoral life.² A few days before, he had drawn his sword against a Protestant pastor, who was then defended and protected by the Papists of La Pérouse. The Vaudois did not seek to avenge themselves for this assault; but the French soldiers having taken Priest Rouger for a leader of the enemy, killed him in the public square. His body was left exposed on the ground, without the Catholics themselves taking the trouble to perform the last rites for a man who had brought much scandal upon their church, by his dissoluteness and his cruelties.

Lesdiguières marched upon Pignerol that same evening, in order to surprise it, but was not able to seize that city, and so returned to the siege of the castle of La Pérouse, which he compelled to surrender on the 2d of October, 1592. However, the inhabitants of the valleys of St. Martin and of Lucerna had taken up arms to resist the invasion. They were exempted from it upon payment of a heavy contribution, the amount of which was agreed upon at Grand Doublon, on the 1st of October, between their deputies and Lesdiguières. That general then turned towards Briqueras, and (in 1593) caused the castles of La Tour and Pérouse to be demolished.

To oppose these conquests, Charles Emmanuel, who had returned from Provence, again ascended the valley of the Doire, accompanied with a powerful force.³ His design was to seize the fortress of Exilles, which guarded the frontiers of Dauphiny. Lesdiguières retraced his steps to defend this place. He ascended the valley of Pragela, and stopped at Oulx, not having been able to prevent the capitulation of Exilles, which, however, did not surrender until it had sustained more than 2000 cannon-shot. A murderous combat afterwards took place at Salabertrans, between the armies of France and Savoy. Both parties equally claimed the victory; but Les-

¹ P. 293.

² See the particulars in GILLES, p. 293.

³ Not wholly derived from his own dominions, but consisting also of troops furnished by the King of Naples, the King of Spain, and the Emperor of Germany, his allies.

diguières retained the upper part of the valley. Charles Emmanuel, shortly after, caused the fort of St. Benoit to be erected on the limits of his territory, between Pérouse and Pignerol.

Towards the end of the year the French troops withdrew from Piedmont, retaining possession, in that country, only of Cavour, Mirabouc, and a few other places. But in abandoning to Charles Emmanuel the valleys which he had conquered, Lesdiguières stipulated that religious liberty should be guaranteed for ever to their inhabitants.¹ The Vaudois, who had enjoyed it most completely during the occupation of their country by the French, had hastened to multiply their places of meeting in Pragela. The Duke of Savoy, when he became master of these countries, was solicited by the Papists to forbid the Reformed worship altogether. Fearing that he might decide accordingly, the Vaudois addressed a petition to him, in consequence of which they obtained the preservation of their privileges, on condition, however, that the newly-erected places of worship should be closed, and that the forsaken chapels, which had been appropriated to Protestant worship, should be restored to the Catholics.² This last article related particularly to the dependencies of the provostship of Oulx, which had suffered from the presence of Lesdiguières, as formerly from that of Des Adrets.³

But the probability of such sufferings was not yet over, for the war was still prosecuted between Savoy and France. The upper part of the valleys of the Cluson and the Doire belonged to the latter power, and Charles Emmanuel thought to make himself master of them. His troops, having surmounted all obstacles as far as Suza and Mentoules, fortified themselves in the narrowest part of the gorge which opens into the valley of Méane, as well as upon the summit of an eminence covered with ruins, which commands the village of Mentoules in Pragela. "This invasion," says Gilles,

¹ This treaty is mentioned in a decree of his majesty's sovereign council at Pignerol, of date 24th April, 1654. (Civil Archives of Pignerol, class xxv., mazzo i., No. 7.)

² Letters-patent granted at Turin, by Charles Emmanuel, 21st November, 1594.

³ There was a criminal process for the carrying away of stones and building materials from the provostship of Oulx, against Anthony Reul, innkeeper in the plain of Oulx, dated 6th June, 1595, and occupying seventeen quarto leaves. Prescriptions concerning the burning of the monastery, taken at the request of the provost, Jerome De Birague, before the local lieutenant of the see of Briançon, under date 6th September, 1596, in one folio MS. of eighteen leaves, ill written;—a Report, [*Procès Verbal*] on the same subject, drawn up by the officer of justice, on the 30th of January, 1597, &c. All in the Archives of the Bishopric of Pignerol. There are in these archives also other reports and documents relative to similar untoward occurrences within the provostship of Oulx, in 1562, 1574, 1591, 1592, 1593, &c.

"having caused the inhabitants of the valley to be called out for its defence, *all of whom were of the Reformed religion*,¹ they made such an effort from both sides that, notwithstanding great resistance, they put the ducal troops to flight, and made the governor of Revel prisoner."²

The Duke of Savoy at this time added to the fortifications which guarded these valleys. The little town of La Chapelle was surrounded with walls, and received a garrison. A new fortress was raised at the entry of the valley of St. Martin, and took the name of *Palais Louis*. The soldiers who were placed there having committed numerous excesses,³ which evinced their hostility to Protestantism, the Capuchin monks, in their vicinity, resumed courage, and became more enterprising than ever in their opposition to evangelical worship.

At this period the Protestants of Pinache assembled in a large place of worship, which had formerly been a Catholic church, but the Catholics of the country had given it up to them by an agreement, of which the origin was as follows. The Papists were more numerous at Diblon than at Pinache, although, in all, less numerous than the Protestants. The latter offered to build a church, at their own expense, at Diblon, for the use of the Catholics, and the latter consented to give up the church at Pinache to the Reformed. By this arrangement the interests of both parties were provided for. The people often come to a better agreement among themselves than would ever be brought about by those who direct their affairs. However, the letters-patent of the 21st of November, 1594, having declared that the edifices formerly devoted to Catholic worship should be restored to the Catholics, they became an instrument of much mischief in the hands of the monks, who prevailed with the governor of Pignerol to prohibit the Vaudois of Pinache from entering their place of worship any more. In vain did the Vaudois point out the title which they had to that edifice; the governor would listen to nothing on the subject.

Two opinions then arose among the Vaudois as to the course which they should pursue. Some said, "They cannot dispute our right to the place of worship at Diblon, which was constructed at our expense; let us expel from it the Catholics, to whom we transferred it, and let us celebrate our worship there." Others replied—"Our neighbours of Diblon have had nothing to do with the injury which we have suffered; we have no right to take from them by violence what we gave over to them of our own freewill;

¹ . . . "qui étaient tous de la religion."

² Gilles, ch. xliv. p. 313.

³ See Gilles, p. 314.

but we have a right to meet in the church which they, in like manner, made over to us: let us remain where we are, and carry on our worship." This opinion prevailed.

Governor Ponte regarded this as an insult to his authority, and having consulted with the military commanders at La Chapelle and Palais Louis, he formed the project of massacring the inhabitants of Pinache when they were assembled in their church, and of carrying away the pastor from the midst of his flock. One Sabbath morning, therefore, troops marched out from both these fortresses, as well as from Pignerol. The pastor, Felix Ughet, preached on that morning at Le Villar, a village situated half a league from Pinache. The soldiers were preparing to surround the church, when a shepherd boy, who saw their movements, ran to warn the Protestant worshippers, who came out in haste, and secured the escape of the pastor. The troops of the enemy being almost all on horseback, could not follow the Vaudois, who dispersed themselves amongst the vineyards in their flight; but Ponte's cavalry ravaged the plain, returned to Pinache, plundered the pastor's house, and carried away much booty. The father and brother of the minister Ughet were afterwards imprisoned, as we have already seen in the chapter devoted to the history of the martyrs.

But all these acts of violence had only the effect of causing the Vaudois still more to detest the Jesuits and Capuchins, who were the instigators of them. The monks, therefore, thought proper to seek for some victories in the field of controversy. They challenged the Vaudois pastors to polemical discussions. The weapons of controversy seem to have been equally well managed on both sides; but reasoning does not produce faith, religious life is not the result of a syllogism: the dialectics of Rome broke down before the authority of the Bible.

Then, addressing themselves to popular fears, these *religious* spread the report of an approaching destruction of the Reformed, which no one could possibly escape but by taking refuge in the bosom of the Romish Church, whose arms were always paternally open to embrace the inhabitants of the valleys. "Rumours of this kind," says Gilles,¹ "perseveringly circulated, and transmitted from one to another, acquired the more consistency, as direct attacks upon the Protestants became more numerous, and remained unpunished in Piedmont as well as in France." The pastor of Mentoules² wrote to Lesdiguières on this subject, and even went to

¹ Chap. xlv. p. 322.

² Bernard Guérin, brother of Francis Guérin, the former pastor of St. Germain, the apostle of Pramol, and the missionary and reorganizer of the churches of Saluces.

him in person. The governor of Dauphiny replied in these terms: "Gentlemen, I was very glad to hear from you, by the minister M. Guérin. I would have wished to have heard better news, because my duty requires me to care for your comfort and perfect liberty, which also, above all things, I have at heart. But you know that those who walk in the right path always suffer persecution. Doubt not, any longer, I pray you, but that I will participate with you in what befalls you, and will exert myself to the utmost of my power to ward off evil from you, by my interposition with your sovereign. Be assured, whatever you may be told, that he will treat you as good subjects, and will maintain you in your liberty of conscience, if you are obedient to him, as I know that you wish to be; and if you keep this course, I will take upon me to protect you, and will support you as much as reason and the common cause require me, as M. Guérin will inform you on my behalf. I now beg the Creator, gentlemen, that he may continue and increase his favours to you, and commend myself to your favourable regard.—LESDIGUIÈRES."¹ These protestations re-assured the Vaudois, who were full of confidence in his honour, both as a gentleman and a Christian.

However, a few of the Reformed, influenced by motives peculiar to themselves, yielded to the arts of the monks, who sought their conversion. Of this number was Captain Jahier of Pramol, a man of great courage, but very covetous of wealth. He was accused of extortion; the monks gave information against him to the Duke of Savoy, who had him summoned before him. The proofs, carefully sought out, left no room for denying the charge. Then the Jesuits, who were present at the examination, flung themselves at the feet of the sovereign, entreating him to pardon the culprit if he would change his religion. Totally stunned by the blow, Jahier promised all that was asked of him. Afterwards, having recovered his composure, he wished to retract that resolution; but he was told that he was bound by his promise, which his sovereign had received from his own mouth. To render the fulfilment of it more pleasant to him, a promise was made to him in return, of exemption from taxes for some years, and of the office of captain-general of the militia of Pérouse for life. But it was required that he should immediately make his abjuration, and should bind himself to make proselytes afterwards.

The man of war and of wealth was overcome; and returning to Pramol, he sought to induce his wife to follow his example. She refused. A few days after, the monks having paid a visit to the

¹ This letter is dated from *Piedmore*, 13th August, 1598.

village, to see what effect Jahier's solicitations had produced, they set up an altar, and celebrated mass there. None of the inhabitants were present at it, except one of the old Catholics of the place. Jahier attempted, by violent means, to compel the attendance of his son Elysée, aged fifteen years; but the boy escaped during the service; and his father beat him so cruelly afterwards, that he died in the course of a few days. Thus the apostate began to suffer in that which was dearest to him—and this, too, as an immediate consequence of his abjuration. And now his relatives, his friends, and his countrymen shrunk from him with contempt. The monks bore him a grudge for having done so little. The domestic roof, where everything reminded him of the murder of his son, became insupportable to him. A strange disquietude seized him. The agitation of his mind passed to his limbs, formerly full of vigour. He was affected with a perpetual trembling, which was attributed to a premature old age, but to which nothing equal was to be seen in any other old man. He changed his residence, and went to live at Diblon, where the sun has more power. But his health did not return. His soul also was sick, and trembled more than his body. "O how happy you are," said he to his wife, "to have preserved your peace of conscience!" When his last hour drew near, the priests sought to administer extreme unction to him, but he repelled them with disgust; wherefore, when he was dead, they refused to bury him, and his relatives, coming down from Pramol, took away his forsaken body, and discharged the last duties to it in the cemetery of Pinache. Gilles, who was then pastor at Pramol, has given a striking account of all these particulars.¹ Far from promoting the work of proselytism, this despised and despicable apostasy inspired the Vaudois with a still more insurmountable aversion to abjuration than before.

Meanwhile, Charles Emmanuel had sought to conclude peace with Henry IV. For this purpose he even repaired in person to France, in 1599. But the treaty was not signed till the 17th of January, 1601, at Lyons. By this treaty, the Duke of Savoy ceded Gex, Bugey, and Val Romei to the King of France, retaining the marquisate of Saluces, the original cause of the war. It was said concerning this subject, that *the king had made a duke's peace, and the duke had made that of a king.*

¹ End of chap. xlv.

CHAPTER XIII.

HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS OF PRAGELA AND THE ADJACENT VALLEYS.

THIRD PERIOD.—THE VALLEY OF PÉROUSE UNDER THE DOMINION OF CHARLES EMMANUEL.

(A.D. 1601 TO A.D. 1628.)

The privilege of public worship denied to the inhabitants of Pragela—United declaration of the Vaudois—Efforts of the Romish clergy to make proselytes—The Duke of Savoy himself endeavours to induce some of the principal inhabitants of Pinache to join the Church of Rome—Decree of the Parliament of Grenoble—Inoperative edict of the Duke of Savoy—The Vaudois of Pérouse are induced, by crafty counsel, to separate themselves from the common union of the Vaudois, and to refuse payment of their share of a sum which the valleys were to pay for confirmation of privileges—They soon find that they have fallen into a dangerous snare—Orders given for the demolition of six of their places of worship—The Vaudois attacked by French troops at St. Germain—They assemble in such formidable numbers that the troops retire—An amnesty—Political relations of France and Savoy.

By the edict of 25th February, 1602, Charles Emmanuel, in granting religious liberty to the Vaudois valleys, had restricted the exercise of Protestant worship to the churches included within the limits of these valleys alone. The churches of Saluces and Pragela found themselves excluded from the privilege. All these members of one spiritual body, then joined in a manifestation of brotherly sympathy and resolution to make common cause with each other, the unanimity of which was admirable.

From the valley of the Sture, on the confines of Nice, to those of Mathias and Méane, on the confines of Suza, they signed, as a protest against the intrigues and violence from which they suffered at this period, the following declaration, which was, at the same time, a petition to their sovereign:—

"From time immemorial our progenitors and our families having been brought up in the doctrine professed at the present day by the Reformed Church, in which we are resolved to live and to die, that it may be known to all men that it is not for any crime or rebellion that we are at the present day spoiled of our lands and houses, we solemnly declare that this doctrine, which we are urged to renounce, is held by us as the only true doctrine ordained and approved of God—the only doctrine which can make us pleasing in his sight, and guide us to the path of salvation. If any one pre-

tends that we are in error, let him prove it, and we will renounce it. But if it is attempted, by mere force and constraint, to make us follow human superstitions, we prefer rather to submit to the loss of our properties, and even of our lives, than to that of the truth and of the salvation of our souls."¹

This courageous declaration, the terms of which we have abridged, was drawn up in Pragela. It had the effect only of exciting still more the ardour of proselytism and feverish rivalry of the jealous missionary zealots, who were no longer contented to employ persuasion as their only means of bringing back the wandering sheep to their fold. To strengthen the hands of these missionaries, the Archbishop of Turin repaired in person to the valley of Pérouse. He arrived there on the 25th of May, 1602, and took up his abode in the house of a Protestant innkeeper, whom he hoped to make his first proselyte. The country was suffering very much from dearth; the prelate caused wheat, money, and bread to be distributed to the indigent Catholics, promising the same relief to Protestants who should become Catholics. He then took upon him to forbid all persons from going to the plain of Piedmont to earn wages as reapers, without a special permission signed by his hand; and when this permission was asked, he refused to grant it without a formal engagement taken by the party obtaining it to live in the Romish religion.

In spite of all these unworthy arts, there were few apostasies, and of the persons who were entrapped into insincere abjurations, the greater part returned to the religion of their fathers after the archbishop's departure. But he returned in a short time, and ordered the Vaudois of Talucco, in the valley of St. Pierre, near Grand Diblon, to abjure their religion or to leave the country. They did neither the one of these things nor the other; and, after some individual cases of vexation, they were left in peace.

These means having proved unsuccessful, the principal inhabitants of Pinache were summoned to appear at Turin, before the Duke of Savoy. One of them alone refused to go.² The others, having arrived at Turin, presented themselves before the governor of the province, who said to them, "His highness being informed of the esteem in which you are held, has signified to me his desire to see you, that he may obtain your consent to return to the Holy Church, and so to set a good example to others. I have taken upon me to promise to his highness that you will do so; and you may

¹ Perrin, p. 185-189. Léger, part i. p. 3.

² His name was Anthony Martinat. The others were John Micol, Michael Gilles, and John Bouchard.

be certain that in this way you will obtain whatever you desire, both now and for the future." "My lord," replied the villagers, "we desire nothing more than what we have. Had you promised to his highness anything depending on our strength or our fortune, we would not have failed to make it good, but as to the proposal of a change of our religion, it is a thing which concerns more than this world, and we pray you therefore not to insist upon that point." The governor replied by abusive language, and sent them away, saying that they would yet be called to appear before their sovereign. After some days, not having heard anything more on the subject, they left the capital, and returned to their hamlet. Scarcely had they arrived there, when Governor Ponte ordered them to appear again, within three days, at Turin, under pain of the confiscation of all their goods. They returned to Turin accordingly, towards the end of July, and were presented to the duke, who very affectionately exhorted them to embrace Popery, assuring them of his munificence if they would consent to do so. The Vaudois respectfully replied that they would be happy to devote themselves to his service, and even to die for him, but that their religion was dearer to them than life. A Capuchin, who was present at this audience, broke out in exclamations against the ignorance of these clowns, who dared to resist the desire of their sovereign; but the duke ordered him to be silent, saying, "A conversion ought to be voluntary; if these people were willing to enter our church, I would be very glad of it, but I have no wish to compel them."

Shortly after this, Ponte, who was at once governor of the province and commandant of the citadel of Turin, was arrested and deprived of all his dignities. "The great know why," says Gilles,¹ "but the Reformed knew only that it was not for having shown them too much favour, for he had done the very contrary."

At the same period, the parliament of Grenoble, whose jurisdiction extended over the valleys of Oulx and Pragela, ordained the re-establishment of the Catholic worship in all the parishes of these valleys, the restitution of ecclesiastical property, and the reparation of the abandoned chapels, that these edifices might be again employed for the celebration of mass.²

In the part of the Val Cluson which belonged to the Duke of Savoy, measures of another kind were adopted, with the same object. It was represented to the duke that the Vaudois settled in that valley offended the religious feelings of the Catholics, by not observing the festivals of their church. The result of this was an edict, requiring the Protestants to cease from inhabiting the right bank

¹ End of chap. xl.

² Decree of 14th August, 1603.

of the Cluson, and to retire to the left bank; but the Catholics of the country themselves petitioned against this measure, declaring that their Calvinist neighbours, far from offending their religious feelings, set them an example of every virtue, and hindered none of their duties. The *châtelain* of La Pérouse then recommended the Vaudois to keep their doors shut for a few days, as if they had removed, to testify their respect for the orders of their sovereign; and this edict had no further consequences.

A short time after this, the inhabitants of Pinache were again prohibited from holding their religious meetings in the old Catholic church, which served them for a place of worship. The subject gave occasion to long-continued disputes; but at last a ducal commissioner decided that a new place of worship should be built for the Reformed, but that the Catholics of Diblon should contribute to its erection, in return for the outlay which the Vaudois of Pinache had incurred in the building of the Romish chapel of Diblon. The priest of Diblon endeavoured to prevent this arrangement from being carried out, by advancing new pretensions; but they were set aside in 1610.

In 1617, the parliament of Grenoble prohibited the admission of the Vaudois of Piedmont into Dauphiny.¹ The object of this was to break up the union which subsisted among all the evangelical inhabitants of the Vaudois Alps; but this attempt had no more success than previous ones.

"In 1623," says Gilles,² "the valley of Pérouse was subjected to continual annoyances, occasioned for the most part by the crafty counsels of some wily Papists, instigated by the monks, and too readily listened to." He refers to the payment of the 6000 ducats, which all the Vaudois valleys collectively had engaged to pay to the Duke of Savoy, to obtain the confirmation of their privileges, and a guarantee for their repose. The Vaudois of Pérouse had not been concerned in the events by which peace had been disturbed. "Why," it was said to them, "should you be made to bear any part of the price by which it was acquired? Disavow that unjust dependence, and all the inhabitants of the valley, without distinction of religion, will state their wants together to the Duke of Savoy. If anything must then be paid to obtain satisfaction, the Catholics will contribute as well as the Protestants." This advice was adopted by the Vaudois in a mixed meeting, at which none of their pastors were present. The *châtelain* of Pérouse drew up a petition accordingly; it contained eight articles, of which the fourth, the only article favourable to the Protestants, mentioned

¹ By decree of 9th November, 1617.

² Chap. lv.

the maintenance of the privileges which they already enjoyed. The other seven articles related to the civil privileges which might have been common to all the inhabitants of the country, but in which the Catholics enjoyed peculiar preference.

Whilst they were making every effort to obtain a favourable answer to this petition, the Vaudois of Pinache commenced to build the steeple of their new church, on the situation previously fixed for it by the ducal commissioner. They were not bound to observe all the Catholic festivals, and one festival-day they carried on their work; upon which the monks of La Pérouse sent armed men and officers of justice to apprehend the Protestant workmen who were building the steeple. The people prevented their apprehension; but this attempt showed the evil disposition which existed, and the mischievous designs which were entertained, of which it was not long till new proofs were given.

The monks of Le Périer, having entered into public controversy with the minister Chanforan, and perhaps not being very well satisfied with the result, sought to have him apprehended and conducted to Pignerol. But this imprisonment, for which no reason was alleged, and which seems to have been intended merely to stop the mouth of the minister, was again opposed by the people, on the ground of the Vaudois privileges, according to which no inhabitant of the valleys could be withdrawn from his natural judges. A knowledge of the laws, upon which their political existence depended, was at that time as precious for the Vaudois, and as frequently rendered available, as the defensive armour, which, however, these laws ought to have saved them from the necessity of ever using.

These different circumstances, however, afforded indications of the desire of the hostile party to maltreat the Reformed. It was ere long more clearly manifested. The petition drawn up by the *châtelain* of Pérouse was answered on the 6th of October, 1623. By this reply, the duke granted to the Catholics all which they asked, and ordained the Protestants to demolish six of their places of worship, on the pretext that these edifices were situated beyond the limits assigned to the Reformed worship by the edict of 1602. The expenses of the seal, copying, &c., amounted to 3000 ducats, and the Protestants alone were called upon to pay them. Then, understanding how pernicious an advice they had followed, they addressed a new petition to their sovereign. This petition was intercepted, lost, or seized on the way. It never reached the duke. The order whose revocation it was designed to procure still remained in force. The governor of Pignerol came to Pinache to see to the demolition of the church which had been commenced there.

The Vaudois entreated him to await the reply of the duke to their recent representations; he waited, but the petition itself had not yet been put into the hands of the duke. The monks represented this delay in applying to him, and in the execution of his orders, as a contempt on the part of the Vaudois for the authority of their sovereign. There were echoes at court, which increased the strength and frequency of these odious insinuations; and on the 15th of January, 1624, the duke gave orders to his troops to march into the valley of the Cluson, and forcibly to demolish the six places of worship which had been named, as being without the tolerated limits.

A regiment of French infantry, in the pay of Charles Emmanuel, and under the command of Colonel Savine, entered the valley of Pérouse by that of Pragela. Officers of justice set out from Turin, under the direction of the *collateral* Syllano, who was empowered, in case of resistance, to put the militia of the neighbourhood under the command of Count Camillo Taffino. Having arrived at Pérouse, the collateral was informed of the petition of the Vaudois, which had not reached the court. Finding it to be reasonable, he adjourned the execution of his orders, and caused it to be forwarded to Turin.

But, in the meantime, Savine's regiment had arrived at St. Germain. It was intended that this regiment should immediately march against the Vaudois, who now implored the assistance of their brethren in the neighbouring valleys. The regiment itself was diminished by the defection of a great number of officers and soldiers, who demanded their dismissal, that they might not have to fight against the Protestants, whose religious opinions were the same with their own. Numbers of them even went over to the side of the Vaudois.

Count Philip of Lucerna took great precautions at this time to prevent the inhabitants of his valley from going to the assistance of their brethren of the Val Pérouse. However, a certain number of volunteers set out across the snows (it was in the end of January), and hastened to St. Germain. The pastors of the Val Cluson and of Pragela—countries then under the dominion of France—repaired also to Pinache, to try the effect of their pacific mediation, in order to bring the difference to an end. After some whole days of protracted conferences, it was agreed that the Vaudois should demolish their places of worship, on condition of being permitted to rebuild them in the same localities, but on other sites. They commenced immediately to demolish that of Pinache, in order to see if the troops would really retire upon this manifestation, or if it would be necessary to adopt more vigorous measures; for it cannot be supposed that 8000 or 10,000 men would have assem-

bled, with arms in their hands, for no other object than the demolition of a few walls.

Scarcely was this work of demolition begun, when affrighted couriers arrived from St. Germain, announcing that the Vaudois there were attacked from every side. Those of Pinache and of the Val Pérouse ran to arms. Having repulsed the assailing troops from St. Germain, they returned inflamed with fury. A troop of these valiant mountaineers would have seized, in their indignation, the collateral Syllano and his men of law, whom they loudly accused of treachery. The pastors of Pragela endeavoured to calm them, and covered the commissioners with the shield of their evangelical protection in the hour of peril, even offering them a refuge at Mentoules, in the territory of France. Thither the lawyers accordingly repaired; but the war continued in the lower part of the valley; and the enemy, a second time repulsed, set fire to the barns and isolated houses around St. Germain. The inhabitants of that village, fearing, after this attack, that they would be still more violently assailed, sent messengers during the night into the valleys of Angrogna and Lucerna to ask assistance.

The Count of Lucerna opposed again the levy of armed men which the Vaudois wished to make; but he set out himself, on horseback, and rode quickly to St. Germain, where he arrived in the middle of the night, to see Colonel Savine, and prevent the effusion of blood. His negotiations were at first successful, and Vaudois deputies¹ from the valley of Lucerna proceeded at his instance to the camp of the French commander. The negotiations, however, were prolonged, without coming to any issue. New acts of violence took place upon the part of the soldiers. The people of St. Germain, moreover, were all the while deprived of their habitations, which were either destroyed by fire or occupied by the troops. "There has been long enough delay!" exclaimed the mountaineers; "come and we ourselves will drive this army out of our country!" And transporting their families to those points in the mountains where they would be safest from any attack, they took arms in great numbers, to fall upon the camp of the enemy.

This was upon the 17th of February, 1624. Count Philip of Lucerna, who appeared at that time to take a lively interest in the Vaudois, immediately mounted his horse, and proceeded with all haste to represent to Colonel Savine and Lieutenant Taffino that their troops would be utterly destroyed, if they did not relinquish their offensive pretensions. "Consider," said he, "that you have

¹ These were Chanforan, syndic of Angrogna; Francis Goante, of La Tour; and Moses Eynard, of Lucerna.

been held in check hitherto by a small portion of this people; and now that they are rising in a mass to defend their territory, which you have unjustly attacked, are you not afraid that his highness will make you responsible for the blood which will be shed, for the miseries which will ensue, and, above all, for having cruelly exceeded the orders which he gave you?" The troops themselves were very impatient of the uncomfortable situation into which they had been brought, amidst the severity of winter. An enormous quantity of snow had recently fallen, provisions were exhausted, firewood could not be had. The murmurs of the soldiers concurred with the representations of the Count of Lucerna to cause a breaking-up of the camp to be resolved upon; and the troops retired, leaving behind them a country ravaged by fire, and in great distress from the frost and from the effects of their depredations.

The monks and clergy, the causes of all these alarms, trembled after the departure of the troops, lest the Vaudois people should take vengeance on them for all the evils which they had suffered. But their fear was all that they had to endure; and deputies having been sent to Turin, the Duke of Savoy published a complete amnesty for all which had taken place during these events. He ordered all the furniture and property of every kind which had been taken from the Vaudois to be restored to them, and upon both sides a liberation of prisoners.

Charles Emmanuel, who had been at war with France from 1613 to 1617, signed a treaty with Louis XIII., on the 7th of January, 1623, for the expulsion of the Spaniards from the Valtelline; and he resumed hostilities against France in 1628, entering then into an alliance with the house of Austria, in the hope of gaining Montferrat, amidst the rival pretensions which had just arisen with regard to that province, upon the recent succession of the Grand Duke of Mantua. These frequent breaches of faith neither advanced his glory nor his power. He died in 1630, after having been despoiled of most of his dominions by France, towards which he had acted so treacherously. We shall see, in next chapter, what were the consequences of these events to the Vaudois valleys of the Cluson and the Upper Doire.

CHAPTER XIV.

HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS OF PRAGELA AND OF THE ADJACENT VALLEYS.

FOURTH PERIOD.—FROM THE CONQUEST OF PIEDMONT BY LOUIS XIII. TO THE PIEDMONTESE EASTER.

(A.D. 1629 TO A.D. 1655.)

The last religious war in France—Fall of Rochelle—Invasion of Piedmont by Louis XIII.—His edict in 1629 for the establishment of Romish worship in the valleys of Exilles, Bardonnèche, Sezane, and Pragela—Great triumphs of the French arms—Charles Emmanuel dies of grief, and Victor Amadeus becomes Duke of Savoy—Peace—Prosperity of the Vaudois Church in Pragela after these events—New restrictions imposed—The Vaudois obtain the extension of their privileges in terms of the Edict of Nantes—They still increase in numbers and prosperity—Accession of Louis XIV.—The Piedmontese Vaudois take refuge in the French valleys after the Piedmontese Easter—The Vaudois in the French dominions are subjected to new hardships.

In 1629 and 1630, Louis XIII. invaded Piedmont by the passes of Suza and the valley of Pragela. His presence in the midst of the Vaudois had a great influence on their destinies, and the nature of that influence depended in part on events which had previously taken place.

The last of the religious wars of which France was the theatre was then raging—that war in which the Protestant party was vanquished, never again to take up any weapons but those of controversy. In 1627, the Dukes of Rohan and Soubise, leaders of the Huguenots, had demanded assistance from England, and a fleet of 150 vessels, sent from that country, appeared off Rochelle. Cardinal Richelieu caused a celebrated dike to be constructed, to prevent them from throwing any assistance into the city. The siege of Rochelle lasted from the 10th of August, 1627, to the 28th of October, 1628. It did not surrender until it was reduced to the last extremity,—not until twelve thousand persons had died in it of famine. The fortifications were thrown down, the local magistracy abolished, and Catholicism re-established upon the ruins. Louis XIII., who had made his entry into it upon the 1st of November, received a sort of triumph on his return to Paris, which took place upon the 23d of December. Meanwhile, a number of places of secondary importance had been taken from the Protestants in the Vivarais and in Languedoc; but others still held out.¹

¹ *Privas*, in Ardèche, was invested, on the 14th of May, 1629, and taken on the VOL. II.

In the beginning of the year, Charles De Gonzague, Duke of Nevers, had inherited the duchy of Mantua, his title to which, however, was disputed by Spain and Savoy. The King of France supported him, and soon marched in person against Piedmont. The Marquis D'Uxel led the advanced guard which preceded him. In the spring of 1628, he began to make efforts to force a passage of the Alps, in order to penetrate into the valleys of Italy. All the troops of Piedmont were soon in motion. Colonel Purpurat, the commander of the Vaudois militia, summoned a meeting of the Vaudois pastors and syndics at Rocheplate,¹ to induce them to use their influence with the people, in order to bring out as great a number of them in arms as possible. The Vaudois promised to comply with his wishes, on condition that they themselves should be left to guard the passes of their own mountains, which was granted to them.² The guards established by them were inspected by superior officers of the ducal army. Charles Emmanuel himself came to inspect the intrenchments thrown up in the valley of Pérouse.³ The Count of Verrue, one of his most distinguished generals, again urged upon the pastors of that valley the considerations which had been already laid before them by Colonel Purpurat at Rocheplate, to which he added a promise of effectual protection, upon the part of the sovereign, for religious liberty.

But the army of the Duke of Savoy was in great part composed of Italians and Spaniards, in whom no confidence could be placed. That of the King of France had just been engaged in fighting against the Protestants. On both sides the Vaudois saw dangers. The duke demanded of the valleys large sacrifices of men and money. An extreme dearth of provisions increased still more the sufferings of the population. The monks of Pignerol and the Jesuit missionaries took advantage of it to draw those into apostasy who had been reduced to beggary.

On the 16th of January, 1626, Louis XIII. set out from Paris, to cross the Alps at the head of his army. When he was at Briançon (in the end of February), the governor of Pignerol ordered

27th. The town was given up to pillage; 100 of the principal inhabitants were hanged, and 100 condemned to the galleys. *Alais* was besieged on the 6th of June, and capitulated on the 16th. The Duke De Rohan then held a meeting of the Protestant chiefs at Anduze, and demanded peace, which was concluded on the 27th of June, at Alais. Thereafter all the strongholds of the Protestants were dismantled. Montauban made some resistance; but Richelieu entered it on the 20th of August. Three months after (on the 21st of November), he was appointed prime minister. (From *L'Art de vérifier les dates*.)

¹ On 26th June, 1628.

² Gilles gives a minute account of the result of this deliberation, chap. lvi., pp. 469-471.

³ He came on the 9th of July and 14th of August, 1628.

all the inhabitants of the valleys capable of carrying arms to hold themselves in readiness to march. Count Philip of Lucerna placed himself at their head, and conducted them to the Val Pérouse. Charles Emmanuel had advanced to the valley of the Doire. On the 4th of March Louis XIII. crossed Mount Genève, and on the 6th of the same month he forced in person the three barricades of the pass of Suza, defended by the Duke of Savoy, who was compelled to yield to superiority of numbers and valour. On the 11th of March he concluded a treaty of peace. Charles Emmanuel, who was the ally of the Spaniards, engaged to fight against them, and to support France, in order to compel them to raise the siege of Casal in favour of the Duke of Nevers.

After the victory which he had won, Louis XIII. received congratulations and addresses of various kinds, amongst which that of the provost of Oulx¹ deserves particular notice. "Sire!" said he, in substance, "Providence has blessed your arms, because you have consecrated them to the service of the faith. The numerous triumphs which your majesty has obtained over heresy in France fill all Catholic hearts with joy. Everywhere they pray to Heaven for the preservation and glory of your majesty. Heaven, which has conducted you into these regions of ours, seeks to complete its work in augmenting your glory and our consolations, by the restoration of the Catholic religion, which gathers strength around the footsteps of your majesty, and which has great need of such assistance in these afflicted valleys, where it cannot without bitter regret be told that it has been completely abolished." To this document was appended a petition, signed by some Catholics of the place, who asked the king for the restoration of their worship in all the communes of the Upper Doire, where at that time there did not exist a single parish priest.²

Louis XIII. ordained, by an edict of the 1st of April, 1629,³ that the exercise of the Romish religion should be everywhere re-established in the valleys of Exilles, Bardonnèche, Sézane, and Pragela; that the Catholic clergy should immediately be put into possession again of all lands that had formerly belonged to them, into whatsoever hands they might have passed, and whatever prescription might be pleaded in favour of the actual possessors. M. De Verthamont, intendant of justice in the army of Italy, was

¹ [An ecclesiastical dignitary; the chief of a collegiate body.]

² This petition was presented by *Birague*, vicar-general of the provostship of Oulx.

³ *Sommaire des archives de la prévôté d'Oulx*. (Archives of the Bishopric of Pignerol.)

charged with the execution of these orders.¹ On the day after they were issued he proceeded to the localities, to examine the bounds of the old parishes. M. Henry D'Escoubleau, Archbishop of Bordeaux, accompanied him, provided with all necessary powers for the regulation of everything which belonged to the spiritual jurisdiction. Two or three churches, which were not yet entirely ruined, were put into a condition to be used for the rites of Rome. There still remained some ruins of an ancient priory in the village of Mentoules; the prior was solemnly re-installed there;² and in order to secure the continued effect of these measures, Louis XIII., before his departure, appointed a Catholic gentleman of the country as governor of the valley and the king's lieutenant, to watch over the interests of the Church of Rome throughout the whole of Pragela.

But this church had still very few adherents in these high valleys; the royal power, in opening for it an official access into the villages, had opened for it no access into hearts. Its priests had only parishes without parishioners, and their efforts would probably have remained without success, but for an unforeseen circumstance, which gave them a new impulse, and opened for them a wider field. The Duke of Savoy, who had not fulfilled the treaty of Suza,³ was again menaced by France. In the beginning of 1630, Cardinal Richelieu caused a considerable army to march against him. It entered Piedmont by the valley of the Doire, appearing to direct its course towards Montferrat; but very soon changed its route, turned to the south, and ascended towards Pignerol. That city was attacked on the 20th of March, 1630, and surrendered two days after. The citadel held out till the 29th. The operations were directed by the Marquis De Créquy. On the 21st he made himself master of the valley and castle of La Pérouse. From thence he summoned the valleys of St. Martin and Lucerna to surrender at discretion. They thought to resist, and the Vaudois asked the Duke of Savoy for aid, which he could not send them. The French army approached them, and encamped at Briqueras. Charles Emmanuel, on the contrary, had retired beyond the Po.

¹ By a decree, also dated 1st April, 1629. Under date 3d April, we find *Procédure faite par M. de Verthamont, intendant du Dauphiné, commissaire délégué par le Roy, pour le rétablissement de la religion et la restitution des biens de l'Eglise, en la vallée de Pragela*. (A large manuscript volume. Archives of the Bishopric of Pignerol.)

² *Sommaire de l'état de la religion dans la vallée de Pragela*, 4to, p. 3.—The name of this prior was *Orcillet*. (See an autograph letter of Verthamont, dated 29th April, 1629, to M. Orcillet, prior of Mentoules, giving directions concerning his re-installation. Archives of the Bishopric of Pignerol.)

³ Of 11th March, 1629.

Longer resistance became impossible. The valleys surrendered, on condition that they should never be required to bear arms against the Duke of Savoy, and that the free exercise of their religion should be guaranteed to them. The Marshal De Schoenberg accepted these conditions. Deputies from each Vaudois commune then repaired to Pignerol,¹ to take the oath of fidelity to the King of France.

New detachments of French troops arrived daily. The country was exhausted. It was desolated, at the same time, by pestilence, famine, and war. These evils, instead of being mitigated, went on increasing in intensity. The presence of the troops aggravated the scarcity and high price of provisions. Louis XIII., who had come to Lyons in the month of May, passed from thence into Savoy, which was subjugated in a short time. In the month of July the Duke De Montmorency seized the marquisate of Saluces. Almost the whole of Piedmont then came under the dominion of France, and the siege of Casal, the first source of so many troubles, was raised by the Spaniards on the 26th of October, because of the victories which had been won by the French arms.²

Charles Emmanuel died of grief,³ and his son, Victor Amadeus, entered into a treaty of peace at Ratisbon, on the 13th of October. By this treaty, he recovered possession of his dominions, and obtained some places of little importance in Montferrat. The valley of the Cluson, with that of the Upper Doire and the city of Pignerol, remained in the hands of France.⁴ The Vaudois in these districts were then able to take advantage, for the celebration of their worship, of the edicts which governed the Reformed Church of France. They were entitled to do so, in virtue of a treaty of the 12th of April, 1630;⁵ but the city of Pignerol petitioned that Protestant worship should be interdicted throughout its whole territory,⁶ and this prohibition was granted.

¹ On 5th April, 1630.

² In virtue of the treaty of Ratisbon, which had been signed on the 13th, and by which France and the German empire maintained the Duke of Nevers in possession of the duchy of Mantua.

³ On 26th July, 1630.

⁴ The principal points of this treaty were fixed on the 31st of March, 1630; it was modified by that of Queyrasque, on the 6th of April, and confirmed at the peace of Munster, in 1648. The valleys of Lucerna, Angrogna, and St. Martin remained under the government of France till the 8th of September, 1631. (Compare *L'Art de vérifier les dates*, edition of 1770, p. 841, col. 2, with Gilles, ch. lix., p. 517.)

⁵ This treaty is quoted in a decree of the Royal Council of Pignerol, of 24th April, 1654. (Civil Archives of Pignerol, category xxv., fasciculus i., No. 7.)

⁶ This petition is dated 5th June, 1630. It includes also a prayer that the abbey of Pignerol should be erected into a bishopric. Louis XIII. promised to employ his influence for this purpose with the pope. (Same source, categ. xxv., fascic. i., No. 5.)

However, almost all of the priests who had been settled in the valley of Pragela in 1629, and of the Capuchin missionaries who had gone thither to labour for the conversion of the heretics, died or fled during the plague of 1630. The prior of Mentoules alone remained. New conversions were attempted without success. The number of the Vaudois, instead of diminishing, increased every day. Louis XIII. granted them a confirmation of their ancient privileges.¹ By their agricultural labours, their manufacturing industry, and the purchases which they made, they extended continually the bounds of their habitation in the country. They wished to open new places of worship; but the intendant Destempes opposed it,² and decided that there should be no innovation in that particular.

This very circumstance drew public attention to the fact of their having extended so much. Their enemies loudly complained of these encroachments; the clergy stirred up the magistrates to act; and his majesty's procurator-general informed the sovereign council, established at Pignerol, that numbers of the Protestants of the Val Pérouse had settled beyond the limits within which alone they had permission to celebrate their worship. In consequence, the council, by its decree of 17th July, 1645,³ renewed the arbitrary prohibition against the Vaudois opening schools or places of worship, preaching, or even declaring their doctrines without these ancient limits. It prohibited also all foreign Protestants from settling in the country, under pain of confiscation of all their goods, and of a fine of 1000 livres, to be exacted from the commune which might permit any such person to settle, without giving notice at the office of the registrar of the court of justice at Pignerol. Finally, Protestants were interdicted from exercising the functions of any public office; from buying or renting any land without their limits; from working on Catholic festival-days; from dissuading those of their own number who might have manifested an intention of becoming Catholics; from selling or buying any Protestant religious book; and from holding municipal assemblies without the presence of the judge of the place, under a penalty of a fine of 200 livres for every one who should have been present thereat.

The same edict contained also a prohibition addressed to the Catholics. It forbade them⁴ to contribute in any way for the

¹ On 6th June, 1630. Léger, part ii., pp. 161, 162.

² By decree of 10th July, 1645, quoted in the document contained in the Civil Archives of Pignerol, categ. xxv., mazzo i., No. 7.

³ Same source, categ. xxv., mazzo ii., No. 1.

⁴ By article 10.

maintenance of Protestant places of worship or Protestant pastors, under penalty of a fine of fifty livres for each contravention. It may be easily conceived that this last clause was one of those which were most exactly observed; but it proves, nevertheless, that the habits of the country had been imbued with that spirit of fraternity of which we see the manifestations continually appearing around the Vaudois, and the influence of which extended to the adherents of another religion.

The Vaudois, finding themselves injured by these numerous restrictions, pleaded the rights which they had enjoyed under the dukes of Savoy, all whose edicts were maintained in force by the decree of 17th July;¹ and upon their petition, the sovereign council declared that it had "no design to innovate, nor to alter anything as to the rights, state, and condition in which the petitioners were under the government of the dukes of Savoy."² But the Edict of Nantes had granted to the Protestants the free exercise of their worship, and admission into all offices of law and finance. The Vaudois of Pragela then formed part of the people of France; they demanded that the benefits of that edict should be extended to them, which was granted them by decisions of the council of 10th March and 19th August, 1648.³

Under this milder legislation the number and prosperity of the Vaudois of Pragela rapidly increased. The attempts of Louis XIII. to re-establish Catholicism in their country had produced only a momentary effect. The churches which he had founded in 1622 remained empty and closed; the priests' houses, in which resided a solitary priest without a flock, were ere long themselves deserted, the plague of 1630 having slain or banished their useless inhabitants. Successors were not appointed to these ecclesiastics.⁴ In various places the municipal body employed the vacant edifices for other purposes. At Les Traverses the Catholic chapel fell into ruins, and the Vaudois took away the materials of it to construct a place of worship. This was made a crime. They were accused of trespass, robbery, rebellion, and sacrilege. Lesdiguieres interposed, in his capacity of governor of Dauphiny, and decided that they

¹ Document above mentioned. Civil Archives of Pignerol, categ. xxv., fasciculus ii., No. 1, article xi.

² These are the terms of the decree. Same source, fasciculus ii., No. 2. The decision of the council is of 23d October, 1645.

³ Quoted in the decree of 24th April, 1645. (Civil Archives of Pignerol, categ. xxv., mazzo i., No. 7.)

⁴ "From 1629 to 1646, the prior of Mentoules was the only priest in the valley." (*Memoire touchant l'établissement, les progrès et la cessation de la religion protestante en Pragela*. MS. of the Royal Library at Turin.)

should pay towards the building of a new place of worship the price of the materials which they had taken from the old one.¹

The Catholics, to whom Lesdiguières went over in his old age, cannot have regarded with much gratitude his interference in this case; for, a few years after, the city of Pignerol, wishing again to drive away the Vaudois from its territory, to which their increasing prosperity still brought them nearer, addressed a petition to Louis XIV., in which the subscribers, after having declared against the religious liberty claimed by the Protestants of Pérouse and Pragela, expressed themselves as follows: "The treaty by which it was secured to them was made in January, 1593, by Lesdiguières, with arms in his hand. It is true that it was afterwards confirmed in general terms. But considering that *this treaty does not deserve much consideration, because that general then professed the reformed religion*, and that the king, Henry IV., was obliged to bring back his subjects by all possible means; . . . also that this treaty has been tacitly revoked by the Edict of Nantes, which authorizes Protestant worship only in the places where it was celebrated before that period, and that the Vaudois of Pérouse cannot prove that they enjoyed the free exercise of their religion under the dukes of Savoy, . . . we pray that his majesty may formally prohibit this worship in the whole territory of Pignerol."²

This petition was granted. Louis XIV., who was then scarcely seventeen years of age, and had not yet been crowned with the solemnities long usual for the kings of France,³ began to gratify the Church of Rome in regard to its exclusive claims, according to that instinct of despotism which was common to that church and himself. The proselytizing ambition of the monks and Jesuits awakened anew beneath the rays of this sun of tyranny, unequalled

¹ Letter of Lesdiguières to the *châtelains and consuls of Pragela*. Dated from Grenoble, 13th March, 1650. (Archives of the Bishopric of Pignerol.) This letter was from the Duke De Lesdiguières, and not from the constable, for the latter died in 1620. The duke is mentioned as governor of Dauphiny in a letter of Louis XIV. to Cromwell, of 26th May, 1655. (Léger, p. 227.)

² This document is of date April, 1654. Louis XIV. granted what was petitioned for on the 24th of the same month; his reply was recorded by the council royal of Pignerol on 4th August, and on the same day the order was published prohibiting the Vaudois from the public exercise of their religion in the territory of Pignerol. (These documents are in the archives of that city, categ. xxv., fascic. i., No. 7, and fascic. ii., No. 3.)

³ His coronation took place at Reims, 7th June, 1654. The medal struck upon occasion of this event gives the date as the 3d; but an unforeseen circumstance compelled the postponement of the ceremony for four days. Louis XIV. was born on the 5th of September, 1638; he succeeded to the crown on 14th May, 1643; was declared major by the Parliament of Paris, 7th September, 1651; and on 9th June, 1660, married the infanta Maria Theresa. (*L'Art de vérifier les dates*.)

in the world, as the device of the great king proclaimed.¹ These attempts at conversion were at first more vexatious than formidable to the Vaudois, and the clergy found them more productive of trouble than of fruit.² But more active measures were in preparation. The *Propaganda* was formed, and circumstances ominous of the *Piedmontese Easter* began to appear.

After that terrible explosion of a rampant and pitiless fanaticism—that festival of blood and storm of death—the fugitive victims of the massacres of 1655 hastened to seek refuge among their brethren of the valleys of the Cluson and of Pragela. The latter, also, took up arms to defend them.³ "For two or three days," says Léger,⁴ "I could not find out what had become of my wife and children—whether they were dead or alive, or whether they were prisoners or not. At last I found them in the valley of Pérouse, within the king's dominions, and, as may readily be imagined, in a deplorable condition. As moderator of the Vaudois churches, I set myself to gather together their remains." He convoked a synod between the valleys of the Doire and Pragela, at the hamlet of *La Chapelle*, where the pastors and elders of all that ravaged country assembled. "There," says he, "after having consoled and encouraged them as much as a mind agitated and excited to the last degree was capable of doing, I entreated them, with all the arguments which I thought likely to produce any effect upon them, no longer to think of dispersing themselves in foreign countries, as they were urged to do by Francis Guérin, minister of Le Roure, in the Val Cluson, who boldly prophesied to them that in no way whatever could they ever return to their own country, the time being come when its *candlestick*⁵ must be removed. I called them to consider that our conduct towards the Duke of Savoy could be clearly justified, and that the barbarities exercised against us would make heaven and earth our defenders. Whereupon almost all those that had escaped remained in the valley of Pragela or of the Cluson, or in that of Queyras, and in the part of the Val Pérouse which belonged to France."

There it was that, in two days, this zealous defender of the valleys composed his first manifesto, to make known to the world the

¹ A sun: motto, *Nec pluribus impar*.

² See *Breve relazione degli eretici, convertiti dai Padri Missionarii* Torino, 1648.

³ Manuscript in the Archives of the Court at Turin, entitled, *Fatti, azioni e cose occorsi nelle valle di Luserna, nel 1655: ouero storia della ribellione degli eretici*. Near the end.

⁴ In his autobiography, placed at the end of his work, p. 365.

⁵ The seal of the Vaudois churches bears a candlestick surrounded with stars. VOL. II.

inconceivable cruelties which had been perpetrated against the Vaudois. The world listened to his voice, and Louis XIV. himself did not venture to refuse to join with almost all the potentates of Europe in urging the Duke of Savoy to obliterate the traces of these atrocious desolations.¹ The governor of Dauphiny was instructed to receive the proscribed fugitives with humanity, and to provide for their most pressing wants. But it was from their brethren of Pragela especially that they received shelter, aid, and protection.

The latter, however, were themselves subjected to trials. The council of Pignerol, not contented with having obtained the prohibition of their worship throughout all its territory, endeavoured to put impediments in the way of their commerce, and succeeded in getting them prohibited from remaining for more than three days in the city.² It may readily be imagined what vexatious questions must have arisen from this regulation.³ Soon afterwards the notaries of Pignerol, and of all the French possessions beyond the Alps, were forbidden to admit any sale, purchase, or inheritance, from a Catholic in favour of a Protestant.⁴

These were not the only vexations of which the Vaudois had to complain.⁵ The syndics of Pignerol enjoined the *religionaries* settled in that city to withdraw from it within the space of eight days, and the Catholics, with whom they had relations, to break off all connection with them.⁶ Moreover, a Jesuit mission was established at Fenestrelle, and Louis XIV. forbade,⁷ under severe penalties, the dissuading of any one whatever from an intended conversion.⁸ The task of the pastors and zealous Christians of Pragela became more and more difficult. But they proved equal

¹ See the letters of Louis XIV. to Cromwell; *Léger*, p. 226; *Hahn*, p. 756; *Jones*, ii. 345. The same authors have published the greater part of the letters addressed with this view to Charles Emmanuel II.

² The council's petition is of the 15th November, 1657; the king's edict granting it is of the 22d. These documents are in the Civil Archives of Pignerol, category xxv., fasciculus i., No. 8.

³ There are also in the Civil Archives of Pignerol *inhibitions*, of date 8th April, 1658, made by an officer to the merchants and innkeepers of Pignerol, forbidding them to receive, lodge, or contract society with any of the Protestant Reformed religion.

⁴ Same source, category xxv., mazzo i., No. 9.

⁵ On this subject there is in the Archives of the Court at Turin a *testimoniale* of 23d May, 1658, and a petition of 14th June, 1658, in which the Vaudois complain of the molestations to which they are subjected. (Nos. of Series 306 and 307.)

⁶ Papers of 3d, 4th, and 11th January, 1659. (Archives of Pignerol, categ. xxv., fasciculus i., No. 10.)—"Considering," it is there said, "that certain *bad citizens* support them in this city," &c. . . .

⁷ On 18th September, 1659.

⁸ *Réflexions sur l'écrit intitulé: Observations sur un manuscrit, etc. . . . composé par les ministres du Briançonnais et Pignerol.* (A 4to MS. of 31 pages, in the Archives of the Bishopric of Pignerol.)

to it, and the efforts of their adversaries served only to increase the fervour and the union of these persecuted churches. More and still more violent measures proved requisite for their destruction, and it was not till after a long series of severities, and much employment of brute force, that the Church of Rome could congratulate itself on having annihilated them. It never otherwise prevailed over them. Of these events, combining much that is noble with their mournfulness, an outline must now be given.

CHAPTER XV.

HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS OF PRAGELA AND THE ADJACENT VALLEYS.

FIFTH PERIOD.—FROM THE INTRODUCTION OF THE JESUITS TO THE DEMOLITION OF THE PROTESTANT PLACES OF WORSHIP IN PRAGELA.

(A.D. 1656 TO A.D. 1685.)

Jesuit missionaries in Pragela—Controversies—Odious means employed to secure the success of the Jesuit missions—Apostasy and subsequent melancholy history of Captain Guyot—Bribes and every kind of influence used to procure abjurations—Dragonnades—New restrictions imposed upon the Vaudois—Increasing hardships—Strange quotations from documents of the time, illustrative of the character of its events and parties—Settlement of six priests in the parishes of Pragela in 1678—The utmost fervour of proselytism—The exercise of the Protestant religion prohibited in Pragela five months before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes—Demolition of places of worship—Extensive emigration.

It was in 1657 that the Jesuit missionaries established themselves for the first time in the valley of Pragela.¹ They were sent by the Prince of Conti,² upon the solicitations of the Propaganda.³ They came from the house of their order established at Grenoble, and

¹ *Sommaire de l'état de la religion en Pragela*, p. 4.—*Mémoire sur l'établissement, les progrès et la cessation de la religion réformée en Pragela*, say 1656.

² Arnaud de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, second son of Henry II., took his name of Conti from a small town of the Somme; he was the chief of the Fronde. He afterwards married the niece of Mazarin; he was grand-master of the king's household in 1657, was appointed governor of Languedoc in 1662, and died four years after.

³ For particulars concerning the congregation *de propaganda fide et extirpandis hæreticis*, see Chapter VI. of Part Second of this Work.

fixed their head-quarters at Fenestrelle,¹ where a Vaudois pastor resided, named Benjamin De Joux, who entered into controversy with them.² The result does not seem to have been favourable to them, for in the space of eight months they obtained no more than two converts.³ It is true that the first of these monks who appeared there went to work with more frankness than address—a mode of procedure so alien to the spirit of their order, that their superiors could not be expected to maintain them long at that post. And, indeed, we read that “the Jesuit Billet, to defend the authority of the Church, thought fit to assert the imperfection of the Scriptures, upon which account he was found to be impolitic, and was recalled.”⁴

These Jesuits, however, had been preceded in that country by other controversialists,⁵ to whom a pastor of Pragela had already replied.⁶ The dedication of his work contains some affecting sentences, which it may not be uninteresting to quote:—“*To the members of the Reformed Churches of the valley of Pragela, and to all those who love the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, grace and peace be multiplied to you!*” Then, setting forth the motives of his work, and the method which he has pursued, he says—“I have not thought proper to fling back at the Romish Church the sharp darts which my adversary directs against ours, . . . knowing that it is necessary to make the approaches with delicacy, and not to give any shock to the blind, and to instruct with meekness those who

¹ The first who made their appearance “were the Sieurs Golier and Billet; afterwards the Jesuit Calemart was sent thither, with a novice; and subsequently he had for his companion the Jesuit Sieur Paiseaud; with whom finally the Jesuit Carbonnet was conjoined, to succeed Sieur Calemart, who was sent to Die.” (*Le succès de la mission de Pragela*, . . . Geneva, published by Gamont, 1660, an 8vo of 248 pages.—*Advertisement au lecteur*.)

² These controversies took place at Fenestrelle, on the 2d of October, 1659, and were published in the work already quoted. . . . *Véritable récit de la conférence tenue à Fenestrelles*, &c. . . . The Jesuit Calemart published at Grenoble (Verdier, publisher), in 1660, two little works on the same subject:—1. *Réfutation de la réponse de M. de Joux*. . . . 2. *Deux marques de l'erreur du calvinisme*, &c. . . .

³ “The first, named Jourdan, was appointed Captain *Châtelain* of the whole valley. The second,” says a work of that period, “is Captain Guyot, who has carried arms in favour of the religionaries in the valley of Lucerna, and there rendered himself so redoubtable, that a price was set upon his head. He now testifies no less zeal for the faith than he once showed for error.” (*Sommaire de l'état de la religion en Pragela*, pp. 4 and 5.)—This Claud Guyot, vulgarly called Croyat, finished his course by suicide.

⁴ *Le succès de la mission en Pragela*, . . . p. 5 of the preface.

⁵ Amongst others, by a former Protestant minister, named John Balcet, who had plunged into Arminianism, and thence into Catholicism. He entered into orders, became a priest, and wrote a polemical work, entitled *Diurnal de la vraie Eglise*.

⁶ *Le Manuel du vray chrestien, opposé au Diurnal du Sieur Balcet*. . . . par Daniel Pastor. . . . Geneva, 1652. One vol. 8vo, of xvi., 915, and xii. pages.

are of a contrary opinion. But I have thought it good, O dearest souls, to address this reply to you . . . because I was born and brought up amongst you; because I have had the honour to exercise amongst you the ministry of the holy gospel, now almost for thirty years; because my age and strength are declining, and the time of my departure draws nigh. I have therefore thought this my work to be due to you, it being reasonable that I should leave you, after my death, a specimen of that doctrine which I have proclaimed to you during my life.” . . . “In this faith I have lived, and in this faith I desire to die. . . . May God preserve you in it for his glory, and for the salvation of your immortal souls.”¹ His prayer was heard, for very few of his contemporaries yielded to the efforts of popish proselytism.

The valley of Pragela was then, from the one end to the other, inhabited by zealous Protestants. “These heretics,” said their adversaries, “have ten or twelve great places of worship for Sabbath, and more than sixty small ones, where they meet every day of the week, whilst the Catholics have scarcely a single church,² and a few chapels, at great distances from one another.”³ The Jesuits were also regarded with great dislike there. “The hostility to them is so excessive,” says a contemporary, “that nobody ventures to lodge them; and if the prior of Mentoules and Captain Guyot had not given them shelter, they would not have found it in all the valley.”⁴ “However,” he adds, “they ought to persevere; for experience has shown that missions which are not kept up for any time, serve only to provoke irritation, without dissipating error.”⁵

Considering that in the eyes of sincere Catholics this work was analogous to that which evangelical missionaries carry on amongst savages, we cannot refuse to recognize, in not a few of those who were concerned in it, the solicitude and the language of genuine charity. We may, no doubt, pronounce it ill-enlightened, but we must not call in question its reality. “Surely,” says, for example, the author of the pamphlet just quoted, “it would be a just subject of reproach to us if those who have undertaken to assist the Persians and the Chinese⁶ were to abandon this poor valley. The people of Pragela are our brethren, Frenchmen like ourselves, and subjects of the same sovereign; and although erring in many points

¹ This interesting epistle is dated from *La Souchière* (in Pragela), 1st June, 1651.

² That of Mentoules.

³ *Procès-verbaux des conversions opérées en Pragela, de 1676 à 1685*. A number of MS. volumes, deposited in the Archives of the Bishopric of Pignerol. The passage quoted is under date 13th July, 1676.

⁴ *Sommaire de l'état de la religion dans la vallée de Pragela*, p. 6. ⁵ Id. p. 7.

⁶ Catholic missionaries had recently been sent to these distant nations.

of religion, yet they have been washed in the waters of baptism. They profess to serve the same God and the same Saviour. Francis De Sales converted the people of Thonon; why should not we hope for a similar favour for those of Pragela, if we resolve to help them, as we ought? Their conversion would even facilitate that of the valleys of Lucerna and Angrogna."¹ In conclusion, he entreats all Christians to unite their alms and prayers in order to the attainment of this pious object.

But if such were the desires, the language, and the sentiments of the compassionate souls, of whom Popery may reasonably be proud, it must, on the other hand, be borne in mind that they were imposed upon by their spiritual directors, and that both the leaders and the active agents in these works of intolerance employed the most shameful means in order to secure their success. The following extract will show in what manner they themselves state these means, in a confidential report addressed to the authorities:—

"It is urgently necessary to obtain a *pariat*² for the apprehension of three ministers of Pragela,³ whom the Parliament of Grenoble has condemned to imprisonment.⁴ They have taken refuge in the valley of Lucerna, with two other criminals.⁵ It will be requisite that the Marquis De Pianesse⁶ command the governors of Lucerna and St. Martin to seize them, . . . in the same way as Monseigneur De Mestié, some years since, seized . . . certain robbers, who were punished according to their crimes.⁷ It will be requisite that the people of Lucerna be forbidden to lodge the merchants of Pragela who traffic in these regions. There are three heretics who traffic at Turin;⁸ it will be requisite to seize their wares, and as they cannot subsist without them, it may be taken for granted that they will then be ready to change their religion.⁹

¹ *Sommaire de l'état de la religion dans la vallée de Pragela, en Dauphiné, et des dispositions de la Providence pour la conversion de ses habitants.* Concluding passage.

² A *lettre de cachet*, or order of incarceration for life.

³ James Papon, Benjamin de Joux, and Michael Bourset.

⁴ For having preached in their *annexed* churches, contrary to the edicts of 20th June, 1636, and 21st April, 1637, which prohibited the pastors from preaching anywhere but at the place of their residence. It was in consequence of these edicts that there was established, in every village of Pragela, a prayer-meeting, which assembled every day, and was conducted by the elders of the place.

⁵ These criminals were guilty of having presided in religious meetings. The one was John Jourdan, consul of Fenestrelle; the other John Passet, a rich merchant of Mentoules.

⁶ Vice-President of the Council of the Propaganda.

⁷ To cause ministers and respectable men to be seized like robbers, for no other offence than that of having prayed to God! What a delicate method of conversion, and how accordant with Christian charity!

⁸ The report gives their names and address. "They are lodged," it says, "at the Red Horse."

⁹ These are the exact words. What a system of conversion! and what value

It will be requisite that the governor of Suza, Méane, and Jalas, prohibit the heretics of Pragela from remaining in the places within his jurisdictions, because they preach their errors in secret. It will be requisite to expel from the valley of Lucerna a person named Martin, a native of Balboutet, in Pragela. This young minister has succeeded the pastor Léger, whose house was razed to the ground; but he is not less seditious¹ than Léger, and does still more harm than he. It will be necessary to apprise the King of France that the governor's secretary, and a captain of the citadel of Pignerol, conduct religious exercises in their chambers, in which they assemble the Huguenot soldiers, which may be the means of perverting Catholics."²

There is also a proposal made in this paper, of prohibiting the Vaudois of Pragela from trading and sojourning in Piedmont, although that privilege had been formally guaranteed to them.³ The memoir terminates by denunciations of various persons, and even of Catholics, who are pointed out as proper objects of suspicion, because of their being too favourable to the Protestants. Such is party spirit; always extravagant, and frequently hurrying the members of every party into grievous excesses.

It may be supposed that a blessing did not attend conversions obtained by such means. The first, which we have already mentioned, that of Captain Guyot, was a melancholy illustration. This unfortunate man, a short time after his abjuration, was seized with insanity. He committed a murder without any motive, after which he set fire to his own house, and burned himself to death in it.⁴

But promises, rewards, and unworthy arts of every description, the success of which always depends upon the baseness of both the parties concerned, were in the greatest favour in the system of the

could conversions have which were thus obtained? How must those sincere and charitable persons who, in their simplicity, interested themselves in this work of proselytism, have felt ashamed to see their religion dishonour itself by the employment of such disgraceful means!

¹ Vague accusations here supply the place of positive facts: in the minds of prejudiced persons such accusations are sometimes all the more effectual for not being limited by any fact.

² The persons to whom this relates are named in the original. Their religious exercises were limited to the reading of the Bible and prayer. (This paper is entitled: *Mémoire en faveur de la mission en Pragela*, and is to be found in the Archives of the Court at Turin. No. of series, 425.)

³ By the edict of 6th June, 1630. (Leger, II. 161.)—Many other rights, purchased by them, or secured by law, were, in like manner, denied to them. A petition of the Vaudois of *Moulières, Sauze, and Rolières*, in 1669, sets forth that there are two burying grounds in the commune, and asks for permission to make use of one of them. It was refused. (Civil Archives of Pignerol.)

⁴ *Le succès de la mission de Pragela . . . par Benjamin de Joux, ministre à Fenestrelles*—in the preface.

propagandists. These means were employed in a degree proportionate, it may be said, to that of sin in human nature. From the châtelain of the valley to the herdsman of the mountains, every one had to contend with the demon of covetousness, and many fell in the contest. Under the pressure of *dragonnades*, and in the absence of their pastors, who were imprisoned or fugitive, little was requisite to induce these poor people to accept, out of weakness or terror, the rewards of apostasy. "A great number of conversions have been effected in the valleys of Pragela," says Pélisson,¹ "through the efforts of the Bishop of Grenoble, of the Propaganda, and of the Jesuits; so that without the distribution of more than about 2000 crowns, sent at different times, well certified lists have been received of from 700 to 800 persons who have returned to the church." "I have written," he adds, "that no opportunity should be allowed to escape of the conversion of the families of the people."

. . . I have even signified that they may go as far as 100 francs."² What a shameful traffic in things the least capable of being appreciated at a price in money! Or rather, convictions, conscience, Divine grace, and all that is incapable of such valuation was venal with Rome; and yet everything of the kind is really wanting in all such transactions. It remains to be added, in order to exonerate the Vaudois from a part, at least, of these venal apostasies, that a great number of vagabonds, strangers to their valleys, passed themselves off for Protestants, in order to obtain the price of a sham abjuration for lucre's sake. The price for such baseness was too high.

These means, however, very soon proved insufficient, and then it was that a new influence was brought to bear in support of the Catholic religion—the oppression exercised by the *dragons*, who were quartered in the houses of the poor people professing the evangelical faith, in order to compel the payment of contributions. "The Protestants," wrote the superior of the Jesuits established at Fenestrelle, "were completely humbled at the sight of so many troops. They then laid aside that spirit of pride and independence³ in which they had hitherto lived; and instead of despising the missionaries, as they had been accustomed to do, they began to implore their protection against the insolence of the soldiers. This

¹ A Report, dated Versailles, 12th June, 1677. Pélisson Fontanier had been himself a Protestant, and after having embraced Catholicism, he displayed much activity in endeavouring to bring about the conversion of his former brethren to the Church of Rome.

² Quoted in *La politique du clergé de France, avec les derniers efforts de l'innocence affligée*. . . . Amsterdam, 1682. (One vol. 32mo.) Pp. 152, 153.

³ *Libertinage*; spirit of liberty, independence.

humiliation of the heretics has not a little served to promote the conversion of numbers, of whom we will make mention in this list." "As, after Briançon, the town of Sézane had suffered more than any from the passage of the troops, one of the missionary fathers proposed to go thither to perform some duties of the mission. The inhabitants had previously expressed to the abbot of Oulx their wish that he would send them no preacher during Lent, and that they might not be confessed any more; but now they blessed God for having brought to them a confessor who did not close the gates of heaven against them."¹

Since it was first founded, indeed, the missionary establishment had been very much strengthened. The office of châtelain of the valley of the Cluson having become vacant, the Prince of Conti caused it to be purchased,² and placed in it a fervent supporter of the missionaries. "Without this help," says a writer of the time, "they could have done nothing; and the manner in which this office is now filled is the foundation of almost all the good which can be hoped for in that region."³ To promote this work, by augmenting the number of the propagandists, Alexander VII. accorded⁴ plenary indulgences to both male and female members⁵ who might enter into that congregation.⁶

At the same time, the prohibition was renewed, which had been already addressed to the Vaudois pastors, of celebrating any religious service except at the place of their residence.⁷ But this was not enough: the members of the Vaudois Church had formed daily meetings in the smallest hamlets; and wherever there was an elder, a new place of worship was opened. These meetings were conducted by laymen, who, indeed, themselves became pastors. Instead of ten or twelve places of worship, there were now sixty. Every morning and evening, the distant bells of these rustic villages, concealed amongst the mountains, might be heard calling the faithful to prayer and thanksgiving. The use of bells was now pro-

¹ *Procès-verbaux des conversions opérées en Pragela* (in the Archives of the Bishopric of Pignerol); eighth list, dated 3d August, 1680. Signed Etienne Nith, lui-même.

² At the price of 8300 livres. This was an office which, like many others, civil and judicial, could be bought or sold for money. The name of the new châtelain was M. Bertrand.

³ *Etat de la religion en Pragela*, p. 6.

⁴ By his brief of 27th July, 1661.

⁵ *Confrères et Confrèresses*.

⁶ *Journal des conversions qui ont été faites, et des grâces dont Dieu a favorisé la compagnie de la propagande établie à Grenoble, durant le cours de l'année 1661*. (A 4to MS. of 60 pages, relating especially to the valley of Pragela. In the Archives of the Bishopric of Pignerol.)

⁷ Decree of the Parliament of Dauphiny, of 28th January, 1662. The same prohibition had already been renewed on 19th July and 30th September, 1661. The edict now issued adds a threatening of the penalty of 1000 livres of fine.

hibited.¹ The shepherds' horns, the trumpets which they were accustomed to sound for their flocks, were therefore employed, instead of the bells, to proclaim the hour of these holy assemblies. Severe penalties were forthwith denounced against those who conducted them. What were the Christians now to do? Assembled in silence, they read the Bible, time about, in a low voice, they prayed one after another, and none of them, in particular, was charged with the duty of conducting these pious and unpretending exercises. The Spirit of God alone directed these meetings.

"This race is incorrigible!" said the missionaries: "there is no moving them. We must direct our efforts to the rising generation." And they began by prohibiting Protestants from taking pupils for board and education,² and it was next proposed to prohibit them from bringing up their own children. "We have just gained a victory in the valley of Pérouse," exclaims one of the Jesuits; "for in the beginning of the month of October last (1677), we obtained the adoption of the rule that all children, born of Huguenot mothers and Catholic fathers, should be baptized in the church and brought up Catholics."³

The most trifling pretexts were also seized with eagerness, to cause the Vaudois to enter, freely or by force, within the pale of Catholicism. The documents which I have quoted, exhibit many a painful and affecting scene, and contain many a strange expression, the evidence of truth. In one place, we read of a priest who drives away from the bedside of an old man, the members of his own family, and does not leave him *till he has expired*.⁴ In another, we read of a mother who rushes after those that are carrying away her child from her, in order to rescue it from their hands, "heresy makes women so obstinate and furious!"⁵ In another place still, we are told of a man who wished to conceal from his wife the abjuration which he had just made, because she was far advanced in pregnancy, and he was afraid that this news might trouble her so much as to do her injury—"so much fruit do these conversions produce in families," the missionaries observe!⁶

¹ By decree of 23th January, 1662.

² Same decree.

³ *Procès-verbaux des conversions de Pragela*, at the date mentioned in the text. The following are a few lines immediately following this passage:—"The wife of a new convert of Diblon was delivered of a daughter, and was urgent that the child should be baptized at the preaching, according to custom. The Huguenot party had obtained the consent of some magistrates to the observance of this usage. But the Marquis D'Harleville, to whom the priest of the parish represented the disagreeable consequences of this custom, ordained that, according to the intentions of his Majesty, the girl should be baptized in the church, which was done."

⁴ Same papers. Paper dated 6th September, 1677.

⁵ Paper dated 12th May, 1677.

⁶ Paper dated 1st May, 1679.

And certainly there did result from them great troubles in families. We read as follows, regarding the conversion of a man of very great importance, for he has large possessions:—"He felt strange inward pain; he even wept for an hour; and he was heard to say, in the midst of his sobs, that he would go and dispute the question with his relatives. . . . But, notwithstanding all this, he has abjured, and presented his children to the church."¹ Had the children been abandoned, the Vaudois would have cared for them. In such a case, however, advantage was taken of their generous solicitude, to institute a prosecution against them. "Stephen Pascal," say our reports, "is an *old Catholic*,"² married to a Huguenot woman. Being obliged to go to the valley of Barcelona, he remained there for three years. On his return, he was much surprised to learn that *the Huguenots had taken charge of his children*; and he hastened first to Briançon, in order that he might obtain the assistance of the strong arm of the law *to put an end to this disorder*.³

This simplicity of expression, which indicates the good faith of the *converters*, even in acts which seem most repugnant to the spirit of Christianity, is strikingly significant of the character of their work. I must give one other example. There were complaints of drought, and, on the very day when the mission was ended, it rained. "From which the fathers took occasion to point out the agreeable arrangements⁴ of Providence with regard to themselves."

Severe measures were adopted, in particular, against any who relapsed. Madeleine Justet, say the Jesuits, had promised to attend mass, but she returned to the preachings. This was a case of relapse. "She could neither be moved by prayers nor by threats, until the Marquis D'Harleville caused her to be apprehended by one of his guards and carried to his house, to condemn her to the punishment decreed against relapsed persons."⁵

With the object of subduing timorous minds by the example of such severities, the secular arm was often called to execute them. John Allais having left his country to return to the Protestant Church, a decree was issued for his arrest. "This execution of the

¹ Paper of 21st November, 1677.

² *i.e.*, not a new convert.

³ Paper of 26th March, 1677. The whole of what is within inverted commas is exactly quoted, as well as the part in italics.

⁴ Preliminary observations, inserted before the papers of the month of June, 1679.

⁵ Paper of 14th September, 1676. This penalty was, according to the case, to have the head shaved, to endure a shameful whipping, which was sometimes mortal; to be marked with a red-hot iron, or to be sent to the galleys, &c.—Madeleine escaped from her persecutors, and retired to the valley of Lucerna.

law," say the missionaries, "has succeeded extremely well. The people of this country are greatly afraid of the law. Their resistance¹ will very soon cease, if the law is often executed in the same manner. Nothing can exceed the insolence and fiery passion of the heretics of Pragela; but nothing can exceed their pliancy when they dread the costs of law or corporal punishments."² Afterwards, it is said concerning a new convert, "This man has given himself to the church, in consequence of a number of arrests, which frightened him very much."³

There were, however, we may believe, a few of these abjurations which resulted from sincere convictions. "It has not been till after many combats," we are told concerning Joseph Guérin, "that this young man has yielded."⁴ Sometimes, indeed, the exaggeration of Protestant doctrines interfered with their truth. "What think you of the worship of the saints?" was a question asked by the pastor of Villaret of one of his flock, at a district examination. "I think," was the reply, "that the saints are no better than those who adore them." The minister was satisfied, say our annalists; but unquestionably this opinion was too extreme; for the worthy and pious confessors of Christ, whose holiness was the glory of the primitive church, were certainly much better than the ignorant and superstitious men who afterwards made them the objects of worship. This reflection occurred to the catechumen; and its influence, according to the report of his abjuration, afterwards decided him to enter the Church of Rome.⁵ So true it is that justice is requisite, even to the triumph of truth.⁶

At other times, and more frequently, the *converters* found opportunity of working upon the ignorance of the persons converted. It is impossible to read without a smile, that a neophyte, named David Bertoch, exhibited, according to the expressions of the report, "an extraordinary rage, when he was told that he would not be rebaptized, and that it was not necessary for him to be an idolator."⁷

The Jesuits attached an especial importance to the abjuration of any one belonging to the family of a pastor;⁸ and the decision of the persons converted was often influenced by very secondary

¹ In the original MS., *violence*.

² I leave the Jesuits responsible for this opinion, expressed by them.

³ Paper of 27th October, 1676.

⁴ Papers of 28th October to 1st November, 1676.

⁵ Paper of 26th April, 1679.

⁶ [It is surely fair to notice also the authority upon which the story rests.—TR.]

⁷ Paper of 21st August, 1676.

⁸ See the paper of 23d December, 1677, part of which relates to a woman whose grandfather was minister at Angrogna; that of 13th November, 1679, &c.

motives. One became a Catholic because he had debts;¹ another, because he had a disagreement with his pastor;² a third, because he was afraid of being hard pressed by his creditors;³ and the missionaries do not hesitate to avow, in plain terms, that they would have had incomparably more success if they had had more money at their disposal.⁴ At other times they attribute their success to extraordinary influences, the co-operation of which we could not have expected that any *religious* would have accepted. "Daniel Luyx," their reports inform us,⁵ "was a native of Geneva, and had to make a journey in Piedmont. Being on the bank of a river, the devil came and placed himself before him. Believing that it was a robber, M. Luyx fired a pistol at him, but the devil flung him into the river, wounding him with a poignard, which he had taken to defend himself." The precaution was not unnecessary, for the traveller's companions hastened to draw him out of the water, and conveyed him to a hostelry. There the devil still came to torment the sufferer. He appeared to him, induced him to rise, conducted him to the window, showed him a vast gallery, and, under pretext of taking him into it, flung him into the street, from the height of the third story. "His royal highness passing by," says the author of this narrative, "and seeing the crowd which came together, learned, by chance, this strange adventure." Finally, as may be foreseen from the commencement of the history, M. Luyx received the attentions of a priest, and became a convert.

The puerility of such tales seems to render them unworthy of notice in history; but they show the state of men's minds at that period better than it could be shown by any general statements of the historian. Being obliged to keep within narrow bounds, I have thought it proper to quote, as far as possible, exact passages from the unpublished documents of which I have made use, leaving it to the reader to form his own estimate of them. This method I propose still to follow in the account of the installation of the six priests who were settled, at this time, in the valley of Pragela.

Although the summer of 1678 was now come, the temperature and winds of winter continued for a number of weeks. "It seemed," says the clerical narrative to which I am indebted for these details,⁶ "as if the demons of the air were irritated at our pious

¹ Paper of 22d July, 1677.

² Paper of 24th July, 1677.

³ *Persécuté par ses créanciers*. The words of the Report. Paper of 28th October, 1676.

⁴ *Remarks on the sixth list*, placed at the date, 21st June, 1678.

⁵ At date, 19th July, 1679.

⁶ This narrative has been placed amongst the manuscripts already quoted, after the sixth list, extending from the beginning of January to the end of June, 1678.

enterprise, and wished to prevent the execution of this design. But the *vice-bailli*, who had formerly commanded the king's armies upon occasions more dangerous, encouraged all the company to disregard this bad weather, assuring them that it would not continue. And, in fact, after mass had been said at Bourset, fine weather returned; as if the holy sacrament had driven away the fogs and demons of the mountains.¹ Priest Laz was settled at Château du Bois. This must have been in former times a place of some note; but now it is nothing more than a desert and a wild forest. M. Jean Faure was settled at Le Villaret. The officers of customs and excise,² who are Catholics, honoured this solemnity with their presence. M. Simon Borel was settled at Fenestrelle. There the concourse of old Catholics and new converts was greater than in the other places, but the heretics almost all hid themselves. The *vice-bailli* afterwards assembled them in front of their place of worship, at the time when their bells called them to prayer, to read to them the king's orders. M. Francis Isnel was settled at Le Villar, which is a very beautiful parish in the valley of Pérouse, from which the priest was driven by the Huguenots, in the time of the old wars. The other places of which we have spoken, never had priests till now.³ The prior of Mentoules was at the head of all the ecclesiastics, and all the establishments in Pragela, all of which are under the jurisdiction of his priory. In each place mass was performed, and a solemn procession made, at which the heretics attended with respect and propriety. In all these new parishes, the *vice-bailli* caused the *lettre de cachet*⁴ to be publicly read; in virtue of which he placed the priests of these parishes under the special protection of his Majesty—also *lettres-patent of safeguard*, which the king had sent to the châtelain, to protect him from insults for the time to come, such as he had been in time past subjected to, in consequence of the great zeal which he displayed for the Catholic religion. At Le Villar, to which the government of Pignerol and the bishop's grand vicar had come, there was, besides the other ceremonies, a bonfire. The sounding of the trumpets, the discharges of artillery from the fort of Pérouse, and the large alms which the Marquis D'Harleville caused to be distributed amongst the Catholics of the valley, increased the effect of this solemnity.

"Many persons have contributed to the settlement of these new

¹ A priest was settled at Bourset.—*Abrégé de l'état de la vallée de Pragela depuis 1673 à 1717*. A folio MS. vol. in the Archives of the Bishopric of Pignerol.

² [*Gabelles*, an excise on salt.]

³ These ceremonies took place from 20th to 23d April, 1678. (Same MS.)

⁴ Dated at Versailles, 22d October, 1677.

priests and the building of their churches; amongst others, the Abbé De Musy, who has long laboured at court for the reduction of these valleys, and who informed the king of the necessity for these new pastors. He has begged and obtained in Paris, a number of sacred vessels and a quantity of plate for these new parishes, and for others, the establishment of which he still hopes to effect. He is also causing magnificent standards and banners to be made, on which will be painted the patron saints of each parish, and which will be carried in the processions. The company of the faith,¹ established at Grenoble, have provided the other ornaments requisite for these new parishes. The ladies of that town have sent us veils, albs, candle-sticks, crucifixes, altar-cloths, pictures, &c. The company of Lyons have collected images, chaplets, books of devotion; . . . and a Catholic doctor, who does not give his name, is about to publish in Paris a controversial work, in praise of our new Catholics.² Some other persons, and particularly the abbot and canons of Oulx, have helped these valleys by considerable alms, which have been wonderfully useful to us . . ."

These poor valleys were, however, more miserable than ever. "The poverty there is extreme," say the same notes;³ "*which would have brought over to the church a great number of heretics who are poor, or not in comfortable circumstances, if we had only had the means of relieving them more sufficiently.*" But the Vaudois supported and relieved each other. "In some places," continues the narrator, "a distribution of alms was made at the doors of their places of worship. Must it ever be, that the children of darkness shall thus go beyond the children of light; and that heretics shall be more liberal, more zealous, and more ardent to damn people . . . than Catholics to save them?"⁴ Such is the reflection with which the paper concludes, from which the above particulars have been derived.

However, care was taken to proclaim loudly enough the fresh triumph of Catholicism, and the good deeds done by Louis XIV. in the valley of Pragela. The *Gazette de France* said:⁵ "Whilst our great monarch is victorious over his enemies on all sides, we see with admiration his triumph over the heresy of the Vaudois,

¹ The Propaganda.

² The title of it is: *La vérité reconnue, ou quinze motifs de la conversion de messieurs de Pragellaz*. . .—The author attempts to pass himself off as a Protestant converted to the Church of Rome.

³ After 21st June, 1678.

⁴ At the end of the same narrative are the words, *Certified to be conformable to the original, which we have sent to the court, signed Stephen Vith, superior of the Company of Jesus, established in the Valley of Pragellaz*.—(Archives of the Bishopric of Pignerol.)

⁵ Of date 28th May, 1678.

who have banished the holy church from their mountains for centuries, so that it was scarcely possible to maintain three priests there—at Mentoules, at La Rua, and at Usseaux—the first two without flocks, and the third with a very small number of people.”¹

But it was not enough to have established Catholic priests in these valleys, it was requisite to overcome the Vaudois Church itself, to trammel its organization, oppose its worship, and proscribe its ministers; and for this purpose, arbitrary measures succeeded one another with frightful rapidity. Hitherto the annual contributions furnished by the people, and destined to the support of the Protestant clergy and places of worship, had been regulated by the synod, and deposited in the hands of the consistories, under the title of *consistorial funds*. The payment of these impositions, at once obligatory and voluntary, took the name of the *ecclesiastical tax*.² The Jesuits represented to the inhabitants of Pragela, that this *tax* was a heavy burden upon them, of which they might easily free themselves—that their pastors were greedy and self-interested people—that the Church of Rome would give them a religion free of charge; and, finally, that the government had resolved that no tax of this nature should any longer be imposed, without the presence, nor gathered without the consent of a person in authority.³ The people were contented with this arrangement, believing it to be a security for their pecuniary interests.

But ere long, the Romish party began to act more openly. The prohibition was renewed against pastors preaching anywhere, except at their place of residence; and at the same time, laymen were prohibited from conducting religious meetings in the annexed churches.⁴ Then it was attempted to reduce the number of authorized meetings, which had long been unchanged;⁵ and after-

¹ These statements of a semi-official journal devoted to the court, cannot be suspected of having exaggerated the preponderance of the Vaudois.

A narrative of the same events was published in 1678, by a person named *Chaillot*. This little work I have not been able to procure. In 1684 and 1686 two new priests were settled. (*Abrégé de l'état de la vallée de Pragela de 1678 à 1717*. MS. communicated.)

² This was a *Juge Royal*, in the valley of Pragela.—June, 1678.

³ *Arrêt de la cour du parlement du Dauphiné, portant défense à Claude Pastre, de Ville-Close de Mentoules, en Pragela, et à tous autres de la religion, de faire aucune assemblée sous prétexte de prières, &c.* . . . Grenoble, 7th December, 1679. Printed.

⁴ The procurator-general of Grenoble demanded that the religious meetings, held simultaneously at *La Rua* and *Les Traverses*, should be reduced to one. The Vaudois persisted in holding two. Thence ensued a process, the issue of which admits of no doubt. There is a printed memorial by the inhabitants of these two villages, *défendeurs en requête, contre M. le procureur général au parlement de Grenoble, demandeur, &c.* 4to, of 20 pages. Grenoble, 1678.

wards the Vaudois were ordered to demolish the places of worship in the *quarters* of their parishes, and to give up their meetings there.¹ At the same time, all sorts of favours were granted to those who had become Catholics—exemption from taxes—suspension of prosecutions—assistance to the poor—hospitals opened for the sick—dowries promised to young girls—the means of worldly advancement placed more within the reach of all. It would have been well if Catholicism had never fought with worse weapons; although, indeed, their triumph could imply no excellence in its doctrines, and truth is independent of the ephemeral considerations which arise out of worldly interests.

But it was not only in the valleys of Piedmont and of Italian Dauphiny, that such fervour of proselytism was at this time displayed. In the ancient retreats of Queyras and the Briançonnais, the same work was prosecuted by the same means,² with which was also united a peculiar device, to strike terror into weak minds. “At St. Vêran,” say the missionaries, “the mission was ended by one of the fathers solemnly making the *amende honorable*, in order to repair the injury which Jesus Christ had received from a wicked heretic of that place.” He had broken a crucifix. “This criminal had been condemned by the parliament

“Towards the end of this year,” say the *Procès-verbaux des conversions en Pragela*, under date 19th December, 1679, “M. Simon Roude brought a decree, prohibiting the heretics from meeting at any other places than where their ministers resided; and ordaining the abolition of the fifty or sixty little places of worship which they had in all the little hamlets, where they assembled every day, morning and evening.” A new process ensued. “M. Simon Roude, prior of Mentoules, made himself all-powerful in the valley,” says a manuscript of the period. (*Relation historique de la démolition des temples . . . en Pragela*.—Private repositories of Professor Aillaud, at Pignerol.) The papers in this case were printed: *Avertissement pour messire Simon Roude, Prestre, docteur en théologie, prieur de Mentoules, en la vallée de Pragela, syndic de la prévôté de Saint-Laurent d'Oulx, pour les affaires de la religion, en ladite vallée, demandeur en requête du 19th Septembre 1680; contre les sieurs ministres et habitants de la même vallée, faisant profession de la religion prétendue réformée, défendeurs*. Without date, or place of printing; but printed at Grenoble. A folio of 40 pages. The Reply (*Réponse*) made in name of the *demandeur*, is in 4to, and extends to 14 pages. The Reply of the Vaudois, entitled, *Factum, pour les habitants des vallées de Cluson ou Prageld, Cesane et Oulx, faisant profession de la religion P. R. P. défendeurs en requête de Septembre 1680, contre messire Simon Roude, &c.* . . . is a 4to of 41 pages. The provost of Oulx attempted to obtain the demolition of the Vaudois places of worship, upon the ground of the Edict of Nantes, which, whilst it authorized the Reformed religion in France, did not recognize it in Piedmont. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes was afterwards made the ground for the same thing. So true is it, that justice was little considered.

² In the *Procès-verbaux des conversions*, already mentioned, facts of this nature are noticed under the following dates: At *Abricq*, 4th January and 23d August, 1678; at *Aiguille*, 4th July, 1675; at *Ville Vieille*, 24th April, 1677; and at *Château Queyras*, 14th July, 1678.

of Grenoble, to have his hands cut off, and to be burned alive. The sentence could not be executed upon his person, because he had fled; but it was executed upon his effigy, with much public solemnity, which has greatly humbled heresy. The executioner went to take this effigy from the house of the criminal, carried it before the people who were assembled, cut off its hands, and burned it in the public square, which was very conveniently fitted up in the form of an amphitheatre, for this execution. A number of fusileers were obliged to be present at this spectacle, attending two officers of the parliament, a trumpeter, a Catholic consul, and two Huguenot consuls, who were all on horseback."¹

But notwithstanding all these severe measures, it would seem that the evangelical religion was not only not vanquished, but that it still gained triumphs over Popery, without employing either base arts or violence. This inference may apparently be deduced from an edict of the 11th of July, 1680;² by which Catholics were severely prohibited from embracing Protestantism, and Protestants from receiving Catholics into their places of worship.

Besides all this, every pretext was continually seized for vexing the Vaudois in every possible way—if they happened to be found working on a day consecrated by the Church of Rome—if they planted a row of bushes for a hedge around their burying-grounds—if any damage whatever happened to any popish edifices in their vicinity. "The Marquis D'Harleville," it is mentioned, "having been informed that the people of Pragela had broken a little image placed on the gate of a burying-ground, caused it to be restored at their expense, much finer than it was before, and placed beside it an inscription calculated to humble heresy."³

What precise meaning are we to attach to this last expression, so frequently repeated? Does it relate to humility or to humiliations? Neither the one nor the other was wanting to the persecuted church, and yet it increased every day! Never had it more abounded in life and zeal, activity and charity, and devotedness to the cause and kingdom of God! The severities of the courts could not keep the ministers in a state of inaction. It was found necessary again to prohibit them from multiplying religious meetings at other places than that of their own residence, under pain of a fine of 3000 livres, and of being deprived of their ministry.⁴ Then the prohibition was renewed against laymen meeting by them-

¹ Same *Procès-verbaux*, date 29th August, 1678.

² The edict is of the month of June, but it was not published till the 11th of July. It was printed on the 14th.

³ Same *Procès-verbaux*, under date 3d July, 1677.

⁴ Edict of 13th July, 1682.

selves, under any pretext of prayer, reading the Bible, or singing of psalms, . . . because these meetings might become tumultuous.¹ At last, it was resolved to forbid Protestants the means of temporal life, for want of power to reach their spiritual life; and on the 9th of March, 1682, and at subsequent dates, all trades and professions, from those of advocates and physicians, to those of shoemakers and milliners, were successively forbidden to them.²

But the Vaudois Church of Pragela, which had preceded the Reformed Church of France in evangelical religion, was to precede it also on the Calvary of persecution and death, which Popery had so long laboured to elevate for them both. The Edict of Nantes was not revoked; but already, five months before its revocation, the exercise of the Protestant religion was, by an exceptional act of severity, prohibited in the whole of Pragela, with an injunction to raze all the Protestant places of worship there.³ These orders, so arbitrary and revolting, were carried into effect, by means of particular edicts, in the valleys of Sézane, Oulx, and Exilles.⁴ The Protestant churches of Fenil, Chaumont, and Salabertrans, in the valley of the Doire, were demolished at this time.⁵ Those of La Rua, Les Suchières, Fenestrelle, and Usseaux, in the valley of the Cluson, shared the same fate.⁶ Others were left standing, to be transformed into Catholic churches; but they were used for that purpose only for four years, after which they were also demolished, to give place to new edifices.⁷ Such was the case at Villaret, and at Les Traverses, where the house and garden of the pastor went to increase the comforts of the priest.⁸ The materials of the places of worship which were demolished, served for the construction of popish chapels; part of the consistorial properties served to endow

¹ Edict of 30th August, 1682; enregistered by the Parliament of Paris, on the 1st of December, published on the 4th, and printed at the office of Francis Muguet, printer to the king, MDCLXXXII.

² *Le Semeur*, journal philosophique et littéraire, tom. xv. p. 254.

³ *Arrêt du conseil d'Etat du Roy, portant interdiction à perpétuité de la religion protestante dans toute la vallée de Pragela, &c. . . Du 7 Mai 1685; imprimé à Pignerol, chez Pierre Guiton.* This decree was adopted in consequence of the petition of 19th September, 1680, addressed by Simon Roude, the prior of Mantoules, to M. D'Herbigny, intendant-general of Dauphiny.

⁴ All of date 14th May, 1685; signed, *Par le Roi: Philippeaux.*

⁵ A report concerning the demolition of these places of worship exists in the Archives of Pignerol.

⁶ In June, 1678. *Relation historique de la démolition des temples . . . dans la vallée de Cluson ou Pragela.* (MS. communicated by Professor Aillaud of Pignerol.) The church of Usseaux was not demolished till September. The inhabitants having attempted to make some resistance, Louis XIV. sent thither a company of dragoons. (Other MSS.)

⁷ *Abrégé de l'état de la vallée de Pragela de 1678 à 1717.*—(MS.)

⁸ Report to the Council of State, 25th July, 1685.

them; and the produce of the sale of another part of the same properties was devoted to the foundation of two hospitals, the one at Sestières, and the other at Fenestrelle.¹

We may judge what desolation then reigned in these ancient churches of Pragela, so long privileged in the maintenance of evangelical religion. The Vaudois were cast into inexpressible dejection and grief. The Bible, which had been transmitted from father to son for so many ages, was about to be taken from them; the pastors, whom they delighted to see in the midst of them, were already proscribed, and they were forbidden to harbour them in their houses. These worthy descendants of the Barbas withdrew in great distress from amongst their afflicted flocks. Their tearful eyes still turned, as they proceeded in the path of exile, to seek the more and more distant peaks of their native mountains, where they had preached the word of God. A great part of the inhabitants followed them, even of those who had been supposed to be converted to the Church of Rome.²

On their arrival in Switzerland, these exiles sent deputies to the elector of Brandenburg, to ask an asylum in his dominions.³ "There are already six hundred of us who have left our native country," said these deputies, towards the end of 1685, "and in course of next spring, a like number of our people will still do the same."⁴ We have already seen, in the history of the Vaudois colonies in Germany, what became of these afflicted emigrants; let us now see what was the state of the Protestants who remained in the valleys.

¹ Extracted from the registers of the Council of State. Reasons and provisions of the decrees of 29th July, 1685.

² *Abrégé de l'état de la vallée de Pragela . . . de 1678 à 1717.* "The ministers," it is there said, "who were obliged to leave the kingdom, drew many people with them, even of the converts." Of one hundred and fifty Protestant families who were then at Le Villaret, forty-five followed their pastor.

³ These deputies were a pastor, James Papon, and two laymen, John Pastrecount and James Pastre. (Erman and Reclam: *Contribution to the History of the French Refugees in the dominions of the King.* Berlin, 1786, tom. vi.)

⁴ Despatch of M. De Mandelslohe, resident at Heidelberg, dated 15th-25th January, 1686. (Archives of Berlin.)

CHAPTER XVI.

HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS OF PRAGELA AND OF THE ADJACENT VALLEYS.

SIXTH PERIOD.—FROM THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES TO THE TREATY OF UTRECHT. SUFFERINGS AND TEMPORARY RESTORATION OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCH IN PRAGELA.

(A.D. 1685 TO A.D. 1713.)

Le Tellier—Bossuet—The Vaudois who remain in Pragela frequent places of worship within the Piedmontese territory—Persecution in Pragela—The persecuting church enriched by the spoils of the persecuted people and the properties of the exiles—Part of Pragela devastated by the troops of the Duke of Savoy—Successive emigrations—Protestantism revives a little in Pragela in the beginning of the 18th century—The valley of St. Martin, and part of that of Pérouse, are induced to constitute themselves into a republic, under the illusory protection of Louis XIV., which subsists for four years—The Vaudois of Pragela enjoy better prospects for a time after the valley has become part of the Piedmontese dominions—Deputies from Pragela at the Vaudois synod of 1709—The government refuses to recognize their incorporation with the rest of the Vaudois Church—The Vaudois of all the valleys partake of the Lord's Supper at Usseaux—Severe measures adopted by the Piedmontese government against the Vaudois of Pragela—Political arrangements unfavourable to them between the governments of Piedmont and France.

LE TELLIER, who was appointed intendant of Piedmont in 1640, remembered the Vaudois half a century after, to recommend to Louis XIV. the persecuting measures which have just been related; and on his death-bed he sought to extend these same measures to all the Protestants of France. This old man, as he breathed his last, flung perturbation into a hundred thousand families, and sore distress into a million of hearts, and sent a multitude of his countrymen to end their days in misery and exile. Le Tellier signed the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes with his dying hand, on the 22d of October, 1685, profaning the words of Simeon, by a personal application the most unsuitable that could be made. Bossuet pronounced his funeral eulogium. The Eagle of Meaux found pleasure in tearing to pieces, by insinuations and plain attacks, or, as it were, with beak and claws, the church of liberty and love founded upon the Bible. This man of fine genius had a servile heart. An adulator of the great—a despiser of men of humble rank, unless they could serve the purposes of his sacerdotal ambition—he

was, although in secret, the instigator of the cruel and tyrannical measures which deprived France of half-a-million of inhabitants, and gave the Reformed Church a rich crown of martyrs. Such is the ecclesiastical spirit, without the Spirit of God; for, essentially, it may be maintained that that which is really human is alone really divine; but Bossuet and Le Tellier did not belong to an era in which this truth could be understood.¹

By the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Protestant worship was prohibited throughout all the dominions of Louis XIV. Protestant churches were to be razed to the ground, and schools shut up. Ministers who refused to embrace Catholicism were to leave the kingdom within the space of fifteen days; those who abjured were to receive a pension one-third greater than the stipend which they had had as pastors, with a reversion of one-half of this pension to their widows. Every child, born from that time forth, was to be baptized as a Catholic. Protestants who had emigrated were to return under the *paternal and most Christian* government of the French monarch, within the space of four months, under the penalty of having all their property confiscated at the expiry of that period; and any who might attempt to emigrate, for the future, were to be condemned—the men to the galleys, the women to confiscation of person and property. The religionaries, it is added, at the conclusion of the Edict of Revocation, may, however, remain in the kingdom, *without performing any exercise of religion*, awaiting till it shall please God to enlighten them.²

But what is mere existence to a Christian, without any act of life? The Protestants showed that they were Christians, by preferring exile to the want of religious life; and at this period countless multitudes forsook their native land. But the poorest were under the necessity of remaining. Two thousand inhabitants of Pragela preceded or followed the expulsion of their brethren from

¹ *Homo sum, et nihil humani a me alienum puto*, was a saying of Paganism. *All beyond my pale is hell*, says the Romish church. *Everything is lawful against a damned person*, adds the Inquisition. A Pope ventured to say that it is a praise-worthy action to kill a heretic. (Bull of Urban II., quoted in *Gratianus, cap. ex-communicatorum, causa 23, quaestio 5.*)

² This edict was not published in Dauphiny till the end of November, 1685. It was printed at Grenoble, on the 12th of November, in two columns, on a large sheet intended to serve as a placard, with the following title:—*Edict of the king, given at Fontainebleau, in the month of October, 1685, containing the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and of all the edicts, declarations, and decrees issued in consequence: as well as of all concessions made to those of the Protestant religion, of whatsoever nature they may be; the demolition of all the Protestant places of worship, &c.* . . . This placard was affixed to the door of all the Protestant places of worship in Pragela.

the Vaudois valleys of Piedmont,¹ but in 1686 and 1687, the greater part of them returned to their native region, and were re-established there in virtue of the edict of Victor Amadeus, which opened it to them in 1692. But what became of those who remained on the banks of the Cluson?

Deprived not only of pastors, but of the privilege of holding any religious meeting among themselves, they did not hesitate regularly to cross the lofty mountains and deep valleys, which separated them from their brethren of Piedmont, in order to join them in their Sabbath-day services. From the upper part of Pragela they went to Macel by the Col du Pis, and from the lower part of the Val Cluson, they went to Pomaret, at the entrance of the Val Saint Martin. In order to accomplish these pious pilgrimages, seeking edification and the comfort of brotherly love, they were sometimes obliged to set out on the Saturday evening, and could not return to their own homes till Monday morning. Notwithstanding all the difficulty of travelling to so great a distance, they were glad to adhere to this method of procedure, because of the rigour with which all religious exercises were made the occasion of prosecutions in France, which Popery had now rendered so excessively hostile to liberty.

Even prayer and the religious consolation of the sick were now made matters of accusation. "Last autumn," says a document of the period, "the vicar-general of the provostship of Oulx gave information of a fact concerning John Challier of Pourrières, who was surprised in the act of making prayer, after the manner of the Protestants, for one called Peter Pastre, who was afflicted at the time with a very dangerous malady. . . . This case demands an exemplary punishment."² And whilst it was thus made a crime for the Vaudois to minister Christian consolations to the dying—whilst an exemplary punishment was demanded for those forbidden prayers, whose fervour was breathed forth in secret and in midst of

¹ Without a precise statement of the numbers, we may determine them approximately. The despatch of M. De Mandelslohe, quoted at the end of last chapter, announces an emigration of 600 Vaudois from Pragela as about to take place in the spring of 1686, whilst 600 had already left it in the autumn of 1685; and the Records of the Council of State of Geneva say, under date 31st August, 1687:—"The refugees who entered this city *yesterday* amount to about 800 persons, mostly from Pragela." (Extracts from the Archives of the Council of State, communicated by the Rev. M. Le Fort.)

² *Memoire pour la religion en la Plébanie d'Oulx*. Without date, but certainly belonging to this period, for we read in it:—"The heretics continue to go to the preaching at Pomaret, or other neighbouring places, whither also they go to get married, and carry their children for baptism." (Archives of the Bishopric of Pignerol.)

danger, as a flower blossoms upon ruins—would the reader wish to know what morals prevailed in the persecuting church of the Catholics of that region, to whom it was desired to assimilate the Vaudois? "As to the old Catholics" (that is, those who had always belonged to the Church of Rome), says the report just quoted, "there are amongst them persons debauched with wine, who frequent public-houses by night . . . and make their families suffer from want of the necessities of life; there are others who commit adulteries or other crimes, which cause much scandal. It will be requisite to inform the consuls,"¹ &c. . . . Thus a simple admonition was deemed sufficient for serious crimes committed by Papists, and punishments without parallel were awarded to the virtues of the Protestants! Such was the justice of Louis XIV. Such was always the spirit of the selfish and foolish castes by whose influence he was controlled.

But the Vaudois of Pragela did not long retain the difficult, yet precious privilege, of crossing the mountains to partake of the Lord's Supper in the congregations of their brethren. The tyrant of Versailles said to his ambassador at the court of the Duke of Savoy, "It is the presence of the Vaudois of Piedmont, on the frontiers of my dominions, which causes the desertion of my subjects, and you must represent to their sovereign that I am resolved to suffer it no longer."² We have seen already what was the result of these arrogant demands. The Vaudois of Piedmont were expelled from their country in a body, and these valleys, the last sanctuary in which the word of God was heard amongst the Alps, became as desolate as a tomb. On these terrible and frequent strokes, thus cutting off on every side the ancient boughs of the Israel of the Alps, it seemed as if the trunk which had borne the storms of so many ages must shortly fall, never to spring up any more. Alas! this sad presage was too surely to be realized for the valley of Pragela. The Church there was gradually extinguished, dying out like a lamp that wants oil—perishing like a victim devoured by birds of prey!

Every day, the executioners, appointed on behalf of the throne and the altar, tore again at the living, bleeding spouse of Christ. Poor persecuted Church! her places of worship and her ministers were taken away—her very liberty of prayer was taken away. But this was far from satisfying her destroyers: and as they proceeded, they sought to make their spoliations more gainful to themselves.

¹ Same Report; after the passage above quoted.

² Despatch of Louis XIV. to the Marquis D'Arcy, of 7th December, 1685. (Diplomatic Archives of France. Communicated by M. Guizot.)

The Church of Rome asked the property of the fugitive Vaudois, and Louis XIV. granted the request.¹ Robbers are punished, but a king is honoured, although he thus takes the property of his people—the property of the poor—the fields which they have inherited from their forefathers, and made fruitful by the sweat of their brow; or which they have purchased with the savings of long years of rigid economy and hard labour! But this was not all: the consistorial properties still remained. The royal spoliator seized upon these in the following year,² and made further gifts to various Catholic establishments.

In 1684 and in 1686, two new priests were settled in Pragela; in 1687, five doctors of the Sorbonne were sent from Paris to aid the missionaries in effacing, as much as possible, the traces of the Reformed Church, and extinguishing the signs of life which still appeared everywhere. In 1688, new popish churches were built; and, according to a work of the time, "the Catholic religion made visible progress, till, in 1690, on war breaking out between the Duke of Savoy and the King of France, it was remarked that piety was again very much cooled."³ The meaning of this is that the Vaudois of Piedmont had now returned to their valleys; and during the terrible winter which they passed in the Balsille, 1689–90, their brethren of Pragela frequently furnished them with provisions, which they much needed; whilst, on the other hand, the latter entertained a hope that, by the chances of the war, the Val Cluson might remain in the hands of Victor Amadeus, and would be incorporated with the other Vaudois valleys.

Victor Amadeus invaded Dauphiny in 1692. In consequence of an incursion of his troops into Pragela, all that part of this valley which extends from Fenestrelle to Pérouse, was given to the flames,

¹ By decree of 24th November, 1687. The following are its principal articles:—600 golden pistoles, from the price of the lands taken into the king's possession, are given to the *Religious Ladies of St. Mary of Pignerol*; 1000 to the hospital of St. James; 1200 to the venerable chapter of the churches of St. Donatus and St. Maurice; 1200 towards the settlement of certain vicars, intended for the instruction of the converts. The surplus of the price is given to the *Royal College of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers of Pignerol*. Then follows a list and valuation of the confiscated lands. (Archives of La Pérouse. Communicated by Professor Aillaud.)

² In January, 1688; by an edict enregistered by the parliament in the following month. Another edict adopted in December, 1688, and published on 9th January, 1690, disposes of the lands left unoccupied by the recent emigrations, in favour of the heirs, upon condition that they should neither sell nor alienate them before the lapse of five years. The object of this measure was to retain them in the kingdom.

³ *Abrégé de l'état de la vallée de Pragela de 1678 à 1717*. MS. already quoted. *Relation historique de l'état de la religion en Pragela*. (1711.) All these manuscripts, notwithstanding their titles, are of little importance, and contain almost nothing but insignificant details and vain declamations.

on 25th July, 1693. Thus were four parishes rendered uninhabitable. "The inhabitants," says the account above quoted, "all left it. Some went to Savoy, others to the Briançonnais, the greater part to the Vaudois valleys of Lucerna and St. Martin. These last then resumed the exercise of the Reformed religion; and, in spite of all that could be done, continued it, favoured by the troubles of war which occurred, till 1696. But in 1698, peace having been concluded, these obstinate relapsed heretics chose rather to forsake all and go to Switzerland, than to remain in possession of their lands and return to the Catholic religion. Of sixty-two families of the parish of Bourset, there remained only seven or eight."¹ These fifty-six families who emigrated from Bourset, were the same who founded the last of the Vaudois colonies established in Wurtemberg, from its foundation the poorest of them all. The reader will recollect the mean hamlet of New Engstedt, surrounded with forests, on a table land of Swabia, where these poor exiles had so much difficulty in accomplishing their settlement.

In 1694, the Vaudois had been encouraged to entertain better prospects; for the Duke of Savoy, who had re-established them in their own country in 1692, had likewise held out inducements to the French Protestants to share the lot of their brethren in religion. The inhabitants of Pragela subsequently sent a deputation² to Victor Amadeus II., to beg that he would secure to them the same privileges which he had granted to their brethren of the Piedmontese valleys; for the edict of 23d May, 1694, whilst declaring that liberty of conscience is to be recognized as belonging to the Reformed, adds, in express terms:³ "As to the Vaudois of Pragela and of Pérouse, who make profession of the same religion, they shall not enjoy this privilege any longer than for the space of ten years after the present war." It was during these ten years of precarious toleration that Protestantism recovered an unwonted vigour, and shed its last rays in the valley of Pragela.

At first, the inhabitants of this valley, who had retired into the dominions of the Duke of Savoy, asked and were allowed to take the oath of fidelity to him as their sovereign.⁴ Thereafter they

¹ *Abrégé de l'état de la vallée de Pragela*, &c. . . . "Those who went to Savoy," adds this manuscript, "returned, on the contrary, better Catholics than they had been before."

² Composed of one minister, *William Malanot*, pastor of Angrogna, and two laymen, *Messrs. Peyrot* and *John Ferrier*.

³ See the *Synodal Acts* of June and October, 1694, also those of 17th June, 1695.

⁴ The request was made on 2d March, 1694; the oath was administered on the 1st of July. They presented themselves to the number of 222. See *Mémoriale dei religionarii delle valli di Pragelato, San Martino e Perosa*; and the documents thereto annexed. (Civil Archives of Pignerol, category i., fasciculus 31, No. 27.)

resumed their weekly journeys to Macel and Le Pomaret, to attend public worship celebrated in these localities. It would even appear that family worship was religiously maintained in the sanctuary of the domestic hearth, in the greater part of the houses of Pragela; for the judicial prosecutions upon account of religion, and the new repressive measures incessantly adopted by the French government in these regions, prove, by their very number, the strength and prevalence of the hereditary attachment of the Vaudois to the doctrines of the Bible—a permanent cause for unwearying severity on the part of the Church of Rome. Such was the state of things till emigrations again commenced. Many Vaudois withdrew from Pragela to Switzerland in the end of 1697.¹

In virtue of the treaty of Turin (18th August, 1696), article vii., Louis XIV. soon demanded that Victor Amadeus should cease to give refuge and protection to Protestants, natives of France. Accordingly, the edict was issued on the 1st of July, 1698, requiring them to leave the dominions of Savoy within the space of two months. The Vaudois pastors were, at the same time, forbidden to extend their ministrations to the French territory, under pain of ten years of the galleys. We have already seen what troubles, what disorders in families, and what extensive emigrations arose from these severe measures.

In these desolated regions, the number of Catholic churches multiplied, as the population diminished. "Towards the end of 1698," says one account,² "Louis XIV. caused two churches to be built in Pragela; and provided stipend for eight priests,³ by letters-patent of the month of September of the same year."⁴ New houses were immediately built for these priests, and those which already existed were repaired.⁵

After this, the bitter and restless zeal of those who were engaged in bringing about apostasies by all kinds of means, applied itself, with redoubled craft and activity, to give the last blows to evangelical faithfulness. "Many parents," says a letter written at that time from the valleys, "are obliged to send into Switzerland their children, whom the Papists had taken from them, and whom they

¹ Letters from Berne, 28th January, 1698, and from Zurich, 30th January. (Archives of Berne, compartment E. Communicated by M. Monastier.)

² *Etat de la vallée de Pragela de 1678 à 1717*.

³ In May and June, 1698, five new priests were settled in Pragela, viz., at *Fenestrelle*, *Le Villaret*, *Le Bouvet*, *Le Chateau du Bois*, and *St. Pierre du Villar*.

⁴ There are several documents, connected with this subject, in the Archives of Pignerol, drawer A, Nos. 17 and 18.

⁵ Those of *Laval*, *Les Traverses*, *La Rua*, *Pourrières*, *Usseaux*, *Mentoules*, *Chaterant en Bourset*, *La Chapelle du Janbons*, and *Méane*.

sought to take from them again. Emissaries of Catholicism travel through the country from one place to another. . . . The debt of the valleys, in consequence of arrears of interest, from 1686 to 1694, has increased to more than 300,000 francs. The full amount of taxes and public burdens is demanded from them, from the time when they were driven out.¹ Nearly twenty-five families have already been won over to Popery, by promises or by threats. All sorts of means are employed, in order to weaken the Vaudois. After having been gradually reduced in numbers, they will be exterminated."²

Emigration continued. A new edict of Louis XIV. forbade the Protestants to sell their lands, without an express permission from the secretary of state.³ The prior of Mentoulez, in his mandatory of the 20th of February, 1700, said that *the Protestant religion had been planted in that country by violence*, and that zeal and activity must be redoubled, in order to oppose its mischievous power.⁴ The Archbishop of Turin proceeded in person to the valley of Pragela, in 1703.⁵ He found many Protestants still there, as well as in the valley of the Doire,⁶ and bore away with him the authentic *deeds* of a great number of conversions; as if religion was a thing to be settled by the help of a notary, or the gift of a heart could be made an affair of contract!

But at this period, war broke out again between Piedmont and France. Victor Amadeus II. addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of the valleys, inviting them to take up arms against Louis XIV.⁷ He endeavoured at the same time to induce their brethren of Pragela to join them. His protection was afforded to the Vaudois, when he stood in need of their assistance. Menaced by a king, he fell back upon the support of the people. What could a tyrant do, if he were only left to himself? The people whom he had persecuted defended him still, and ere long it was his lot to find refuge amongst them. The Vaudois wrested the upper part of Pragela from the dominion of France, and at the same time delivered it from the oppression of the Church of Rome. They set up their altars again; under the protection of their vic-

¹ Taxes which had not been gathered from 1686 to 1692.

² Archives of Berne. Compartment E; papers of 1697-1698.

³ Edict or declaration of 5th May, 1699. This prohibition only affected sales exceeding the sum of 3000 francs.

⁴ This mandatory is in the Archives of the Bishopric of Pignerol.

⁵ *Visites faites dans la Plébanie d'Oulx, par Monseigneur Vibo, archevêque de Turin.* A folio MS. in the Archives of the Bishopric of Pignerol.

⁶ Amongst other places, at Fenil, Salabertrana, Chaumont, and Mollaret.

⁷ It is dated 5th October, 1703. (Moser, proof documents, No. 18.)

torious arms, Protestant worship was everywhere re-established. "The cause of the evil was this," says one of the relations already quoted¹—"the ministers of the Val Lucerna came to preach to them on the Sabbath; and by their coming and going, filled the minds of the inhabitants with mischief." But how was it that Catholicism, supported by so many means of repressing what it disliked, could not resist an influence so temporary? The Bible alone can give the answer—its words were known to the people whom the Vaudois ministers called to judge of their doctrines.

There was even ground at that time to hope that in that district, this word of life would never again cease to animate the hearts of men, for Victor Amadeus had promised to provide "that all those of the Protestant religion, who had emigrated from the valleys of Pragela, might be enabled to return thither, and be restored to their civil rights, and enjoy what property they might thenceforth acquire there, with the free exercise of their religion, as they had exercised it before their departure."² But this promise, as we shall afterwards see, was not kept; and on the other hand, the Vaudois weakened themselves by division. The valley of St. Martin, and a part of that of Pérouse, constituted themselves into a republic under the illusory protection of Louis XIV.,³ and lived under this government for four years.⁴ Although this event was of no political importance—and yet it was entirely political—it had for the time a great influence on the circumstances of the Vaudois. The Duke of Savoy, however, was so just as not to make the other parts of the Vaudois valleys responsible for it. On the contrary, he generously afforded them relief, when, impoverished by the war, they began to suffer from famine—appointing in each commune a person charged with the duty of distributing bread to the poor.⁵

The duke himself, moreover, was at this time far from being prosperous. The armies of France had invaded his dominions. The Duke de la Feuillade had made himself master of Savoy in the spring of 1704; after which he penetrated into Piedmont by Mount Cenis, and took Suza, whilst the Duke de Vendome took

¹ Pragela, from 1698-1717. MS.

² Such are the terms of § III. of the secret articles of the treaty concluded between Victor Amadeus II. and England, 4th August, 1704.

³ By a treaty made between the Duke de la Feuillade and the inhabitants of the valleys, 15th July, 1704; and ratified by Louis XIV. at Versailles, 25th July. Signed Louis, countersigned Colbert (Archives of the Court).

⁴ From 25th July, 1704, to 17th August, 1708.

⁵ By an order of Bercastel, *commandant-general of his royal highness in the valley of Lucerna*; dated 20th November, 1704. (Archives of Turin, No. 284.)

Vercell.¹ In 1705, the successes of these generals were still greater, and almost all the towns of Piedmont fell into their hands. Again, Prince Eugene restored the fortunes of the Duke of Savoy, and defeated the French army, on the 7th of September, 1706, under the walls of Turin. The consequences of this victory were considerable. The French, who retired to Pignerol instead of pressing on to Casal, lost successively the Milanese, the Mantuan territory, Piedmont, and finally the kingdom of Naples. The war continued till 1710, but peace was not concluded till 1713.

In 1708, Victor Amadeus having seized Fenestrelle, brought the whole of the valley of Pragela under his dominion, of which he had previously possessed only the upper part, defended by the Vaudois, and the lower part since the surrender of Pignerol (13th March, 1707). This valley was then placed under the administration which already ruled the other parts of the Vaudois territory. The same governor was appointed over it.² The inhabitants were ordered to lay down their arms, and those who had emigrated were invited to return immediately.³ At this time, says an official report, "the British court, and their high mightinesses of Holland, exerted themselves to procure for the Protestants of Pragela the same privileges which their brethren of the other Vaudois valleys enjoyed. Queen Anne herself wrote upon this subject to Victor Amadeus. The duke's reply, of which we have a copy in our archives,⁴ and which is of date 3d March, 1709, was in the most favourable terms; but he represented that it seemed to him suitable, for various reasons, to defer this public step on his part till peace was concluded."⁵ However, to prove the sincerity of his intentions in this respect, he caused the Romish ecclesiastics in Pragela to be enjoined not to trouble the Vaudois in any way upon account of their doctrines, and even to leave those who had abjured free to return to Protestantism.⁶ Four months afterwards the Archbishop of Turin

¹ Suza was taken on the 12th of June, and Vercell on the 21st of July, 1704. (Art de vérifier les dates.)

² The advocate Gasca: *deputato per esercire en la qualita d'Intendente nelle valli di Luserna, San-Martino, Perosa e Pragellato*. . . . Instructions of 28th December, 1708. (Turin. Archives of the Court.)

³ Order of Victor Amadeus II., dated from the camp of Mentoules, 24th September, 1708. (Same Archives.)—Other documents, from the same place, are dated from the camp of Balbottet. These two localities are very near one another.

⁴ The original is in the British State Paper Office. Letters, Sardinia, V. 24.

⁵ *Memoire concernant la situation présente des vallées Piémont . . . présenté au Synode assemblé à La Haye, le 9th Sept., 1762*. (MS. communicated by M. Appia.)

⁶ All the priests of Pragela were invited, by a circular from the superior of the mission at Fenestrelle, to come to that town on the 2d of January, 1709. It was there that the intendant Gasca made known to them, by his own voice, the intentions of their sovereign.

ordered those who were under his jurisdiction not to make mention of the name or authority of Victor Amadeus when they had to do with heretics.¹

It seemed, therefore, that there was no impediment in the way of the restoration of the Vaudois churches in Pragela. The pastors of the neighbouring valleys repaired thither and performed the ministerial functions.² Schools were established for the instruction of youth, district meetings were re-opened, domestic worship was resumed with regularity, and everywhere preceded the arrangements for public worship. Numbers, also, who had emigrated, returned to their own abodes.

At the Vaudois synod which was held at Angrogna on the 11th of November, 1709, the deputies of Pragela³ presented themselves, "provided with a regular commission, signed by the consuls, the councillors, and 100 other heads of families, in name of all the Protestants of the valley."⁴ They asked to be again incorporated with the one body of the Vaudois churches, which was granted with readiness and delight. The unity of the body was to them merely a visible manifestation of the unity of the faith; and this last had never ceased. It was with much satisfaction that these different representatives of the Vaudois church found themselves able thus to exhibit a testimony of the spiritual union which had been maintained among all the members of that church, through all the political divisions, and all the vicissitudes which had agitated their country. Although separated, for almost a century, by the swords and sceptres of two dynasties, they found one another the same as they had been in former centuries; for the descent of evangelical Christians may be traced farther back than that of kings.

But this was to be the last communion of these fraternal valleys—a final and solemn act of Christian fellowship, against which human policy made haste to lodge its protest. "We declare that the acts of the synod of Angrogna may be carried into effect," said the intendant of Pignerol, "except the second article concerning the admission of persons from Pragela, declaring that article inadmissible and null, and rejecting it absolutely, because the inhabitants

¹ "On the 12th of May (1709) we were assembled at Fenestrelle, by order of the vicar of his lordship, the Archbishop of Turin, who forbade us to make use of the name and authority of his royal highness against the heretics." (Reports of the missionaries.—(Archives of the Bishopric of Pignerol.)

² From the month of February. (*Mémoires de Perron*. MS.—I will speak of it further on.)

³ Messrs Perron, Guyot, and Salleng.

⁴ Synodal Acts of 11th November, 1709. Preliminaries. (*Archives of the Vaudois Table*.)

of Pragela are not included in the privileges recognized as belonging to the other valleys."¹

But if an official recognition was refused them, they were nevertheless assured that they would not be disturbed upon account of their religion.² England, likewise, continued to interest herself on behalf of the Vaudois. As an ally of Victor Amadeus, she took upon herself the pay of their troops, to whom was confided the guard of the frontiers. Each soldier received a pay of *ten philips*. The winter of 1708-1709 having destroyed all the fruits of the earth, further assistance was also distributed to them.³

Without having organized congregations, the inhabitants of Pragela had then the privilege of meeting for worship; and, like a strong plant whose branches for a short time cease to be cut off, their church at this period made rapid progress. "We see, with the deepest regret," say the priests of Pragela, in a petition of this date, "that the inhabitants of this valley do not profit by the privilege which they have in being under the government of a sovereign, who excels equally in valour and in piety."⁴ They were at last converted, . . . and now again they have returned with mad eagerness to heresy. On the first Sabbath of Lent a minister came to preach at Usseaux, and many people assembled to hear him; on the second Sabbath the number was increased, and still more on the third. The pitiful state to which we see this valley about to be reduced, compels us to have recourse to your lordship, to put an end to this abomination."⁵

The *Royal Council* which had been established at Pignerol, and which at this time took the name of the *Senate*, applied itself to restrain the dangerous liberty, always so fatal to Popery.

¹ A translation of the words appended by the intendant Gasca at the end of the Acts of the Synod.

² " . . . Numbers of persons of the valleys of Pragela have returned to their former Protestant religion, and now profess it without being inquired after or disturbed, as they were assured that they would not. . . . (*Réflexions sur l'opportunité de rendre public l'article du traité du 21 Janvier 1705, &c.* . . . MS.—Turin, Archives of the Court.)

³ *Relation historique de la démolition des temples, et de l'établissement des Eglises paroissiales, en Pragela.* (MS. of the library of M. Aillaud, at Pignerol.)—This work pretends that relief was given, in order to bring back the Vaudois who had become Catholics to Protestantism, "which did," it is added, "cause numbers to prove unfaithful."

⁴ This flattery, addressed to Victor Amadeus, is expressed in precisely the same words which had been previously addressed by the same men to Louis XIV., then at war with the Duke of Savoy.

⁵ *Supplique du chapitre d'Oulx, March, 1709.* Without other date.—*Requête de MM. les curés de Pragela*, of 13th March, 1709. Signed, *Blanc, curé de la Rua; Poncel, curé d'Usseaux; Merlin, curé des Traverses; Prin, curé de Pourrières; Bonne, curé de La Val.*—Drawn up by Joseph Samuel, notary. (Turin, Archives of the Court. Nos. of series, 670, 671.)

For this purpose it endeavoured to put impediments in the way of those fraternal relations which were so promptly renewed amongst the Vaudois of the different valleys; and the ministers of the valley of Lucerna were requested not to go to Pragela, at the same time that those of the people of Pragela, and other French refugees who had taken up their abode in the valley of Lucerna, were ordered to quit it within a short time.¹ The pastors, however, being strangers to the political considerations which governed the conduct of Victor Amadeus, and with good reason regarding the evangelical Christians of Pragela as one of the most interesting parts of their flock, went to them as often as was requisite, or as the duties of their own charges permitted.²

The senate of Pignerol, without having the right to employ any repressive measure against the exercise of a liberty authorized by the sovereign, thought fit, however, to signify its dissatisfaction; which it did by a sort of mandatory on the 2d of April, 1710, recalling attention to all the prohibitions previously issued against the exercise of the Reformed religion in the valleys of Pérouse and Pragela. The Protestants, strong in their right, in their convictions, and in their sense of the necessity of protesting against the tyranny by which they had suffered, replied to this manifestation on the part of the senate by the most solemn act of their worship; and on the 7th of April, 1710, they proclaimed the closer alliance of their beloved churches, and the fellowship of all Vaudois hearts, in a way that had not been attempted before for twenty-six years, by the celebration of the Lord's Supper at Usseaux, in which the inhabitants of all the valleys participated, uniting as members of one family with those of the Cluson and the Doire.

The Catholic clergy of these latter valleys addressed to the senate of Pignerol a representation,³ as to the little regard which the Protestants paid to the prohibitions of which they had been reminded, and sent with it a report,⁴ drawn up by lawyers, intended to prove that the Vaudois of Pragela were not entitled to enjoy liberty of con-

¹ Order of the commandant of Lucerna, addressed to the syndics of that valley, under date 25th May, 1709. (Archives of Le Villar, volume marked *Religionarii*, fol. 161.)

² "On the 27th of February, 1709, a minister came to Pragela who perverted all the people. On the 23d of March, M. Bastie baptized three children; almost all the population assembled. On the 15th of April, another minister came for a marriage, &c. . . ." (*Mémoires des missionnaires de Fénestrelle.* MS.)—M. Bastie was pastor of La Tour.

³ Dated 28th May, 1710.

⁴ *Mémoire touchant l'établissement, les progrès et la cessation de la religion prétendue réformée dans la vallée de Pragela; et touchant l'engagement de S. A. R. à l'égard du rétablissement de ladite religion, ensuite de son traité d'alliance avec les Anglais et les Hollandais.* (Folio MS. in the Royal Library at Turin.)

science. "His royal highness," they say, "promised, by the treaty of 21st January, 1704, and by the conditions previously agreed to at Utrecht, that the Protestants who had emigrated from Pragela might return thither, and exercise their religion there as freely as before their departure; granting the same privileges to all others of the same religion who might afterwards settle there, provided that neither the one nor the other should in any way attempt to turn Catholics from their religion, or to do them any injury. But the Protestants who emigrated from Pragela, left that valley for no other reason than because their religion was interdicted there. They had, therefore, no liberty of conscience before their departure, and, according to the terms of the treaty, liberty of conscience ought now to be taken from them." Such was the substance of their argument.

In consequence of these things the Duke of Savoy, probably that he might form an opinion concerning the importance of the Protestants of Pragela, demanded a list of their names and an account of the lands which they possessed.¹ It being now indubitably ascertained that there was no persuading of them into submission, vexatious measures were resumed against them. The Dutch ambassador complained, and the Marquis de St. Thomas, the minister of foreign affairs, replied that the Vaudois were turbulent and rebellious subjects, who had been already treated with only too much gentleness.² Soon afterwards they were enjoined to abstain from work on the Catholic festival days.³ In France the Protestants of Dauphiny were forbidden to have arms in their possession;⁴ and the society *de propagandâ fide et extirpandis hæreticis* renewed its intrigues and operations everywhere.

"In 1710, during the war," says Dieterici,⁵ "some French marauders having committed all kinds of havoc in the valley of Pragela, the Savoyard governor prohibited any assemblage of more

¹ These documents are in the *Archives of the Court*, at Turin. The letter of Victor Amadeus, demanding them, is addressed *al Marchese di Borgo*, and dated 14th April, 1710.

² The note of the Dutch ambassador, M. van der Meer, and the reply of the Marquis of St. Thomas, dated 23d February, 1711, are in the *Archives of Turin*. Part of the correspondence relates to the arrest of the Protestant consul, Guyot, who had neglected to cause windows to be made for the Catholic church of Pragela.

³ Edict of Victor Amadeus II., of 22d May, 1711, commencing thus: "It having been represented to us by our procurator-general substitute in the superior Council of Pignerol, that our subjects of our newly conquered lands and countries of Pragela, do not observe the festivals commanded by our holy mother church, &c. . . ." (*Turin, Archives of the Court.*)

⁴ Edict of Louis XIV., signed at Versailles, 17th September, 1712.

⁵ *History of the Vaudois in Brandenburg*. . . . Chap. vii.

than twelve or fourteen persons. Under pretext of this ordinance, all public worship was prevented in Pragela. Captain Friquet, whom Victor Amadeus had commissioned, in 1709, to write to his brethren who had emigrated, to induce them to return to their homes, where he promised them the fullest liberty of conscience, was one of the first victims of this return to arbitrary measures. Religious meetings were held in his house; he was cited to Pignerol, and in order to escape condemnation, was himself compelled to leave his native land."¹

Meanwhile the English minister, who had been the protector of the Vaudois, had been changed. They were lost sight of amidst political events. At the time of the treaty of Utrecht they were forgotten by the Protestant powers, and nothing was done to secure their rights. England, which had secured the possession of the valley of Pragela to the Duke of Savoy, on condition that he should maintain religious liberty there, was, by new arrangements, prevented from interfering. Victor Amadeus, having made up his quarrel with the King of France, perceived a possibility of adding to his dominions the county of Nice, and yet of keeping the valley of Pragela, upon condition of destroying Protestantism there. And that this double cession might be represented as an exchange of territory between the two powers, he ceded the valley of Barcelonnette to Louis XIV., who accepted this disadvantageous arrangement as an honourable bargain, in order thus to deprive England of her sole right to interfere on the frontiers of Italy. And thus, by these secondary transactions in a council of potentates, the whole religious prospects of a people were sacrificed to the secret ambition of Popery, which was pursuing them to destruction.

"We possess a report by M. Léger,"² it is said in a document emanating from Geneva half a century after this event, "concerning the engagements of Victor Amadeus II. with the court of England, and the facility with which, at the time of the treaty of Utrecht, that court might have secured to the people of Pragela the same rights which the three other valleys enjoyed. But, through negligence, they were forgotten, and their valley was lost."³ These are the words of men who were amongst the most constant protectors of the Vaudois. It now remains for us to see in what manner the

¹ John Gonnet and John Guigas were cited at the same time with him, and found it necessary likewise to go into exile.

² Pastor and professor at Geneva—nephew of the historian. He died on the 18th of January, 1719, aged sixty-seven years and four months.

³ *Mémoire concernant la situation présente des vallées du Piémont . . . présenté au Synode de la Haye, le 9 Septembre 1762.* (*Synodal Records of the Walloon churches.*—Copy communicated by M. Appia.)

loss which they deplore took place, and how the light of the gospel was extinguished on the banks of the Cluson, more than a century ago, by the breath of tyranny and intolerance. May a new historian yet have to tell how it has been rekindled by that of liberty!

CHAPTER XVII.

HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS OF PRAGELA AND THE ADJACENT VALLEYS.

SEVENTH PERIOD.—FROM THE TREATY OF UTRECHT, IN 1713,
TO THE FIRST EMIGRATIONS CAUSED BY THE EDICTS WHICH
PRECEDED THAT OF 1730.

Obligations incurred by Victor Amadeus in his treaties, in favour of the Vaudois—How he got quit of these obligations—Measures adopted against the Vaudois of Pragela during his absence in Sicily—Exertions of the King of Prussia on their behalf—Beneficial interference of the English ambassador at Turin—The pastors of the other parishes prevented from entering Pragela to minister—Severities employed against the elders of Pragela, to prevent their conducting religious meetings—Famine—Advantage taken of it for proselytism—Prohibition of all religious meetings—The case of Peter Ronchail and his family—The people of Pragela forbidden to attend public worship in the other valleys—Other tyrannical measures—All the inhabitants of the valleys acquired by the treaty of Utrecht are ordained to have their children baptized in the Church of Rome—Iniquitous law regarding inheritance—Compulsory observance of festivals—Illustrative instances of persecution—Victor Amadeus shows the most ungrateful forgetfulness of the former services of the Vaudois.—Friendship shown to them by Mr. Edges, the British ambassador—Gradual increase of intolerance; emigrations, and wearing out of the Vaudois church in Pragela.

WE have seen that by the third of the secret articles of the treaty concluded between Victor Amadeus II. and England, on the 4th of August, 1704, all the fugitive Protestants of the valley of Pragela had acquired the right to return and enjoy there the free exercise of their religion *as much as they had enjoyed it before their departure*. The same condition was inserted in the treaty of the Hague, of 21st January, 1702. But in the archives of the court of Turin may be seen a diplomatic note in these terms:—"By the fifth article of the treaty of alliance between her majesty, Queen Anne, of England, and the King,¹ the acquisition of the valleys of

¹ Victor Amadeus II. took the title of king, as King of Sicily, on the 21st of December, 1703.

Pragela, Oulx, . . . &c., was promised to him in such a way, that they were to become his without his giving anything instead. In the third of the secret articles of the said treaty, the king, on his part, promised the free exercise of their religion to the Protestants. But her Britannic majesty, not having been able, at the peace of Utrecht, to cause the King of France to cede this country to the King of Piedmont, it is evident that the promise of England has been of no effect; and consequently the king's promise is no longer binding upon him, as he now holds these valleys in virtue of a direct exchange made with Louis XIV. for the valley of Barcelonnette."¹

The treaty of Utrecht was concluded on the 11th of April, 1713.² In the end of the previous month, Victor Amadeus had signified to the Vaudois that he entertained kind intentions with regard to them, and was much satisfied with their good conduct during the war just ended;³ but no sooner was the treaty concluded, than the oblivious monarch did not even deign to reply to their most respectful and rightful petitions.⁴ He did not, however, declare against the schemes of ecclesiastical organization which were laid before him, and said nothing which could make the Vaudois believe that he harboured the design of despoiling them of that liberty of conscience which he had promised them; but he refused to come under any obligation in this matter, exacting, however, from his new subjects the oath of fidelity, which bound them to his service.⁵ Louis XIV., seeing that the exercise of the Protestant religion was not immediately repressed in the valleys which he had ceded, prohibited his own subjects newly converted to Catholicism from having anything to do with foreign Protestants.⁶

¹ Turin, Archives of the Court, No. of series, 497.

² Five different treaties were concluded on that day between France and other European powers. That between Louis XIV. and Victor Amadeus II. was signed at four o'clock in the afternoon.—The fourth article of it is in these terms:—"His most Christian majesty transfers to his royal highness of Savoy, irrevocably and for ever, the following valleys, to wit, the valley of Pragela, with the forts of Exilles and Fenestrelle, and the valleys of Oulx, Sezane, Bardonnèche, and Chateau Dauphin, and all which is on the Piedmontese side of the water-shed of the Alps. On the other hand, his royal highness cedes the valley of Barcelonnette . . . so that the summits of the Alps shall henceforth form the boundary line between France and Piedmont."

³ This testimony from their sovereign was conveyed to the Vaudois by the Marquis D'Antourne, 31st March, 1713.

⁴ Towards the end of April, 1713, Victor Amadeus paid a visit to Pragela, to see his new possessions, and especially the fortresses of Fenestrelle and Exilles: The Vaudois addressed a petition to him for the free exercise of their religion, but it remained unanswered. ⁵ The oath was administered on 29th July, 1713.

⁶ By edict of 8th November, 1713.

Intercourse with the Vaudois, in particular, was regarded as excessively pernicious to their Catholic neighbours. In the sermons, the mandatories, and even the rescripts of this period, Catholics were incessantly recommended not to take Vaudois into their service; and not to be present at their meetings; and it was added, that if a Papist had reason, for decency's sake, to accompany the funeral of a Protestant, he ought to retire from the burying-ground before the officiating pastor had commenced to speak. The Bible gave these humble children of the Alps a power of conversion more efficacious, for changing the hearts of men, than all the appeals to violence by which the Church of Rome had sought to make servile adepts embrace her cause.

In 1713, says Dieterici,¹ the Duke of Savoy went to Sicily to be crowned, and remained there till near the middle of 1714. The enemies of the Vaudois took advantage of this circumstance to destroy their church in Pragela. In 1713, the Savoyard² intendant Pavie, issued orders that no schoolmaster should be settled there without the approbation of the Catholic clergy. Two teachers, who had been previously settled, were compelled to cease their functions in February, 1714. Thereafter, the consuls, syndics, and other Protestant magistrates of the valley, were removed from their offices, and Catholics appointed in their stead. The former had been elected, according to custom, six months before their entry upon their duties. At that time Victor Amadeus was still in Piedmont, and he offered no opposition to these elections. But in the beginning of 1714 they were annulled in absence of the sovereign.

The Vaudois addressed themselves to their foreign protectors. Captain Friquet wrote to Papon, a former pastor of Pragela, then minister of the French church at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, to acquaint him with the griefs of his compatriots. Papon put the representations of the Vaudois into the hands of the resident of the court of Berlin,³ who transmitted them to the King of Prussia; and that monarch, by a letter of the 24th of March, 1714, charged his representatives in England, Holland, and at Augsburg, to make known to these courts the increasing dangers which threatened the existence of Protestantism in the valley of Pragela. "You may declare," he said, "that we are ready to concur in all the measures which the States-General, Queen Anne, and the evangelical states of the empire may deem it proper to take, in order to preserve the Reformed religion from imminent ruin in the valleys of Piedmont."

¹ *History of the Vaudois in Brandenburg*, ch. vii.

² This adjective does not indicate that he was a Savoyard by birth, but merely that he was in the service of the Duke of Savoy.

³ M. Reinhold Hecht.

This first communication not having produced the effect which he had expected, Frederick William renewed his endeavours by a letter of 28th April, 1714, in which he said—"You will, verbally and by writing, make the most urgent representations to her majesty the queen, and her ministers, . . . that they may induce the Duke of Savoy to leave our fellow-Protestants in Pragela in the enjoyment of entire liberty of conscience, and faithfully to fulfil the promise which he made in regard to this matter." But Victor Amadeus was then absent, and the proceedings against the people of Pragela were continued. "Who can even tell," says a letter of that period, "but that he may prolong his absence of purpose, to be able to say on his return, that all was done without his knowledge? Meanwhile, the great blow will be struck, and his highness will find an excuse in his conscience, not permitting him to overthrow a work of conversion."¹

The violent measures anticipated by the author of the sentences just quoted, soon began to be employed. In the month of May, 1714, the commandant of Pérouse entered Pragela with troops, made his way into the dwellings of the principal persons amongst the Vaudois in the middle of the night, dragged them from their beds, and conducted them in chains to Fenestrelle.² The King of Prussia, having heard of this cruel treatment, renewed his solicitations in favour of the Vaudois. "We learn from every quarter," he wrote on the 19th of June, 1714, "and you will see by the inclosed, that the persecutions against the Vaudois go on increasing; so that the entire suppression of the religion of the gospel in these countries will be inevitable, if nothing is done to succour these poor people. . . . You will entreat, in our name, her majesty, the Queen of Great Britain, to urge upon the Duke of Savoy, in the strongest manner, the maintenance of liberty of conscience in these valleys."

The English ambassador at the court of Turin received orders to address himself accordingly to the ministers of Victor Amadeus. His representations produced, at first, some happy effects. The king, having returned from Sicily, moderated in some degree the character of the re-actionary proceedings which took place in Pragela. However, it was not long till the prohibition was renewed against the pastors of the other Vaudois valleys crossing the Cluson, to conduct the exercises of religion. One of them having braved this prohibition, was imprisoned by order of the intendant

¹ Letter written from Vevey, 17th April, 1714, and quoted by Dieterici, ch. vii.

² The particulars are taken from a letter by Captain Friquet, written from Geneva, 31st May, 1714. Quoted by the same author.

of Pignerol. The interposition of the Protestant ambassadors at the court of Turin readily obtained his restoration to liberty; but thenceforth, his colleagues and himself very naturally felt an increased and increasing reluctance to go beyond the field of labour assigned to them, within the limits of their own parishes.

The people of Pragela, however, were not discouraged: the elders of each commune undertook, as in former times, to conduct, in their turns, familiar and edifying prayer-meetings. And what followed? These elders received orders to attend at Turin. They went thither, accordingly, and were seized and carried to different towns of Piedmont, where they were kept prisoners.¹ However, all the citations to Turin were not obeyed in the same way by those to whom they were addressed. Jacob Perron, a Vaudois, who received one of them, says, in his memoirs, "This was in the month of May, 1714. The king was then in Sicily. Summonses were sent to the principal people of our valley, the object being to banish them to Piedmont, or to make them change their religion. To save myself from this persecution, I was obliged to quit the country, leaving my father, who was eighty years of age, sick and bed-ridden, and my wife, who was almost in a dying state; and I remained six weeks away from home before I could venture to return."² He passed these six weeks in the valley of Lucerna, an evidence of the brotherly feelings with which the people of these poor valleys always regarded each other. "During my absence," continues the narrator, "one of these summonses was brought to my father, and a few days after, the officer of justice came to say to him, on the part of the châtelain, that he had only to give him thirty livres of Piedmontese money, for the informations which the said châtelain, the registrar, and the procurator-fiscal, had drawn up against him, on account of religion."

By these particulars we may judge to what odious exactions the magistrates of these districts were accustomed to subject the Vaudois. Permitted to escape with impunity, and perhaps encouraged in their proceedings, because of the injury which they did to the

¹ There were eight of them who were thus treated.—These particulars are derived from a document on stamped paper, entitled *Minute de requête pour présenter au roi, laquelle n'a pas été présentée*. It is in the Archives of the Bishopric of Pignerol.

² *Mémoire des persécutions pour notre sainte religion, qui me sont arrivées depuis le mois d'août en l'année 1708, que le roi de Sardaigne avec les alliés, ont conquis notre pays de Pragella*.—These memoirs were written by an elder of the church of Suchières, named Jacob Perron.—For brevity's sake, I shall henceforth quote them as *Mémoires de Perron*.—This MS. was communicated to me by M. Lombard-Odier, of Geneva, whose family had in 1730 received into their house the exiled author, who left them this memorial.

Protestants, they went about the work with all the more zeal, as they contrived to make it serviceable to their own interests. "The registrar," says Perron, "added, that if this money was not given to him, he would come and take our furniture out of the house. My father replied that he had done no wrong nor harm to any one—that he had no money—that they might come and take away his furniture if they would, but as for his religion, he would never forsake it."

At this time, moreover, great distress reigned in these valleys.¹ The famine was so great, that unhappy people, who had neither home nor food, might be seen wandering about the country, trying to support life on the herbs that grew in the fields.² Monks, Jesuits, and missionaries of every denomination took advantage of this state of things to obtain from them promises of becoming Catholics, in exchange for a little money or a morsel of bread.³

There was even a plan formed for systematically turning the miserable circumstances of the country to account in this way, by united and concerted measures.⁴ All the parish priests received supplies of money, which were destined exclusively for the relief of those who had become Catholics, and were refused to the Protestants.

But at the same time that the Vaudois of Pragela were violently dispersed through Piedmont, their brethren, who desired to settle in Turin, were driven from it.⁵ The Protestant schools of the valleys of the Cluson and the Doire were now also shut up; and the public services of the Reformed religion were formally prohibited.⁶ The people of Pragela reclaimed against this prohibition.

¹ *Rapport du triste état des Eglises du Pragela et des anciennes vallées*; dated 1st June, 1714. (Archives of the Venerable Company of Pastors of Geneva, register S, p. 258.)

² Letter of Reynaudin to the Genevese pastors; 15th June, 1714.—Same source, p. 260.—This Reynaudin was then pastor at Bobi. In 1689, when still only a student, he left the academy of Basle, to follow the expedition of Arnaud, the narrative of which was written by him.

³ Same documents.

⁴ Plan, *per contenere ne limiti, gl' eretici; impedire a loro progressi; aiutare le conversioni, e sostenere li convertiti*. It is here proposed, amongst other things, to give to each parish priest, 600 livres annually, in order to give marriage portions to fifteen girls who shall have become Catholics, to pay the taxes and debts of the converts—to obtain divers exemptions in their favour, &c. . . . (Archives of Turin. No. of series, 247.)

⁵ *Progetto di reale biglietto, pel vicario di Torino, nel concernente i religionarii*. (Archives of Turin. Series 512.)—This paper contains notice of a multitude of restrictions imposed upon the residence and commerce of Protestant strangers in the capital.

⁶ *Requête des habitants du Pragela*. (Without date; but it must have been in 1714 or 1715.) Archives of the Bishopric of Pignerol.

The reply to their petition was a prohibition against holding even private meetings. "It having been represented to us,"¹ said Victor Amadeus, "that clandestine meetings are frequently held in the valleys of Oulx, Exiles, Cézane, Bardonnèche, and Pragela, . . . we prohibit the religionaries of these districts from assembling in numbers of more than ten persons, whether of the one or the other sex, in any place or on any pretext whatever, except in the meetings of municipal councils. The transgressors of this order shall be punished by a fine of one hundred crowns of gold, for the first offence, and by ten years of the galleys for the second. Women guilty of the like infraction, shall incur a fine of twenty crowns of gold, for the first offence, and a punishment of two hours of the pillory for the second."²

This edict was published in Pragela, on the 7th of February, 1716. It is impossible to tell in what a multitude of instances it was made a pretext, by a servile magistracy and a malevolent clergy, for public or secret acts of oppression, underhand vexation, and annoyance of every possible description. "It has been proved," say subsequent instructions for proceedings at law, "that in the stable of Peter Ronchail, there were twelve persons assembled, men and women, without reckoning the little children and three women who were before the door."³ Thereupon followed report, denunciation, official petition, the officers of justice sent down to the spot, imprisonments, advocates' fees, condemnation, the ruin of the family, the dispersion of its members, who went into exile to avoid the galleys or the pillory, the abandonment of children left to perish of want, and the triumph of the persecutor—Popery. In vain was it urged that amongst the twelve persons denounced, there were a beggar woman to whom alms had just been given, and three children of a nearly related family, who were playing with their little cousins Ronchail, also a sick woman visited by two of her neighbours: all these representations went for nothing with the judges. Peter Ronchail, a man bowed down with age, was condemned to two years' imprisonment; his brother Stephen, to three blows of the strapado; and the whole family collectively to the costs of process, and a fine of one hundred crowns of gold for each

¹ By the intendant of Pignerol, under the influence of the council, whose members were guided by the clergy of the city, who themselves were instigated by the Jesuits of Pragela.

² Given at La Vénérie, 1st February, 1716. Signed *Victor Amedée*; counter-signed *Lanfranqui*.

³ *Substance des éclaircissements donnés sur lesdits articles, par M. le président Borda, dans sa lettre à S. M. du 13th Juillet, 1727.* (A paper in the Archives of State at Turin. No. of series, 530 bis.)

member.¹ This is an example of the way in which those very Vaudois were now treated, whose fidelity Victor Amadeus II. had so often praised. It shows, also, what fruits the edict of 1st February, 1716, was destined to bear.

Thus prevented from conducting the exercises of their religion in any way, either in public assemblies or in private houses, the invincible Christians of Pragela resumed their Sabbath-day pilgrimages to the churches of Macel and Le Pomaret. They did not scruple to take long journeys in order to be present at the religious assemblies of their brethren, to whom the ancient edicts of the house of Savoy guaranteed the free exercise of their religion. But they were soon deprived of this resource likewise, through the instigation of the clergy, always possessed of great power over the council of Pignerol.² A few French Protestants, whom the Duke of Savoy had specially retained in his new dominions, obtained, as a favour, notes, authorizing their admission into the place of worship at Le Pomaret. But, upon various pretexts, these notes were afterwards withdrawn from most of them.³ The prohibition was then renewed against the Vaudois working on the Catholic festival days.⁴ They petitioned again, and obtained liberty to work on these days *with their doors shut*, or in their fields, if they should receive permission from the local judge.⁵ These were but new openings for arbitrary tyranny, and new opportunities for vexation on the most frivolous pretences.

The people of Pragela now sent a deputy to Geneva,⁶ to ask counsel and protection. Switzerland, in its turn, had recourse to

¹ This sentence is of date 4th June, 1727; but as the facts correspond with the edict of 1716, I have thought it right to state them here, as an immediate consequence of that edict.

² The following is the series of papers relative to these facts:—I. (Of date, 31st March, 1717)—Petition of the procurator-general, that the Protestants of Le Pomaret may be forbidden to admit Catholics to their exercises of worship.—II. (Of date, 2d April)—Rescript of Victor Amadeus, in accordance with this demand.—III. (Of date, 30th April)—Petition of the refugees who had been permitted to reside in the valleys.—IV. *Biglietto Regio*, by which they were allowed to go to the Vaudois place of worship, upon obtaining a written permission for themselves, individually, from the governor of Pignerol.—V. New order (of date, 8th May), prohibiting the reception of the Protestants of Pragela in the place of worship at Le Pomaret.—VI. Proclamation of the council, calling attention to all these measures, and dated 28th May. (Extracted from the records of the old superior Council of Pignerol, and from the Archives of Turin.)

³ Especially because they had been settled in Pragela before the treaty of Utrecht.

⁴ Rescript of 14th July, 1718. (Archives of Le Villar, vol. *Religionarii*, fol. 176.)

⁵ Rescript of 9th August, 1718.—This paper is in the form of a *biglietto regio* in the Archives of Turin, and of simple *Instructions* to the intendant of Pignerol, in the Archives of that city.

⁶ He arrived there in February, 1719, and went thence to Zurich.

the intercession of Holland and of England.¹ Some insignificant concessions were obtained,² but the relief was only momentary. At last a new order,³ more severe than the preceding, absolutely interdicted the Reformed religion. But human hearts could not be closed like places of worship, and the proscribed religion, notwithstanding all the impediments with which it was surrounded, was continually springing up anew in exercises secretly conducted in the woods or in cottages,—like those vivacious plants which, if pressed down by a stone, grow afresh in the course of a night through any crevice which remains; and whose vigorous shoots, continually sprouting up, fill every chink which they can find, and need nothing but a little air to make them green and luxuriant.

The pastors of the other Vaudois valleys were also repeatedly prohibited from admitting any stranger into their places of worship;⁴ the object of this prohibition being to banish their brethren of Pragela from their congregations. The most urgent petitions against this regulation were in vain addressed by the Vaudois to the sovereign;⁵ their adversaries met them with arguments to the opposite effect;⁶ fanaticism was aroused, severities were continued, and finally, all the inhabitants of the valleys acquired by the treaty of Utrecht, were ordered to have their children baptized in the Church of Rome, twenty-four hours after their birth, under penalty of two hundred livres of fine for each contravention.⁷ The Vaudois in vain sent up new petitions: they received no relief nor consolation except from foreign Protestants.⁸ The civil code, promulgated in 1723, under the title of the *Piedmontese Constitutions*, sanctioned all the iniquitous orders against which they protested,⁹ and their new supplications were less regarded than the former.

But these indefatigable defenders of liberty of conscience sent to Geneva, at this time, a young man of their valley, that he might

¹ Letter of 6th February, 1719. (Archives of the Pastors of Geneva, register S, p. 708.)

² 25th June, 1720; instructions to the Senate of Pignerol, to be indulgent towards the Vaudois.

³ Of date 17th July, 1720.

⁴ On 23th September and 22d October, 1720.

⁵ By a memorial of the 18th of January, 1721, entitled *Griefs des vallées du Piémont*. (Communicated.)

⁶ *Memoria sopra il raccorso, fatto . . . e sopra diversi abusi dei Protestanti*. (Archives of the Court.) A long and wearisome dissertation, heartless and unjust.

⁷ Decree of the Court of Pignerol, passed on 21st April, 1721, on the report of the procurator-general.

⁸ Amongst other gifts, they received 500 florins from the Walloon church of Middleburg, where one of the sons of Henry Arnaud was then pastor.—9th January, 1722.—(Archives of the Pastors of Geneva, vol. T, p. 120.)

⁹ See the tenth chapter; also pp. 25, 605, &c. of the 4th edition.

prepare himself for the ministry of the gospel, eventually to come and preach amongst them the word of God. They hoped that, not being of foreign birth, he might be permitted to exercise his peaceful functions in his own country, as was the case in the other Vaudois valleys.¹ They did not foresee that, before the termination of his studies, the church for which he was intended would have terminated her own long course of sufferings and desperate conflicts.

Proselytism redoubled its efforts to overthrow this church, now indeed almost destroyed already, but by no means conquered. A law had been obtained to the effect, that any child of Vaudois parents embracing Catholicism should be entitled, although his parents were still alive, to enforce a claim to that portion of inheritance which would have fallen to him after their death.² From this arose a multitude of intrigues in order to draw away children from the religion of their family, that legal proceedings might then be instituted in their name against their own parents, for the division of the property which belonged to these parents, to the impoverishment of the Vaudois families. It is easy to imagine what troubles, disorders, and heartburnings, must have resulted from these iniquities.

Contemporaneously, however, with all this fierce zeal, there were also remarkable acts of disinterestedness, especially on the part of those simple and warm-hearted persons, who, even amidst the doings of Popery, still fixed their eyes upon the charity of Christ. In 1724, for example, there were already eighty young Vaudois girls, mostly belonging to the valleys of Pérouse and Pragela, who, having become Catholics, were provided with marriage portions at the expense of their new church.³

But, at the same time, Protestant notaries were forbidden to receive the testamentary deeds of Catholics, and Catholics were forbidden to sell their lands to Protestants beyond the tolerated limits.⁴ The order, also, to the industrious Vaudois, to do honour

¹ The name of the deputy sent from Pragela to Geneva, to obtain the admission of the young Pragelan into the academy of that city, was Borel. (He arrived there on 21st March, 1723. A commission was appointed on the 14th to examine his proposal. The report was favourable. The name of the student thus admitted was Guyot. He arrived at Geneva on the 4th of June, and did honour to his benefactors.) Borel obtained also from the Bernese government, the foundation of a bursary, in the academy of Lausanne, for another student from Pragela. (See the *Records of the Company of Pastors of Geneva*, vol. T, pp. 247–250, 258, 307, 315, 335, 405, 431, &c.)

² *Constit.*, p. 25.

³ Mandatory of the vicar-general of the archbishopric of Turin, dated 18th January, 1724. (Printed.)—[Perhaps some readers may, like the Translator, be inclined to a view of this fact, not quite so favourable as that of the author.]

⁴ *Biglietto regio, al Senato di Pinerolo*, 27th June, 1724.

to the popish festivals by an unproductive idleness, was several times repeated.¹ It is evident how easily they could thenceforth be annoyed on many futile pretexts. The following is an example:—"In 1726," says Jacob Perron in his memoirs, "on the eve of the day which Catholics call the *Fête-Dieu*,² and on which they are accustomed to plant little leafy boughs in front of their houses, the parish priest of Suchières came and said to me, in presence of two witnesses, that he had orders from the king (which was not true) to cause me to adorn my house like the Catholics. He added that those of our religion did it, as they ought, in the other villages through which the procession passed, and that if I did not do it he would make the châtelain acquainted with it, that he might inform against me." Perron refused thus to do what implied a consent in ceremonies which his religion condemned, and legal proceedings were speedily commenced against him. He was cited before the governor of Fenestrelle, and with difficulty made his escape from the soldiers who were sent to take him prisoner.

We find Messrs. Friquet and Gonnet also setting forth in a letter,³ that, on the 7th of the month of March (1726), they, with others to the number of twelve persons, being assembled to keep a fast, were seen by the parish priest, who wrote to the court, from which, in course of a few days, orders were issued to the senate of Pignerol to inquire into the matter; which having been done, they were apprehended by order of the senate, and conveyed to the prisons of Pignerol, where they were detained for five weeks, and afterwards condemned to pay a fine of 100 crowns of gold each, besides the expense of their detention, which amounted to 900 livres. They add that they had not transgressed any edict of their sovereign, as there were only a small number of persons assembled, and solely for the purpose of prayer; that they had presented a petition to the King of Sardinia to be acquitted of that exorbitant fine, but that their petition had been remitted to the procurator-fiscal of Pignerol, the same who had already prosecuted the case against them; and that thus they had no recourse but to the charity of their brethren. "M. Léger,"⁴ it is added, "states that these persons are truly worthy of consideration, and that there does exist an edict of the King of Sardinia, forbidding the inhabitants of Pragela to assemble in any greater number than ten per-

¹ 2d July, 1721; 12th May, 1724, &c.

² [When the mass is carried in triumphal procession.]

³ Dated from Les Traverses, in Pragela, 5th June, 1726. What is here said is verbally extracted from the Records of the Venerable Company of Pastors of Geneva, vol. v. p. 198. Sitting of 21st June, 1726.

⁴ Pastor at Geneva.

sons;¹ but that this had been understood to mean heads of families, because there are in these valleys families whose members exceed this number; and in the meeting in question, although there were twelve persons, there were only eight heads of families." But these considerations, however reasonable, were of no weight with the persecutors; and for the least act of prayer which the inhabitants of Pragela were discovered to make together—for reading a few pages of the Bible in their families—they were treated as criminals.

A great number of details might be added to the instances already adduced; and although these details are sometimes insignificant, they serve to show, more perfectly than official documents, the condition in which the Vaudois of this valley were then placed, and the vexations to which they were exposed. Thus, in course of that same year, 1726, we find a memorial of the senate of Pignerol setting forth to the sovereign, "That *the heretics*, although obliged to have their children baptized by the parish priests in virtue of the decree of 21st April, 1721, nevertheless bring them up in the Protestant faith; and that the senate therefore proposes, in order to repress these *intolerable abuses*—1. To have the children taken from their parents and the charge of their education committed to Catholic congregations.² 2. To set aside the edict of 12th May, 1679 (emanating from Louis XIV.), which pronounces the punishment of death against relapsed persons, and which could not be applied to a whole population; and to put in force the decree of 7th May, 1685 (emanating from the council of state), which absolutely prohibits the public or private profession of any religion but the Catholic."³

About the same time the same senate, of its own authority, extended to all the parishes of the Val Pérouse the prohibition previously addressed to that of Le Pomaret,⁴ against admitting any of the inhabitants of the Val Cluson into the Protestant places of worship, under pain of banishment for the pastors, and confiscation of goods for the elders of the church.⁵ The Vaudois replied by a petition, in which they advanced strong arguments, and set forth that the elders and pastors could not perform the functions of a police force at the place of worship, and could not know every indi-

¹ The edict of 1st February, 1716.

² [i.e., religious societies or confraternities.]

³ This memorial fills nine folio pages. It is entitled *Remontrance*.—It has no date, but it is placed according to the date of its reception at Turin, 8th January, 1726. (Archives of the Court. No. of series, 493.)

⁴ Rescript of 2d April, and manifesto of 28th May, 1717.

⁵ Rescripts of the Senate of Pignerol, of dates 14th May and 15th June, 1726.

vidual who entered their meetings.¹ But the advocate-fiscal of Turin decided in accordance with the rescripts of the council of Pignerol,² and the arbitrary prohibitions of that body were maintained in force, with the excessive punishment attached to them.³

Next year Cyprian Appia, the pastor of St. John, was prosecuted for having baptized the child of an inhabitant of Fenestrelle, named Simon Rochette. This process proved a very tedious one. The pastor was condemned to banishment, with confiscation of goods; but Mr. Edges, the English ambassador at the court of Turin, obtained his pardon. "I wish it to be particularly understood," said Victor Amadeus upon this occasion, "that it is not at all out of regard for the Vaudois, but from personal respect for the ambassador, that this pardon is granted." Yet these Vaudois, according to the language of the same prince twenty years before, were the most faithful friends of his adversity, the props of his throne, the *well-beloved and trusty* of his grateful heart. But Popery had veiled from his sight these recollections of the past, and put distrust and severity in their place. The more intolerance that its demands produced, the more did it still demand.

The priests of Pragela complained that the inhabitants of that valley did not attend mass; that they did not observe the Catholic festivals; that they contracted marriage within the degrees forbidden by the church;⁴ and that they buried their dead without the assistance of the priests. They therefore demanded the exercise of further severities against them.⁵ To understand some of these things, it must be borne in mind that the Protestants were prohibited from having inclosed burying-grounds,⁶ and that the family of a deceased person, in order not to leave his remains in a place exposed to all sorts of profanations, often preferred to bury in some private property. The Vaudois were also forbidden to assemble in greater number than six persons for a funeral procession;⁷ and these prohibitions gave occasion for incessant annoyances.

¹ The petitions of the Vaudois were never dated till 1827, with very few exceptions.

² On 14th September, 1726.

³ By royal letters of 23th October and 22d December, 1726. Quoted in the *Instructions* of 20th June, 1730.

⁴ *Anche il terzo grado di consanguinità.* [Within the third degree of consanguinity.]

⁵ I do not know the date of their petition, and have only seen the report upon this petition prepared by the Abbé di Barolo. It is dated 12th September, 1726, and is a MS. of 10 folio pages.—(Turin, Civil Archives, series 494.)—The conclusions of the report are favourable to the petition, and even refer to other documents of the same nature previously presented.

⁶ In virtue of the edicts of 2d July, 1618, and 25th June, 1620.

⁷ By the edict of 5th February, 1698, relative to the Vaudois of Saluces.

In 1727 the prosecutions already mentioned took place against a Pragelan family. "On the 9th of the month of March," says a report by Mr. Edges, the representative of Great Britain, who took a warm interest in these poor suffering people,¹ "Father André, the chaplain of Le Laux, in the Val Cluson, entered the house of Peter Ronchail, with a serjeant, to see how many people were there, and what they were doing. 'You see, Sir,' said that worthy man, 'there are some attending to the cattle, others are doing nothing, and the children are amusing themselves with their sports.' There were eight of the family. There was also a beggar woman, to whom had been given a porringer of soup; and there were the sister-in-law of Ronchail, and a female cousin of his. Nevertheless, proceedings were instituted, a condemnatory sentence was pronounced, and this family was ruined." On the other hand, persons guilty of more serious offences were pardoned if they abjured their religion,² as if it had not even increased their guilt thus to make their conscience an article of traffic.

Exposed to so much intolerable injustice, the poor Vaudois of Pragela began to remove from their afflicted country. Those who were owners of lands let them, or transferred them to relatives who might send the rents to them abroad. Thus, at the cost of voluntary exile, they purchased that liberty of conscience which they held so dear. But even of this sad expedient for relief from oppression, their oppressors soon endeavoured to deprive them. "If your majesty," said the enemies of the Vaudois to Victor Amadeus, "would be pleased to ordain that all the property of those who leave the country without your permission should be confiscated, it would be an excellent means of retaining these people within the happy dominions of your majesty."³ What language, and what morality!

Particular indignation was manifested against all who did anything to favour emigrations, or the return of Catholics to Protestantism; and it may well be deemed surprising that any such conversions should have taken place amidst the dangers with which they were surrounded. But those who became converts in such circumstances gave all the greater proof of the strength of their

¹ The report is dated 30th June, 1727, and is addressed to the Marquis of St. Thomas, minister of foreign affairs in Piedmont. (Turin, Civil Archives, series 530 bis.)

² *Memoria esattamente raccolta, da registri e relazione esistenti nell' ufficio della grande cancellaria, &c.* A paper dated from Turin, 26th August, 1727. (Civil Archives, series 496.)

³ The document is dated Suza, 8th January, 1728, and signed Perron, surgeon-major of the regiment of Rhebinder.—This surgeon was an apostate, the first cousin of Jacob Perron, the author of the memoirs which I have quoted.

convictions.¹ A minister of Pragela, named Perron, having received the charge of souls in the parish of Onex, near Geneva, had proceeded to do the work of an evangelist in his neighbourhood. We are not aware what treatment he received, but in a letter by the parish priest of Pontverre² we find the following words—"I do not think that he will have the insolence to come again to teach his doctrines in my parish."³ The same priest expresses great indignation against the people of Caronge, "who," says he, "with a malice more than mortal, make it their business to supply the dresses of laymen to monks and priests who go to apostatize in the city of Geneva, that unhappy Samaria," . . . &c.⁴ Thus the gates of Switzerland were besieged at once by those who wished to change, and by those who wished to retain their religion. For this, both of these classes sacrificed their country and their possessions. But they acquired a surer inheritance in heaven.

Many Vaudois had already emigrated. A new edict of Victor Amadeus bore that in a Protestant family, of which either the father or the mother became a Catholic, all the children must be brought up Catholics.⁵ A further demand was very soon made for the simple annulling of all the edicts on which the privileges of the Vaudois depended,⁶ except that of 1694, to which Holland and England had been parties. But these powers had made no stipulation for the preservation of the Vaudois church in Pragela, and Louis XIV. insisted that it should be destroyed. The powerful influence of the clergy was exerted for the same object. A young woman, of whom the aged monarch was enamoured,⁷ united her voice with that of the persecutors. Victor Amadeus suffered himself to be persuaded, as it were, with regret, to the adoption of one after another of all the intolerant measures which were brought into operation against this inoffensive people.

Each of these measures was followed by some new emigrations. The Vaudois of Pragela were destroyed by degrees; they did not disappear all at once, but, like the snows of their own mountains—

¹ Philippians iv. 13.

² In the bailiwick of Gaillard, in Savoy.

³ Letter of 18th July, 1727. (Turin, Civil Archives, series 508.)

⁴ Letter of 4th July, 1727. (Same source, No. 509.)

⁵ *Biglietto regio*, of 17th July, 1728; quoted in a paper entitled, *Reply to the memorial transmitted by the Duke of Bedford, Minister of England, to the Chevalier Ossorio, and forwarded by him to Turin, with his letter of 31st May, 1748, &c.* . . . (Turin, Civil Archives, series 459.)

⁶ *Memoria distesa in casa del Signor Marchese di San Tomaso, li 24 Ottobre 1728, circa il capo da aggiungere alle costituzioni a riguardo de Valdesi.—Progetto di capo per l'aggiunta alle costituzioni, &c.* . . . (Same source, Nos. 441 and 471.)

⁷ Victor Amadeus was then more than sixty years old.

which insensibly diminish in depth till they cease to cover the soil, and melt away without the eye being able to observe the progress of the change—this church, within whose bounds synods were once held of 150 pastors, which at a later period reckoned eighty places of public worship, which was afterwards reduced to mere private religious meetings, and was at last entirely deprived of the preaching of the gospel, gradually died away, and was extinguished, recovering life at the least breath of liberty, but only to be more and more weakened by oppression, until it disappeared, to be seen no more.

It now remains only to relate the last attacks to which it was subjected, the sufferings which it endured, and the zeal which the greater number of its children displayed, preferring exile rather than to abandon their faith.

CHAPTER XVIII.

HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS OF PRAGELA AND THE ADJACENT VALLEYS.

EIGHTH PERIOD.—EXTINCTION OF THE VAUDOIS CHURCH IN PRAGELA.

(A.D. 1729 TO A.D. 1733.)

Famine of 1729—Base advantage taken of it for the advancement of the work of proselytism—Conversation between a Vaudois and a Jesuit—Edict of 20th June, 1730—Immorality of the persecuting king—Instances illustrative of the persecution—The case of Jacob Perron—Many go into exile—Attempts to prevent emigration—Victor Amadeus resists the remonstrances of the King of Prussia—Continued annoyances to which the Vaudois are subjected, and especially those who had been baptized in the Church of Rome—Trials and difficulties of the Vaudois pastors—Traces of lingering Protestantism in Pragela—Burning of Bibles there in 1838.

IN 1729, the Vaudois suffered great distress¹—foreign assistance alone preserved them from starvation.² The popish congregations and ecclesiastics, who pursued in Piedmont the work *de extirpandis hæreticis*, eagerly took advantage of these circumstances of

¹ See on this subject a memorial by the minister Léger, inserted in the Records of the Venerable Company of Pastors of Geneva, vol. X. pp. 173, *et seq.*

² Ten thousand florins from Holland, and 14,000 Piedmontese livres, from what quarter is not stated. (Memorial above quoted.)

affliction, increasing their efforts to persuade the poor people to change their religion, offering to relieve their wants, but putting a price upon their benefactions. Theirs was not the loving-kindness and disinterested charity of the gospel; it was not even the noble-mindedness of the Pagan, who, feeling that he was a man, would deem nothing that interested humanity foreign to his regard¹—it was the narrow-minded but active zeal of sectaries, who have never failed to turn a question of fraternity into a question of party, designating by the name of conversions their mere party triumphs. The charity which loves and embraces all—which bears and excuses everything—was utterly unknown to them; as they too abundantly proved, by incessant accusations of the Vaudois who continued faithful to their principles, by odious insinuations against them and perfidious denunciations.

These poor people were accused, without trial, of all sorts of faults. Infidelity—corruption—the disrespect shown to priests—the neglect of public religious services—the indifference manifested in the matters of offerings, *ex-votos*, and enrolment of neophytes in the various Catholic corporations—all these grievances were attributed to the Vaudois. It was therefore demanded that they should be excluded from every office and employment, and from all intercourse with the Catholics;² and, as may be supposed, religious meetings were proceeded against more severely than ever.

"On the second of January, 1729," says Perron in his memoirs, "a Jesuit came up from Fenestrelle and came to me to speak with me about religion." "Is it possible that you are so obstinate in your notions?" said he. "It is not obstinacy," I replied; "but my salvation is dearer to me than life; and the king may cause me to be cut in pieces, but I will not renounce my religion." "Do you think you have more abilities than the king?" said he—"the king is a decided Catholic." "I know very well," replied I, "that my abilities are not to be compared with those of the king; but Jesus Christ said, 'I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes: for so it seemed good in thy sight.'" The Jesuit paused a moment without answering, and then he exclaimed—"Is it possible that the Vaudois can have disseminated such a religion in this country!" "The Vaudois are not the cause," said I. "And who is, then?" he asked. "It is God himself who, of his great goodness, has been pleased to make the light of his holy word to shine in these parts." "Does it not shine in

¹ "Homo sum, et nihil humani a me alienum puto."

² *Parere sovra la tolleranza degl' eretici, in Piemonte.* (Civil Archives, No. 464.)

the Church of Rome?" "Sir," said I, "I will give no ambiguous answer upon that point. Jesus tells us that those who confess him before men shall be confessed of him before his Father who is in heaven, and that he will deny all those who deny him; and I would hold myself to have renounced the gospel if I could not make an unreserved appeal to its authority, for its authority alone is Divine."¹

I pass over other details in silence, to come to the most important event of all. As many streams are lost in a great inundation when it breaks out, so all the particular trials which the people of Pragela had at that time to suffer, are lost in the general catastrophe in which they were destroyed. The edict of 20th June, 1730, promulgated under the form of *Instructions for the Senate of Pignerol*,² renewed all the cruel and restrictive regulations against the Vaudois which had ever been imposed from the most ancient times. It is said, in the twentieth chapter of this exceptional code, "that all those who were born in the Church of Rome, or who had abjured Protestantism, for any reason whatever, before 1686, and who had thereafter entered or returned to the Reformed Church, ought to be condemned to death, in virtue of the edicts anterior to 1686 which declared this penalty against relapsed persons; and that, moreover, all those who, being born Catholics or without the territorial limits of the Vaudois valleys after 1694, had nevertheless followed the Protestant religion, and all those who, having become Catholics since 1686, had in like manner returned to Protestantism, ought to incur the same penalty, to wit, the loss of life: but that, by special grace and extraordinary clemency, worthy to excite the perpetual admiration of grateful people, his majesty would allow them to live, on condition that within six months all persons being in the cases aforesaid, should return to Catholicism or leave the country."

The same influence which had operated upon the old age of Louis XIV. now operated upon that of Victor Amadeus II.—the influence of the prelates and of the Jesuits—which in both courts also was augmented by the immorality of the monarchs. The analogy is remarkable even in particulars; Louis XIV. received the bloody crucifix from the adulterous hands of Madame de Maintenon, at whose feet he was soon to lay down the dignity of his crown; and Victor Amadeus II. became cruel and bigoted, under the like influence of an intriguing ambitious woman, for

¹ These last words are not in the manuscript, of which, however, they merely complete the sense.

² This document has been published by Borelli.—It is in the Archives of Turin, in a folio MS. volume with this title, *Istruzione a riguardo de' Valdesi.*

whose sake he soon after abdicated his throne;¹ whom he married, as the King of France had married the widow of a jester; and who caused him to be cast into prison by her intrigues,² after having dishonoured him by her prostitution.³ Such were the persecutors of the Vaudois, the adversaries of the Bible, the mortal antagonists of all liberty. Vice appears prominently in the first rank, rendering its support to Rome, and under the guidance of Rome.

"As to the inhabitants of Pragela, Salabertrans, Bardonnèche, and Chateau Dauphin," it was said in the Draconian code of 1730, "you must consider them all publicly as Catholics, without inquiring what they think, but without suffering any religious exercise, other than that of the Roman religion." Moreover, the French Protestants, who had settled in the Vaudois valleys since 1698, were ordered to depart from them within six months, and prohibited from returning, under penalty of whipping for the first offence, and six years of the galleys for the second. These measures immediately occasioned a great number of emigrations. But they had been preceded by other acts of severity, which made it but too easy to foresee the melancholy conclusion.

"In 1730," says Perron, in his memoirs already quoted, "towards the commencement of February, the Count de la Tuille came with a Jesuit and ten soldiers to the *communauté* of Usseaux, which is a league and a half from our residence. Seeing in what manner our poor people were treated, I went into the valley of Lucerna, where I spent seventeen days. After I had returned to my village, the count, with his troop, arrived there on the 26th of February. That evening, about nine o'clock, six soldiers came to my house, and asked, 'Is it not here that Jacob Perron lives?'—and I answered from my bed—for I had already gone to bed—'Yes, here I am, what do you want?' They said, 'Get up, and come and speak to the count.' These soldiers escorted me to the priest's house, where I found fifteen persons assembled, amongst whom were the count, the Jesuit, and seven priests. And the Jesuit said to me, 'Here you are then, preacher! for it is you that preach to the rest in this country?' 'Ah, Sir!' said I, 'you make your sport of me.

¹ On 2d September, 1730.

² During the night of 28-29th September, 1730.

³ The pamphlets written at that period against the person here referred to, and whose name I do not give, go much too far in the misconduct which they attribute to her. The term which I employ might be unjust in an absolute sense, but it is certain that she was too intimate with Victor Amadeus II. before the morganatic marriage which united them, and must have taken place between the 4th and the 10th of September, 1730.

Am I capable of being a preacher? Sure enough, there is more learning needed for that purpose than I possess.' 'I know what I say,' he replied; 'and I can prove that you have made some of your folks weep, to prevent them from changing their religion. You have been seen going into houses,' &c. . . . Thereafter the Jesuit said to me, 'Are you not willing to go to mass?' And I answered, 'No, Sir; neither I, nor my children. I was born in my religion, and by the help of God, I mean to die in it.' At these words, the reverend father gave me a blow with his fist on the stomach, and said to the count, 'You see how this rascal answers me!' Then he said to the soldiers, 'Take this man away to prison, and drive him along very hard.' 'Sir,' said I, 'it is better to suffer for well-doing if such is the will of God, than to live' . . . But the soldiers forced me out and conducted me to prison, driving me along very hard, as the Jesuit had said, so that they threw me four times down on the ground, before I arrived there."

He was imprisoned, near the convent, in an apartment the door of which was barricaded with bars stretched across, bound together by cords; and a guard of soldiers was placed over him. "On the day following," says he, "the canon Ponsat came and said to me, 'Are you always the same obstinate man?' 'Truth has not changed since yesterday,' said I. 'Take care!' said he; 'you will be punished in an exemplary manner. Think of your wife who is near her confinement. Your children are young and not healthy. If you die, what will become of your family?' 'God is the widows' stay and the orphans' father,' I replied. 'Let them make of me what they please! Nothing can happen but according to his will; but it is needless to speak to me of changing my religion, for I will never do it.' 'If such is your resolution,' said he, 'I have nothing more to say to you,' and upon this, he withdrew.

"Next day, being the 1st of March, 1730, about ten o'clock in the morning, the Count de la Tuille came and caused me to be brought out. 'Are you always to remain obstinate as to your religion?' said he. 'Sir, I assure you that it is not obstinacy,' I replied, 'for as to any other thing' . . . 'Enough!' said he; 'make your arrangements for leaving the country between this time and to-morrow; and if you are not out of the village with your family to-morrow morning, by ten o'clock, I will have you made fast in a place from which you will not get out.' And I answered, 'Farewell, Sir! since you order me to go, there is an end of it—I will go.' I went to my house to get some luggage packed up, and next day at ten o'clock, I was ready to start. Two beasts carried our baggage, but neither my wife nor my

children could go on horseback, because of the bad weather and bad roads, for there was a great deal of snow. And the Jesuit came to my house and said, 'O! it is all a joke! whither would you go, with your wife so near her confinement, and your weakly children, at this time of the year and in such weather? Stay in your own house, and if you keep within doors, you will be left undisturbed.' And he ordered two men who were with me to unload the beasts. But their object was to detain me till my wife's confinement, that they might have the infant baptized as a Catholic, and force us all to go to mass, thinking that if my wife were confined, I would not in these circumstances be able to go. Therefore I replied, 'Sir, as you and the count have ordered me to go, and have already caused me to be maltreated by your soldiers, I am ready and I will go.' And so saying, I set out, holding my children by the hand. A soldier accompanied us out of the village, and that evening I rested at Pourrières, which my wife had very great difficulty in reaching. Next morning, I set out again from Pourrières in dreadful weather, with eleven men to carry, guide, and beat a path for my poor family. We were the first who were driven from that country by persecution in that terrible year. We went by the Col de la Fenêtre, where I thought I would have lost all—wife, child, and life—because of the fearful weather and high wind. But by the help of God I got through it, and rested for the night at Suza."

We shall not follow him through the vicissitudes of his journey; he was compelled almost constantly to have his wife and children carried, because of the difficulty of the roads and the depth of the snows. The dangers of the exiles were particularly great at Mount Cenis, where at that time no practicable road had been formed. Then their muleteers wished to turn back. At Aiguebelle, they refused to go farther. It was necessary to double their wages to get them to convey the exhausted family to Geneva. Perron arrived in that hospitable city on the 10th of March, 1730, and his wife was delivered of a child there a few days after. "To God, only wise, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be glory, dominion, and power! Amen." Such are the concluding words of the narrative which he has left us.

Sufferings, pains, and sorrows, like those of this exiled family, must have been experienced more or less by all those which followed them. On the 20th of May, 1730, Victor Amadeus ordered the Count de Chiusan to expel from Pragela the most obdurate Vaudois families—that is to say, those most attached to their religion. He offered them, however, permission to remain in their

native country, if they would promise to abjure. These families were twenty-three in number; only four availed themselves of the offered conditions, and preferred an earthly country to a heavenly. The other nineteen, composed in all of fifty-nine persons, went into exile with much sorrow, but glorifying God. And the Lord was indeed glorified by their sacrifice even more than by their words. These proscribed families arrived at Geneva in the month of June, and there received the succour needful in their circumstances. They were then scattered in different places throughout the wide canton of Berne, where some of them thenceforth remained. But the greater part of them removed in course of the following year, attaching themselves to the new bands of their emigrant countrymen, who were soon compelled to follow them into Switzerland.¹

Victor Amadeus wrote on the 6th of June to the Count de Chiusan, to express his satisfaction with the execution of his orders of the 20th of May. "The effect has been," said he, "that nobody has left the country, except voluntarily and without violence."² What an absurdity!

After the promulgation of the edict of the 10th of June, 1730, the number of the exiles soon became so considerable, that the government itself became alarmed, and thought it necessary to take measures to prevent the depopulation of the country. But when the keeping of the frontiers was intrusted to the Vaudois militia, these troops not only allowed their emigrant compatriots to pass, but sometimes joined them to forsake that land of bondage. At other times, when the troops were Catholics, they abused their opportunity to plunder the emigrants.³ The people were then forbidden to guard their own frontiers. But this order only rendered it the easier for them to leave the country. Even those who had yielded in their weakness to all the outward forms of an abjuration which was forced upon them, beholding the courage and firmness of those who had left their country rather than yield to such a yoke, recovered themselves, and in more than one instance followed their brethren to foreign lands, to resume along with them the religious worship of their childhood, which they had never ceased to love. They seemed desirous to throw off a sense of

¹ Du Tillier, *Hist. de Berne*; MS. vol. 109, p. 90.

² These expressions of the letter of the 6th of June, which I have not seen, are quoted and repeated in the letter of 24th June, 1730, also addressed by the king to the Count de Chiusan. (Turin, Archives of the Court. Category *dei Valdesi*, No. 499.)

³ The order of 30th July, which withdrew these troops, had for its avowed object to prevent the thefts and robberies which are committed under pretext of religion.—Letter of the minister of the interior to the Bishop of Pignerol, dated from Le Valentin, 5th September, 1730. (Archives of the Bishopric of Pignerol.)

degradation, by thus atoning for their apostasy by exile, and for the error of a moment by the faithfulness of the rest of their life.

"I learn with regret," said the minister of the interior, writing from Turin, on the 5th of September, 1730,¹ "that, through a false interpretation of the king's order of date the 3d of July last, which forbids the *communities* of this province from guarding the places and passes by which numbers of his subjects depart from the kingdom, some new converts have erroneously supposed that they had liberty to leave the country. . . . I have therefore thought it necessary to have the honour to signify to you three or four things which you will say to the priests of your diocese.

"1. I have sent some detachments of troops to apprehend the fugitives. The châtelains are charged to discover the guides who make an infamous trade . . . of conducting the king's subjects across the frontiers. When these wretches are caught, I will cause them to be hanged without form of trial.

"2. I know that there are many falsehoods propagated in that province . . . tending to make the religionaries believe that they will be happier in foreign countries. And thus not only do they expose themselves to the danger of *being killed in passing the frontiers*, but afterwards, they cannot again come to dwell in Piedmont, and above all, they render themselves guilty of violating the oaths which they have sworn . . . when they embraced Catholicism."

It was made a crime for them to lack faith in the Church of Rome, whatever might have been the violence employed to make them become members of it: and when any one would not abjure, his fidelity to the religion of his deliberate choice and of his conscience was also made a crime for which he perhaps lost his property, his repose, and his life. Such is the equity of oppressors! All this injustice, accompanied with so much cruelty, was not calculated to make the Vaudois love the persecuting church which opened its arms to receive them. And, in fact, a short time after the promulgation of the edict of the 20th of June, a multitude of Protestant refugees made their preparations for departure from the different Vaudois valleys. Six months had been allowed them to abjure or leave the country, and almost all of them left it. The generous intercession of their foreign protectors, and particularly of the King of Prussia, was in vain employed to prevent this disaster.

"We have just learned with much regret," wrote Frederic William I. to Victor Amadeus II.,² "that your majesty has thought proper to order your Protestant subjects of the valley of Pragela

¹ Letter just quoted.

² On 25th April, 1730.

forthwith to abandon the religion which they profess, or else to leave the country of their forefathers. As these poor people have not committed any crime which ought to bring upon them the displeasure of your majesty, we cannot but be very sensibly moved, to see them overwhelmed with so great a calamity, and almost entirely plunged into misery. . . . We earnestly beg of you . . . that they may be permitted to remain or to return to their country, there to live as good and faithful subjects of your majesty."¹

Victor Amadeus replied that he held the valley of Pragela in virtue of the treaty of Utrecht, which imposed upon him no obligation in regard to the Vaudois.² But the King of Prussia was not discouraged. "We cannot refrain from signifying to your majesty," said he, "that in virtue of the edict of 23d May, 1694, the Vaudois ought neither to be inquired after nor molested in any way upon account of their religion. . . . The common faith which we profess with these poor people, and which makes us regard them as our brethren in Jesus Christ, is the reason which induces us . . . to entreat your majesty that they may be permitted to enjoy, without interruption, all which the above-mentioned edict provides in their favour. As this is the first mark of friendship which we have asked of your majesty, we hope you will have the goodness not to refuse it."³

"Instead of contravening the edict of 1694," replied Victor Amadeus, "our edict of 20th June, 1730, considerably moderates, in favour of the Vaudois who have contravened the old edicts, the penalties to which they have rendered themselves liable."⁴ "It would have been exceedingly agreeable to us," said Frederic William again, "if it had pleased your majesty to grant something to our intercessions. We entertained all the more hope of this, because it appeared to us that the above-mentioned Vaudois were included in the general provisions of the edict of 1694. However, as your majesty assures us of the contrary, and it belongs to yourself alone to explain the meaning of the edicts which relate to the domestic affairs of your dominions, . . . we still hope to obtain from your clemency what we can no longer venture to expect from your justice. May it please your majesty to consider with an eye of compassion and of pity the sad condition to which these poor people are reduced—not for having committed crimes which should have brought upon them the displeasure of your majesty, but solely because they have followed the guidance of

¹ *Dieterici*, p. 393.

² His letter is dated from Rivoli, 10th June, 1730.—See *Dieterici*, p. 399.

³ Dated from Berlin, 14th November, 1730.—*Dieterici*, 400.

⁴ From Turin, 23d December, 1730.—*Dieterici*, 401.

their piety, and therefore of the hand of the Almighty, who governs the conscience of man, and is its sole and sovereign Lord."¹ "The matter is ended," was the cold response of the King of Piedmont. "I am sorry for it, but I cannot go back upon it, and I beg your majesty to rest assured of my most perfect friendship."²

In the list of the expatriated Pragelans, we find the name of the notary Guyot, whose son had hoped one day to exercise the functions of the gospel ministry in his native valleys, and was then a student at Geneva.³ Amongst the number of the exiles were also Jacob Perron, the author of the memoirs which I have so often quoted, with his young family;⁴ with them was a poor blind man of sixty years of age,⁵ and the Ronchail family, so cruelly ruined by an iniquitous legal process—also the grave and mild old man who was accustomed to conduct religious exercises at Les Traverses, in the absence of the pastor, and whose wife became the mother of a third child, on her way into exile.⁶ A surgeon named Gonet; Papon, an engineer; Bert, a geometrician; and a great number of persons, torn from the labours of agriculture or the tending of flocks, accompanied them—all displaying the same courage, and all enduring the same distresses. Before the end of the year, more than eight hundred exiles had left the Vaudois valleys and their native land.⁷ Some of them set out for Holland;⁸ others remained in Switzerland, or passed into Germany. Those who remained in Piedmont were compelled to make a public profession of Catholicism; and their children, brought up in that communion, became at last its sincere adherents.

But great dissension and trouble had been occasioned in families.⁹

¹ Dated from Berlin, 17th March, 1731.—*Dieterici*, 402.

² From Turin, 28th April, 1731.—*In extenso*, *Dieterici*, 403.

³ One of his brothers then practised as a surgeon in that city.

⁴ He was fifty-six years of age, and had five children; his brother James was forty-seven years of age, and had nine children. John Perron, the physician, had the same number; and Claude Perron had eight.

⁵ His name was Stephen Cantelme.

⁶ The name of this worthy elder of Les Traverses was John Pastre; his brother Thomas was accompanied by his wife and six children.

⁷ *Etat des pauvres persécutés de la vallée de Pragela, cantonnés au pays de Vaud, sortis en 1730*.—A MS. of ten folio pages.—Private library of the late M. Appia, pastor at Frankfort-on-the-Maine.—In May, 1730, there were in the canton of Berne, 360 Vaudois of Pragela (*Dieterici*, pp. 404–407); and towards the end of the year, there were in Switzerland, 840 exiles from the Vaudois valleys. (Id. p. 414.)

⁸ Letter of Cyprian Appia, pastor of St. John, 3d March, 1731.—In my own possession.

⁹ *Situation présente des Eglises Vaudoises*.—Report by pastor Léger (of Geneva), extending from 12th May to 1st November, 1730.—Records of the Venerable Company of Pastors of Geneva, vol. X. p. 177.

Intestine divisions had arisen, even amongst the pastors of the valleys. I shall speak of them in a subsequent place.

Numerous petitions were addressed to the government, to obtain a mitigation of the cruel measures of the 20th of June. But England and Holland, which interposed with regard to this, could with difficulty obtain some insignificant concessions.¹ These concessions, however, although limited to recommendations that the measures petitioned against should not be enforced with the utmost expedition and severity, excited in the poor expatriated people a hope that persecution was now at last to cease; and the love of their country brought some of them back to their native valley.² An outcry was immediately raised that they came thither to bring back heresy, and they were compelled to conform to the outward ceremonies of Popery, under penalty of the galleys. Some individuals, who had returned secretly to conclude family affairs, and who refused to abjure, were thrown into prison.³

However, means as violent were used to retain the fugitives as had given occasion to their departure. Contrary to the liberty of returning to Protestantism, allowed by the edicts of 1692 and 1694, to those who, having abjured under the influence of coercion, desired to revoke their abjuration, orders were issued in 1733, that all persons who had made profession of the Romish religion before 1686, or who, without having made such profession, had been baptized according to its rites, should remain faithful to it, and not leave the dominions of the King of Piedmont, under penalty of confiscation of goods and of the galleys.⁴

Sometimes families were met with in which either the husband or wife did not come within the range of these measures, whilst the other was threatened with their application. It was sufficient, for example, that an infant had received baptism in the Catholic church when newly born, in order that that event, forgotten afterwards in the constant profession of Protestantism, should serve as a

¹ The letter of the States-General of Holland is of 7th November, 1730, and the reply of Victor Amadeus II. of 2d December. The letter of the King of England (George II.) is of 23d February, 1731. A special memorandum on this question was afterwards presented by his ambassador at the court of Turin, under date 27th April, 1731. All these documents are at Turin, in the Archives of the Court.

² About the beginning of 1732.

³ For example, a man named Grill. A letter of 7th March, 1733, says of him, "He is now a prisoner of the Senate of Turin. . . . His property has been confiscated, and his family, consisting of fifteen persons, is reduced to the most dreadful misery." (Correspondence of the moderator of the Vaudois church, from 18th February, 1733, to 4th March, 1734. A manuscript volume containing twenty-two letters. In my possession.)

⁴ Same correspondence. Letter of 12th July, addressed to M. Turretin, rector of the Academy of Geneva.

pretext for incessant vexations. This child might have become a man, might be married, might have a family, and be the stay of a new generation, but all this went for nothing: like the sword of Damocles, the awful recollection of a vain ceremony, of which he had no knowledge, hung suspended over his life; so that, on the ground of this unfortunate baptism, received in his childhood, he was tormented all the rest of his days, and violence was done to his most sacred affections.

Two mothers of families were thus situated. At first, they fled from the rigour of the edict; but maternal love brought them back to their families, and "so soon as they came back," says a letter from the valleys,¹ "they were obliged to conceal themselves. The first time, their husbands sent them away again immediately."² At present, the Marquis of Angrogna has in vain exerted himself in their favour. . . . Their father had changed his religion a number of years before 1686; they were therefore born and baptized Catholics." When they grew up, they embraced the Protestant religion, but by the edict of 1730, they were required either to remain in exile or to return to Popery. "Mary Ponsat (by birth Danne), has done very wrong in coming back," adds the same letter. "The vicar Danne said to her, in presence of witnesses, that she had better not go to the preaching, or she would bring herself into trouble, and likewise the minister" (who admitted her where he officiated). "Anthony Geymet, who is also returned, is in great perplexity," &c. . . . "We dare no longer assemble for any business," it is said in another letter, "except in synod and by express permission of his majesty, in consequence of the process which has been instituted against five of our number who had met to consult about public business."³ The greater part of those who had returned to their native country, were therefore compelled to leave it again. Some of them were doubly disappointed, both by failing to find the advantages which they expected in foreign lands, and by the unexpected obstacles which they encountered on their return to their own.

Numbers of these unhappy emigrants, especially of those who belonged to the valley of Pragela, having been so long deprived of regular religious instruction, did not worthily maintain the ancient reputation of the Vaudois Church which they left, or in which rather they preferred to remain when they forsook their native

¹ Letter of 12th June, 1733. (Same correspondence.)

² It will be seen that these unhappy mothers had now returned for the second time to their homes.

³ Same correspondence. Letter of 24th August, 1733.

country. "There are some of them," said a letter from Berne,¹ "whose ignorance and inconsiderateness are extraordinary. They receive our alms, and then they go away home again. Most of these poor people say, that if they had had this little supply in the valleys, they would have lived upon it for the winter, instead of spending it in travelling. I have observed in them so great an ignorance, that their pastors must certainly be to blame. It would be necessary for them to send us a list of those among them, who stand most in need of relief. Their excellencies of Berne are very charitable, . . . but the committee intrusted with the affairs of the Vaudois, is now by no means satisfied."² "This gentleman is very hard upon us!" wrote Pastor Reynaudin, after these observations; "his idea of drawing up a precise and accurate report of the poor of each church, could never be carried into effect, because in these circumstances, every one becomes poor, and then all are in want. I will not add that he is wrong in arguing from the ignorance or folly of a few to that of the general body; . . . but it is easy for persons such as he, whose position is a sort of paradise in comparison with ours, to find something to blame in folks like us, already sufficiently pressed down by misfortune, and the weight of many a heavy cross,"³ &c. . . .

But the fault found with the pastors of the valleys, related especially to the great number of their flocks whom they had allowed to leave home, and who now were a burden on those that had received them. "When I was at Berne," replied the moderator,⁴ "I was entirely ignorant of the departure of so great a number of families. I was exceedingly grieved at meeting so many of them on the road. Although our friends in Geneva had written to us, that they would receive all who were in danger of giving way, . . . I always exhorted them to have patience, and not to set out without having some certain assurance that they would be received. They came to my house in a crowd, to obtain attestations, which I absolutely refused, for which I have been in danger of suffering at their hands. All these poor people set out during my absence. A report was spread, that those who had set out for Holland, had received thirty crowns each, which has been an inducement to many; who, not having the means of

¹ Letter of M. de Frey, of 15th October, 1733. (Same correspondence.)

² All these fragments of this letter are selected in such a manner as of themselves to indicate facts, the knowledge of which is necessary to the history, but which the restricted limits of this work prevent me from fully exhibiting.

³ These observations occur immediately after the letter above quoted, and are written in Reynaudin's own hand.

⁴ Same correspondence. Letter of 2d November, 1733.

subsistence, and neither choosing to beg nor to abjure, have gone away upon that hope." "Others, more unprincipled—there are such persons everywhere—had no other motive than their own private interest, and finding themselves disappointed, they have come back, with threats and outcries, to their four empty walls, which they accuse the members of the consistory and the pastors of having persuaded them to leave . . . This affair has become very serious; precognitions are taken, and prosecutions threatened against many innocent persons." The author of the letter begs his correspondent to receive a declaration to the contrary from several people, and to send him that document, legally attested. "Do not lose time in sending it to me," he says; "the case is urgent, and God grant that it may arrive before they take any other steps. See to what we are exposed! Moses had not more difficulties, in leading the people of Israel, than we have in our parishes," &c. . . .

These quotations are sufficient to give an idea of the state to which the Vaudois church was then reduced. Decimated by proselytism, ignorance, poverty, and exile—burdened with the maintenance of its own pastors and schoolmasters—full of troubles, caused by the last struggles of its ancient faith, and the first assaults of that spirit of unbelief, which did it so much injury in the eighteenth century—we shall soon see it wearying itself in fruitless agitations, amidst the vicissitudes of a period characterized by the want of glory and of dignity.

Here terminates the history of the Protestant Church of Pragela. The senate of Turin still issued another decree to prohibit emigrations,¹ which shows that they had not ceased at that date; but the greater part of those who were resolute in their Protestantism had already departed. These expatriated Vaudois mingled with those who had founded the now rising colonies in Germany. The villages of Waldorf and Frederichsdorf, in particular, were thus increased. Another portion of these exiles settled in Holland; some went to America; some remained in Switzerland, especially in the Bernese Oberland.² Those who remained upon the banks of the Cluson and the Doire, were thenceforth considered as Catholics, in virtue of the instructions of 20th June, 1730, which gave the final stroke to this long oppressed people.

There were a few rare exceptions—a small number of families

¹ Under date 9th October, 1733. Prohibition, *sotto pena corporale, a noi arbitraria, da estendersi sino alle morte, secondo le circostanze delle persone e de casi, oltre la confiscazione de beni*, to go out of the kingdom without special permission. (Archives of Le Villar. MS. vol. *Religionarii*, folio 177.)

² Du Tillier, *Hist. de Berne*, 133, 134. Muller, *Hist. de la confédération suisse*. . . continuée par Monnard et Vuillemin, xiv., 42.

still continuing secretly attached to the doctrine of the gospel in Pragela, as if to attest the previous existence of the Vaudois church there. There, where the gospel had reigned, the last triumph of Popery was to commit it to the flames, amidst these same mountains, by the hands of priests, a century after the events which have just been narrated.¹ Amidst the enlightenment of our age, Rome is still as much estranged from modern civilization, as she is from the primitive church. Like the relics which she adores, she is herself merely the rubbish of past times, surrounded with an unmerited veneration. When we now behold so many nations aspiring after liberty, and liberty always showing itself favourable to the gospel, it is impossible to believe in the long duration of that degrading tyranny, which deprives man of the liberty of his very conscience, and proscribes the word of God. Happy are those countries in which the despotism of Popery has exercised its fatal influence with no other effect than that of producing martyrs!

¹ Some copies of the Bible and of the Gospels were recently seized in Pragela, by Catholic missionaries. These ecclesiastics resolved to destroy with their own hands the Bibles which they had seized. For this purpose they prepared a pile, with all the pomp of an *auto-da-fé*, in the garden of the priest of La Rua, and there solemnly burned the Holy Scriptures. This took place on the 18th of June, 1838. The names of these missionaries were Grant, Marjollet, and Villien. (*Note communicated.*)

CHAPTER XIX.

HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS FROM THE EXPULSION
OF 1698 TO THAT OF 1730THE DUKE OF SAVOY IN THE VALLEY OF LUCERNA—THE
REPUBLIC IN THAT OF ST. MARTIN.¹

Results of the edicts of expulsion—Good brought out of evil—Pastors obtained from Switzerland—Zeal of the ministers—Loyalty of the people—Political events—Disputes concerning the succession to the throne of Spain—Political perfidy of Victor Amadeus—War between France and Savoy—Victor Amadeus seeks again to win the support of the Vaudois—Services rendered to him by their militia—New French refugees arrive in the valleys—Events of the war—Successes of the French—Exploits of the Vaudois—The valley of St. Martin becomes a republic under French protection—Brief and unfortunate existence of the republic of St. Martin—Continued triumphs of the French—The Duke of Savoy finds refuge amongst the Vaudois—He makes further efforts to conciliate them—Final defeat of the French at Turin—The Duke of Savoy regains possession of his lost territories—Further progress of the war—Treaty of Utrecht—Afflicted condition of the Vaudois, after the termination of the war—The Vaudois subjected to many vexations, through the influence of the Propaganda—Expulsion of Protestants of foreign birth, in 1730—Religious and moral condition of the Vaudois at this period.

IN virtue of the edict of 1st July, 1698, all the French refugees, exiled by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, who had retired into the Vaudois valleys, on the express invitation of Victor Amadeus II.,² were obliged to quit that asylum, and proceeded, along with a portion of the native inhabitants of Pragela, and many other Vaudois families who were allied to them, to found those colonies in Germany whose history has been traced in the preceding chapters. This event, which deprived the Vaudois valleys of a considerable part of their population, could not fail to be very grievous in its effects upon the interests of these valleys—to which, certainly, the measure that brought it about was intended to be in the highest degree unfavourable. This unexpected and cruel expulsion of the half of a people, violently broken up and driven into exile, like a garment torn to shreds and flung upon the winds, may well be regarded as a new persecution.

But it must needs have been for good reasons that Providence permitted this catastrophe; and now, when the dust raised by this

¹ AUTHORITIES.—All of them are unpublished documents of no great magnitude. They are indicated at the bottom of each page.

² Edicts of June, 1692, and May, 1694.

sudden change no longer blinds the eyes of the historian, we cannot fail to perceive the providential influence which this elimination of all strangers from amongst the Vaudois must have had on the integrity, perpetuation, and preservation of this Israel of the Alps, already so much tried by calamities, as distinct and separate from other peoples, in the sphere and situation which had been appointed for them. This measure had been adopted by the King of Piedmont, only upon the reiterated, and perhaps imperious representations of Louis XIV., whose Catholic rage pursued his fugitive subjects even into the asylum of foreign hospitality; and Victor Amadeus, whilst he closed that asylum against the exiles of other nations, conveyed to the native inhabitants of the Vaudois valleys his renewed assurances of their continued and undisturbed tranquillity.¹ His views were entirely political; the results were entirely religious, but they were not developed till a later period.

Being deprived of the seven pastors of foreign birth, who were obliged to leave Piedmont before the 1st of September, 1698, the Vaudois church held an extraordinary synod at Bobi, on the 12th of August of the same year, in order to make immediate provision for the parishes which were about to become, or which already had become destitute of a stated ministry; and the six pastors who were Vaudois by birth, and who alone remained in the valleys, divided amongst themselves the duty of supplying them.² New appointments were also made of members of the Vaudois table.³

¹ The letter of Victor Amadeus II., addressed for this purpose to Count Martiniano, governor of Pignerol, is dated 23d August, 1698; he charges him to say to the Vaudois, *che puono con ogni quiete e sicurtà, applicarsi a luor affari domestici; poiche proveranno sempre gli effetti della sua reggia protezione* (sic).—Count Martiniano wrote accordingly, but at more length, to Sieur Pasca, the podestat of the valley of Lucerna, who in his turn made the substance of the king's communication known in all the Vaudois communes.—(Archives of Le Villar; vol. *Religionarii*, fol. 107.)

² This division was made as follows:—LÉGER, pastor of Bobi, united to this parish that of Le Villar; MALANOT, pastor of Angrogna, united St. John to it. These two pastors were also jointly to supply the parish of La Tour. REYNAUDIN, pastor of Pral, was to remove to Ville Sèche, and to unite Le Pomaret to his field of labour. BERTIN remained at Macel, but was also to supply the parish of Pral. JAMES JAHIER, pastor of Pramot, was also to supply Rora. BERNARD JAHIER was to unite to his parish of St. Germain those of Prarusting and Rocheplate.—The synod adds that "if the Divine Providence should ever recal to these valleys the pastors now compelled to leave them, they should each of them return to the church which they left."

³ THE MODERATOR, Henry Arnaud, was succeeded by David Léger, Moderator Adjunct. The latter office was confided to Malanot; and the office of SECRETARY, occupied by David Jordan, was given to Laurence Bastie.

At the same time, the king was petitioned to allow pastors to be brought for a time from Switzerland, to succeed the French ministers;¹ and his permission having been obtained, application was made by letter to the Academy of Geneva, which hastened to make provision for the wants represented.² The synod likewise asked, that the course of study of the Vaudois students, who were preparing for the ministry of the gospel, under the care of the Swiss Faculties of Theology, should be accelerated as much as possible; and, finally, it stated the pressing necessities of the valleys—the debts with which their communes were burdened—the destitution of the inhabitants—the distress, the penury, the want of work—the bad harvests, and the impossibility of the Vaudois providing for the maintenance of their pastors without foreign aid.³ This aid was not refused—it was manifested that the members of the same body have a mutual interest in each other; and the inexhaustible charity of Protestants, at that time more happily situated than those of Piedmont, enabled the latter to carry on their public worship and their schools, which they had, indeed, till then, themselves supported with a patient and devoted zeal.

Besides the general meetings of their synods, which took place only once or twice in a year, and afterwards so unfrequently as once every five years, the pastors of each Vaudois valley had then

¹ Captain *Pastre* and *Joseph Donneaud* were deputed to Turin for this purpose by the synod of 1698.

² Archives of Berne, compartment E. Letter of the Moderator (23d September, 1698), recommending the departing pastors.—Archives of the Venerable Company of Geneva, vol. O, pp. 499, 510, &c., and vol. Q, pp. 20, 82, &c. (concerning the request for Swiss pastors and their being sent).—The Swiss pastors who came to the valleys, and the parishes where they were placed, were as follows:—DUBOIS, at *Bobî*; DIND, at *Le Villar*; SENEBIER, at *La Tour*; DECOPPET, at *St. Jean*; and DUTOIT at *Prarusting*. The Vaudois pastors assigned to themselves the poorest, most mountainous, and most difficult parishes—to wit, BERTIN, at *Rora*; MALANOT, at *Angrogna*; J. JAHIER, at *Pramol*; B. JAHIER, at *St. Germain*; DAVID LÉGER, at *Le Pomaret* (where he was succeeded two years after by JAMES LÉGER, whilst he himself went to *Ville Sèche*); LAWRENCE BERTIN, at *Maneuille* and at *Macel* (where he was succeeded next year by HENRIOD); and PAUL REYNAUDIN, at *Pral* and at *Rodoret*.—These arrangements were made in the year 1699.—Reynaudin went to *Bobî* in 1705, to succeed PORTAZ, who himself had succeeded DECOPPET in 1703.—M. SENEBIER left the valleys in 1700 (the letter recalling him is dated November, 1699); but in 1701, two Vaudois ministers were ordained, JOHN JAHIER and CHARLES BASTIE.

³ *Mémoire touchant l'état politique et ecclésiastique des Vaudois, par rapport au pressant besoin d'assistance qu'ils réclament pour acquitter leurs dettes.* (Archives of the Venerable Company of Geneva, vol. Q, p. 83.)—This memorial was sent to the Duke of Zell—to the Archbishop of Canterbury—to the Bishop of Salisbury, for his British Majesty—to M. Spanheim, professor at Leyden, for the States-General of Holland—to the Count of Dhona, for the Elector of Brandenburg—to the first pastor of the Court of Hesse-Cassel—and to M. Herwart, envoy of the King of England in Switzerland.

their separate *Colloques*,¹ which met every month.² They preached in their parishes twice every Sabbath, and conducted a meeting for prayer, accompanied with religious instruction, every day of the week.³ A minister, who had no parish, did not scruple to undertake personally the charge of the school of La Tour.⁴ The parishes threatened with deprivation of public worship, did not shrink from the heaviest sacrifices, in order to maintain it.⁵ The temporary suspension of the subsidies, which Queen Anne had granted to the Vaudois pastors, caused no abatement of their activity in any of the functions of their ministry.⁶

The cruel returns which the Vaudois received at the hands of their sovereign, in acts of arbitrary violence, did not prevent them from giving proof of their fidelity to him upon many occasions. When a revolt broke out at Mondovi, in June, 1700, the Vaudois militia contributed greatly to its suppression.

Victor Amadeus II. had then a difference with the court of Rome,⁷ on the subject of the *Monarchy of Sicily*;⁸ and this difference continued throughout twenty years. Nor was it long till he

¹ [Or Presbyteries.]

² In the Synodal Acts of 10th February, 1699, we read: "The pastors of the *Colloque of Val Lucerna* shall supply the church of Rora time about." (Archives of the Table.)

³ The pastors who came from Switzerland were authorized to have only one sermon on Sabbath and one catechetical exercise during the week; but *only for the first year* of their ministry in the valleys. (Same source.)

⁴ This was Abraham Henriot, who also was from Switzerland.—1699–1700.—The school was a *Latin and Italian* one.—See the Acts of the Synod of 19th July, 1701.

⁵ In the Synodal Acts of the 28th of October, 1699, we read: "The church of Prarusting having been obliged to expend nearly 300 livres in order to maintain the exercise of public worship, its right to which was disputed . . . all the other churches of the valleys are strongly recommended to stretch out their hand for its aid . . . to mark their union and Christian charity."—The rescript of Victor Amadeus, authorizing the Vaudois of Prarusting to have a place of worship, is dated 20th October, 1699. (Turin. Archives of the Court of Accounts. *Regio controrollo generale*. Year 1699. No. 199. Fol. 112.) A report concerning the erection of the place of worship and the old site at Rocheplate, on which it was required that the new one should be built, are to be found in the Archives of State. (Category, *Valdesi*, No. 488.)

⁶ See the Synodal Acts of June, 1700, and July, 1701.

⁷ *Mercurio storico*, XVIII. 16, 238; XX. 7, 128, 616; XXI. 235, 355, 480, &c. All these references belong to dates included between July, 1700, and November, 1702.

⁸ Urban II., by a bull dated 5th July, 1093, had granted to Roger, Count of Sicily, that a tribunal, called the *Monarchy of Sicily*, should have the right of judging supremely and without appeal in all ecclesiastical affairs. Clement XI. disputed the privileges of this institution with Victor Amadeus II.; and finally published, on 20th February, 1715, a *Constitution* in order to its abolition. An appeal was taken from this bull to a Pope better informed; and the dispute was prolonged to the death of the pontiff.

was again in a state of hostility with France, and had brought upon his dominions the scourge of war, more terrible than all the dissatisfaction of Rome. In 1701, having recognized the Duke of Anjou as King of Spain, he gave him his second daughter in marriage.¹ But soon after, being drawn into a contrary course of policy, he turned against his son-in-law, having deceived France and Spain during two years, with that high-born duplicity, which is dignified with the name of diplomacy, but which would deprive the art of government of all dignity, if it were its necessary basis or means. These capricious fluctuations of a policy, which sacrificed everything to interest, and which remained constant only in its inflexible selfishness, breaking with equal indifference the bonds of honour and of affection to take part always with the strongest, present a melancholy spectacle, repulsive to upright minds.

All the powers of Europe confirmed the choice of the Duke of Anjou, as King of Spain, with the exception of Austria, which saw with jealousy a prince of the royal family of France ascend the throne of Charles II.² But the whole German empire, with England and Holland, soon formed a league,³ for the dethronement of this monarch. The old animosities of these powers against Louis XIV., who supported him, were their true motives for this conduct.

Victor Amadeus, having been named Generalissimo of the armies of France and Spain in Italy,⁴ instead of defending his son-in-law with affection, and faithfully maintaining the cause of his ally, entered into secret engagements with their enemies. The house of Austria promised him Montferrat as the price of his defection; and doubly perfidious, he still fought against the imperial forces in several encounters. This course of conduct was pursued for two years. The imperial armies, commanded by Prince Eugene, and the French troops, commanded by Catinat, met in Piedmont about the middle of the year 1701.⁵ The Marshal de Catinat re-

¹ Louise Gabrielle, of Savoy, who was married by proxy, on 11th September, 1701.—The Duke of Anjou, born 19th December, 1683, was called to the crown of Spain, on 2d October, 1700, by the latter will of Charles II., who in that deed referred to the rights of Maria Theresa, the grandmother of the Duke of Anjou. In virtue of this deed, he was declared King of Spain, by the name of Philip V., at Fontainebleau, on 16th November, 1700; and on the 24th of the same month, at Madrid, which he entered on 14th April, 1701.—The treaty of Utrecht alone (11th April, 1713) gave him peaceable possession of this disputed throne.

² The predecessor of Philip V., in Spain.

³ Signed on 7th September, 1701.

⁴ In September, 1701.

⁵ On 9th July, 1701, was fought the battle of Carpi on the Adige;—on 1st September, the battle of Chiari, near the Oglio. There were numerous skirmishes.

ceived a number of little checks, one after the other, which he could not ascribe entirely to the skill of his adversary. He suspected the connivance of the Duke of Savoy with the enemy, and imparted his suspicions to the court of Versailles, which repelled them. But eighteen months afterwards, Louis XIV. was no longer able to doubt that they were well-founded; and suddenly adopting one of those energetic resolutions, which seem natural to men whose haughty disposition and strength of will have been developed by the habitual exercise of an undisputed power, he ordered the Duke de Vendôme to disarm, and retain as prisoners, the troops of the Duke of Savoy in the Milanese.¹ These orders were executed. Three hundred and forty Piedmontese officers found themselves suddenly deprived of liberty, and distributed in different fortresses.

This news reached Turin on the 1st of October, 1703. The gates were immediately closed; the greatest agitation prevailed in the court and in the city; the French ambassador was arrested in his house;² and the French who were resident in Turin received orders not to go beyond its walls. All the available troops were called to active service; those which were in Ivree and elsewhere were recalled to the fortifications—the relations with Austria became more intimate.³ The Duke of Savoy sought to rally all his forces; and the following are the terms in which he made the Vaudois acquainted with these events:—

"Dear and well-beloved trusty subjects,—Unparalleled violence having been done by France, contrary to the good faith of treaties and the law of nations, in the disarming of our troops who were in its service in the Milanese—the retaining of our officers prisoners—and the marching of a body of troops for the invasion of our dominions; . . . we acquaint you with it, being persuaded that the same motive which led you on all occasions in former wars to display such fidelity and zeal in our service, will induce you to give us no less proof thereof in this war, which is much more important. You will require, for this purpose, without loss of time to form your com-

¹ Louis XIV. wrote at the same time to Victor Amadeus: "Sir, since religion, honour, interest, alliances, and your own signature, avail nothing between us, I send my cousin, the Duke de Vendôme, at the head of my armies, to explain to you my intentions." (Lamberty, Part II. p. 564.)

² The same thing was done with regard to the Spanish ambassador. (*Merc. hist.* XXIV., 508.)

³ On the 25th of October, 1703, the treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was signed between Savoy and Austria, by which the latter power guaranteed to Victor Amadeus the possession of the Mantuan Montferrat, the price agreed upon for the defection of that prince. (*Art de vérifier les dates.*)

panies, as you did in the last war, and to receive all the French refugees who may wish to come to your valleys; you will do well even to invite them to come, that they may act in concert with you. Our commissaries will provide for the subsistence of these troops. . . . The matter concerns the preservation of our dominions, our glory, and our safety. . . . And in respect hereof, we pray God to take you under his good and holy protection."¹

The Vaudois immediately organized thirty-four companies of their valiant militia, and soon attracted attention by some brilliant exploits. "The Duke of Savoy having permitted them to name a commandant for themselves," we read in a statement published at that time, "they, towards the end of the year, made choice of M. De Malanot, who was one of their captains in the preceding war."² They have already made several incursions into the frontiers of Provence and Dauphiny, and have exacted a contribution of fifty thousand livres from the latter province, besides a great number of cattle. They have offered this money to his royal highness, but he has been pleased to leave it in their hands, in order to give them the means of arming and equipping themselves better."³ Moreover, so long as the Vaudois were useful to him, Victor Amadeus treated those with severity who brought complaints to him against them.⁴

This people, always exposed to the severest hardships, either through the tyranny of their kings, when their kings were powerful, or through their own devotion to their cause, when they were threatened with danger, signalized themselves again by new exploits in the year 1704. But in the meantime, their ranks were augmented by a crowd of French refugees, who came from Switzer-

¹ This letter is dated from Turin, 5th October, 1703.—It was sent to each of the Vaudois pastors, with another letter addressed to themselves personally, and bearing also the signature of Victor Amadeus—the address being in the following style:—*To our dear, well-beloved, and liege N. minister of . . .*—These documents may be seen in LAMBERTY, *Mémoire pour servir à l'histoire du dix-huitième siècle*, t. II.; *Mercure historique*, XXI. 629. The letter of Victor Amadeus to the Vaudois, is also in Moser, *Proof Documents*, No. 18; and in Erman and Reclam, vol. VI.—I have quoted only the part essential for the history.

² This passage is exactly copied from the *Mercure historique*, vol. XXV., January, 1704.—However, I must observe that the particle which may precede any name amongst the Vaudois, has, according to their usage, nothing to do with any indication of noble birth—although the reader might be apt to think so from the name of this commandant as given above.—When a number of persons bear the same name, they are distinguished by that of the place where they dwell, preceded by the (contracted) article. But no distinction of rank is connected amongst them with these designations.

³ *Mercure historique*, XXV. 136.

⁴ The governor of Fort Mutino, who came to complain against the inhabitants of the valleys, was arrested at Pignerol." *Merc. hist.* XXIV. 509.

land¹ and from the Cevennes. The latter had taken up arms against Louis XIV. in the beginning of 1703. "This is no revolt," said they in their manifesto,² "nor a rebellion of subjects against their sovereign. We have always been obedient and faithful to him. . . . But a law of nature obliges us to repel force by force; otherwise we would be to blame for our own misfortunes; and would be traitors to our religion, to ourselves, and to our country," &c. But notwithstanding the intrepidity of their leaders, they were crushed;³ and the inhabitants of Orange, who maintained their resistance longest, were banished, and retired into Prussia. The fugitives of the Cevennes, upon whose heads a price was set, or whose properties had been confiscated, retired to the valleys.

The forces of Victor Amadeus received a valuable accession in these brave partizans, inured to privations and dangers. In his prosperity, however, he had prohibited the Vaudois from giving them an asylum;⁴ and at a subsequent period he was again to banish them.⁵ But at the time to which our history now relates, they were welcomed, and all the more gladly the more that his dominions were threatened by the enemy. The Duke de la Feuillade⁶ had made himself master of the whole of Savoy,⁷ and thereafter soon crossed the Alps. In June, 1704, he took the town and castle of Suza. A few days after, the Duke de Vendôme took Vercell,⁸ where almost 6000 men were made prisoners. Ivree soon afterwards suffered the same fate.⁹

Whilst the Duke de Vendôme thus pursued his successful career, the Duke de la Feuillade endeavoured to detach the Vaudois valleys from the cause of their sovereign. After having occupied Suza, he turned towards our valleys. He first offered them exemption from all the calamities of war, if they would preserve neutrality between him and the Duke of Savoy.¹⁰ This fact suffices to

¹ Louis XIV. sent an agent, M. de Puisseau, to obtain from the Swiss government the prevention of the French refugees who were in Switzerland, from going to take arms under the banners of the Duke of Savoy.—Long conferences ensued.—See the *Mercure historique*, XXIV. 512, 634, 641, 648; XXV. No. for January, &c.

² Dated 17th February, 1703.—Separately printed.

³ See the histories of the Camisards.—*Lamberty*, II. &c.

⁴ In April, 1703, "the Duke of Savoy sent for some of the principal inhabitants of the valleys, and declared to them that he forbade them, under severe penalties, to have any dealings with the insurgents of the Cevennes, or to give shelter to any of them," &c. . . . *Mercure historique*, XXIII. 355.

⁵ By the *Instructions* of 20th June, 1730. ⁶ Others say the Marshal de Tessé.

⁷ Except the fort of Montmellian, which did not surrender till 1705. The fortifications were then demolished.

⁸ Suza was taken on the 12th of June, and Vercell on the 21st of July.

⁹ On 30th September, 1704. ¹⁰ *Mercure historique*, XXVI. 140.

demonstrate the importance of their services in war. "The inhabitants of the valleys of St. Martin and St. Germain, who are the most exposed, were strongly enough inclined to this neutrality; but M. Vandermeer, the minister of the states-general, having repaired thither with M. Arnaud,¹ completely re-animated the resolution of the people, and caused the designs of the French to fail. Thereupon the marshal, perceiving that he could effect nothing by negotiation, attacked the valleys from all sides. He caused M. de Lapara to assail the fort of Mirabouc,² whilst he himself, with the rest of his troops, entered the valley of St. Martin and took possession of it.³ From thence he passed into that of St. Germain, where he met with much resistance on the part of the Vaudois, who guarded the approaches to the valley, but were at last compelled to yield to the superior forces of the enemy. However, the Marquis de Parelles having arrived with orders for the militia of the neighbouring districts to march to the aid of the Vaudois, and the Duke of Savoy having also sent some regular troops, the people of the valleys of St. Germain sent their wives, their children, and their movable effects into the neighbouring communes and into the woods, after which they assembled anew under the command of M. de St. Hippolyte.⁴ They began, that same day, to reconquer the positions which they had lost, and on the 1st of July, they attacked the French at Angrogna, and defeated them, having on their own side only five men killed and seven wounded. This so disconcerted the enemy, that they began secretly to quit the heights around Angrogna, and gradually abandoned the whole of the valley of Angrogna, as well as that of Lucerna."⁵

¹ This was Henry Arnaud, who had led the Vaudois in their return to their country in 1689, who was banished in 1693, and who returned to the valleys in 1703. He then exercised his ministry in the church of St. John, as we learn from a Report, of date 27th December, 1706, in which it is said, *The church of St. John is now supplied by M. Henry Arnaud, as provisional minister. (State of the Churches of the Valleys. Private library of M. Appia, at Frankfort.)* Shortly after this, Arnaud went to London, for he was there in 1707.—According to tradition, he wished to extend to the valley of Lucerna the republican government which that of St. Martin had adopted, and a price was set upon his head. (I received this tradition from the last of the Vaudois pastors in Wurtemberg, M. Mondon, successor to Arnaud's son at Gros Villar, who died not long ago, almost 100 years of age.—Another son of Arnaud was appointed pastor of Pomaret in 1713.—The name of the former was Scipio, that of the latter was Vincent.)

² On 20th June, 1704.

³ His troops continued to occupy it till 8th August, 1708. (Notarial attestation of this occupation, of date 18th May, 1713.—*Archives of Le Perrier.*)

⁴ On 30th June, 1704.

⁵ The fort of Mirabouc, which had been besieged, was relieved by the Vaudois on 14th July, 1704.—The whole passage within inverted commas is extracted from the *Mercure historique*, XXVI. 140, *et seq.*

The valley of St. Martin was not, however, evacuated in the same manner. The Duke de la Feuillade persuaded a few communes to erect an independent republic,¹ under the protection of Louis XIV. His object was to have a footing for his troops in Piedmont, and to divide the country and weaken the authority of Victor Amadeus. Moreover, the valley of St. Martin is one of the strongest in the Alps. It is not only its extent that renders it important, but also its position. And the Vaudois had acquired a renown, which made them appear to a stranger greater than they really were. This people were regarded as a sort of power—as one of the lowest rank, no doubt, but better known, however, than many others which had a right to that designation. This explains how Louis XIV. condescended to sign, with all the forms of a serious treaty, that inconceivable piece of mystification or puerile stratagem of war, which gave a nominal existence for four years to the republic of St. Martin.²

The following are the principal provisions of this treaty:—"The leaders, elders, syndics, councillors, captains, and other officers of the valley of St. Martin, Pomaret, Envers-Pinache, and Chenevières, both Catholics and those of the pretended Reformed religion" (1), Shall erect themselves into and shall be recognized as a republic, under the protection of the King of France and his successors. (2) They shall make their own laws, which shall be approved and maintained by his most Christian majesty. (3) They shall establish amongst themselves liberty of conscience, with exception that the French refugees shall not be permitted to come and enjoy it. (4) *For the strengthening and defence of the said republic, his majesty shall maintain there the troops necessary.*³

¹ He had attempted to persuade the communes of Val Lucerna to the same effect, but without success.—*Loc. cit.* p. 248.

² Its existence not being mentioned by any historian, I have thought it necessary to quote a large number of testimonies in support of this fact.—The same remark applies to the sojourn of Victor Amadeus at Rora, which has been disputed.—Hence the great number of notes in the following pages.

³ The words in italics are the very words of the treaty.—It contained seven articles in all, which sometimes descend to trifles of no political importance. The fifth article stipulates in name of the Vaudois: "That his majesty and his successors shall always furnish them [*leur fournira*] with salt at Le Perrier, at two sols per pound." At the bottom of the treaty are these words, "We, being satisfied with the above treaty, accept it, and promise to observe it invariably in all points, in testimony whereof we have signed these presents with our hand, and have caused our privy seal to be attached to them.—At Versailles, 25th July, 1704." Signed Louis, countersigned Colbert. (*Treaty agreed upon between the Duke de la Feuillade and the inhabitants of the valley of St. Martin*, 15th July, 1704.—Turin, Archives of the Court, No. 486.) According to a memorial of that period, the proposals of the French general, on this subject, were in the first instance rejected by the Vaudois of the Val Pérouse and of the Val St. Martin,

This was all that La Feuillade wanted; and that I may not have to return to the subject, I may here state that the history of this ephemeral republic was fraught with calamity, both to those who were included in it, and to their neighbours. The French troops being located there, according to the treaty, and continuing to occupy it during the whole time of its existence,¹ made hostile incursions into the neighbouring regions.² Vagabonds from all parts congregated in it, coming to seek an asylum.³ The pastors and schoolmasters ceasing to be supported by a share of the English subsidies,⁴ and perhaps banished by some popular caprice, were compelled to remove from it, and became wanderers, without means of subsistence;⁵ primary instruction and Divine worship fell rapidly into decay;⁶ and when the people desired to have pastors, young men, without any orderly call to the office, were invited to

but he seized their properties, and it was in order to regain possession of them that they consented to this treaty. (*Mémoire pour les Eglises évangéliques des vallées du Piémont*, 1704-1707. Archives of the Pastors of Geneva, vol. R.)

¹ Till 8th August, 1708.—Notarial attestation, in the Archives of Le Perrier.

² "The church of St. Germain, in the valley of Pérouse, is at present abandoned by the inhabitants, and without exercise of religion, because of the enemy, who have entirely ruined and burned it. It has no minister nor schoolmaster, because they are obliged to seek refuge in the neighbourhood, a little farther out of the way of the enemy.—The church of Pramol is equally deserted by the parishioners, because of the enemy, who have indeed burned the greater part of it, and they have been obliged to withdraw themselves to other parts of the valleys." (*Mémoire sur l'état des vallées*, 27th December, 1706.)—[The word church (église) here must be taken for the district occupied by the church or congregation.]

³ "This valley having fallen into rebellion is now inhabited by the dregs and scum of diverse peoples . . . who bear arms against his royal highness."—*Mémoire pour les églises évangéliques du Piémont*, 1704-1707.—Geneva, Archives of the Venerable Company of Pastors, vol. R.)

⁴ "These 784 louis which come from England are here worth no more than four ducal livres each. Hence the pastors receive only 200 ducats each and the schoolmasters 100. The Latin regent has about 170. But the sum was much smaller still, before the calamity of the valley of St. Martin." (*Mémoire en faveur des vallées*, 1708.—Same source.)

⁵ "The three churches of the valley of St. Martin . . . having unhappily fallen into disloyalty . . . their pastors have left them." (*Loco cit.*)—"The meeting having deliberated on the condition of the wandering pastors, and the means of providing for their subsistence," . . . resolved that something shall for this purpose be kept off the stipends of their colleagues of the valley of Lucerna.—"John Jahier, formerly pastor at Pral, shall be recognized as pastor of the Flying Camp." . . . (Synodal Acts of 7th October, 1704.—Archives of the Vaudois Table.)

⁶ "The church of Villesèche, which before their revolt was composed of the communities of Rioclaré, Faët, Bouvil, Traverses, and St. Martin, has now neither minister, nor schoolmaster, nor any sort of exercise of religion." (*Etat des églises de la vallée de St. Martin, et du Pomaret, présentement dominées par les ennemis*.—A report without date.—Communicated by M. Appia.) It is afterwards said, "All the other churches of these valleys are in the same state."

undertake its solemn duties,¹ who committed the greatest irregularities.² The Vaudois considered this valley as lost to their church,³ and feared lest, the unity of their body being thus broken, the destruction of the whole might ensue.⁴ But at last, when the war was ended, the valley of St. Martin returned under the government of Victor Amadeus, who granted a complete amnesty to all its inhabitants,⁵ in consideration of the fidelity shown to him by the valley of Lucerna, where he had found an asylum in the time of his misfortunes. For the French generals had for a time deprived him of almost all his dominions.

The Duke de Vendôme, who had laid siege to Verrüe on the 22d of October, 1704, took that place on the 10th of April, 1705, after it had made the best defence which any besieged place ever made.⁶ The Duke de la Feuillade took Villefranche by assault,⁷ and also Montalban and Nice, the governor of which retreated into the citadel, but was not able to hold out there for more than three days.⁸ Miradole surrendered at discretion, on the 11th of May, twenty-two days after the trenches were opened. On the 16th of August, the Imperial and Savoyard troops, commanded by Prince Eugene, were defeated near Cassano; thereafter the fortifications

¹ See the Archives of the Company of Pastors of Geneva, register R, pp. 312, 313.

² Mentioned in a letter by Reynaudin, of 28th September, 1708. (Same source.) See also the Synodal Acts of Le Villar, 23d October, 1708. (Archives of the Vaudois Table.)

³ "The valley of St. Martin, which was supposed to have been lost, has returned to its duty." . . . (Synodal summons addressed by the moderator, Reynaudin, to the pastors, elders, directors, and other heads of families, &c. Dated Bobi, 26th December, 1708.—Archives of Le Villar. REL. fol. 158.)

⁴ "This division will inevitably cause the ruin of these valleys." (*Mémoire sur l'état des vallées Vaudoises*, 27th December, 1706.)—"The preservation of the valley of Lucerna depends upon that of the valley of St. Martin . . . without which it cannot be hoped that it should long be able to maintain its existence." (*Mémoire pour les églises des vallées du Piémont*.)

⁵ Under the name of *Patents of Grace*, dated from the camp of Balbottet, 17th August, 1708, granting the amnesty, on condition that the pretended republicans should renew their oath of fidelity to the house of Savoy, in presence of the governor, Gasca. This document begins thus: "*Dopo l'enorme crime di ribellione, commesso da i particolari, e abitanti della valle di San Martino*," &c. . . .—Being all guilty of high treason and lese majesty, they have incurred the penalty of death, &c. . . . But his royal highness, moved with compassion, &c., . . . pardons them. (State Archives at Turin. Vald. No. 482.)

⁶ This judgment is taken from the *Mercure historique*, XXVII. 479; the dates are taken from the work of the Benedictines, for the *Mercure* places the surrender of Verrüe on the 7th of April.

⁷ On the 2d of April, 1705, according to the *Mercure*, and on the 7th of March according to the *Art de vérifier les dates*.—But the castle of Villefranche was not taken till the 3d of April.

⁸ The town was taken on the 6th, and the citadel on the 9th of April, 1705.

of Nice, Ivée, and Verrée were destroyed by the French. In the following year, the French obtained another great victory at Calcinato.¹ Turin was invested by them on the 12th and 13th of May, and their trenches were opened in the night between the 3d and 4th of June. The Duke of Savoy retired to Bubiana, where he received a deputation of the officers and pastors of the Vaudois valleys.² He then went to Lucerna, where, according to the words of an ancient manuscript, *the Vaudois made for him a secure retreat*.³ There is reason for supposing that this retreat was the deep valley of Rora,⁴ where Janavel, with eighteen men, had arrested an army, and at which also the enemy were compelled to pause, who had pursued the Duke of Savoy as far as Briqueras.⁵ Perhaps it may have been nothing else than the arms of the Vaudois which arrested the progress of the French general upon this occasion.⁶

Victor Amadeus, in thus retiring amidst these valiant moun-

¹ 19th April, 1706.

² "During the war lately terminated, his majesty the King of Sardinia seemed disposed to favour the Vaudois, insomuch that in the year 1706, he having gone into the valley of Lucerna, at the time when the French army pursued him so very closely, the Protestant pastors and officers of the valleys, repaired to Bubiana and Lucerna, to protest an inviolable fidelity to him in whatsoever circumstances of trial. He received them very graciously, saying to them that if they were faithful to him as they protested, they would find in him a good friend, as well as an affectionate father; and he would maintain them in all their privileges, without permitting the least infraction of them." (Extract from a MS. note appended to a copy of the *Negotiations* of 1686, belonging to M. Ant. Blanc, of La Tour.—These words, *the war lately terminated*, lead to the supposition that the note was written soon after the events of which it makes mention. The last which it relates took place on 9th August, 1718.

³ "At the peace of Utrecht, the influence of the British court might have obtained for the Vaudois of Pragela the same privileges which the three other valleys enjoyed, the more especially as the latter had, at the time of the siege of Turin, provided a secure retreat for their sovereign, . . . and as *all this was recent*." (*Mémoire concernant la situation, &c.* . . . Report concerning the present condition of the valleys of Piedmont, and of the ministry in their churches, drawn up by the pastors . . . appointed as commissioners in name of the Synod . . . to watch over their interests, &c. . . . Presented to the Synod of the Hague, 9th September, 1762. *Archives of the Walloon Churches*, communicated by M. Appia.)

⁴ See Monastier, II. 173.—Gilly, *Waldensian Researches*.—Brokedon, *Excursions*; Acland, &c.

⁵ *Histoire militaire du Piémont*, by the Count De Saluces, v. 189; quoted by Monastier, II. 172.

⁶ Upon the arrival of Victor Amadeus in the valley of Lucerna, the Vaudois, "exposing their own lives in his service, opposed the French army with such vigour, that they compelled the enemy to retire and abandon the valley of Lucerna." (Note above quoted; MS. of M. Ant. Blanc.)—"The Duke of Savoy then came into the valley of Lucerna, where La Feuillade still thought to fight with him, but he was everywhere repulsed, and returned to his own camp. (*Histoire de Prince Eugene*; Vienna edition; 5 vols. 8vo, 1755; III. 77.)

taineers, intended not only to seek a refuge which he might have found elsewhere, but above all to attach them to his service by personal manifestations of good-will, which might make them forget all that they had suffered. He knew that the Duke de la Feuillade had offered them the protection of France; it was important to prevent a defection like that of the valley of St. Martin, or at all events to give to the valley of Lucerna such marks of confidence and kindness as its fidelity deserved. Victor Amadeus II. employed himself also in organizing the military forces of these faithful subjects, who crowded around him *in great numbers*,¹ and whom perhaps he meant to make a body-guard in place of the Swiss who had abandoned him.² At all events, he arrived at Carmagnole, escorted by 600 Vaudois and 100 Camisards, who had belonged to the intrepid band of Cavalier.³ Nor did he fail to thank the general secretary of the valley of Lucerna, as their representative, for all the good services which had been rendered to him on the part of all the inhabitants of the valley;⁴ and he even left at Rora a memorial of himself in the form of a gift at parting to those who had received him as their guest.⁵

At Carmagnole he was rejoined by Prince Eugene, with eight regiments of the line and 4000 dragoons. After this, the duke remained for a few days at the castle of Pianesse, and then marched from thence upon Turin, the siege of which he compelled the French to raise,⁶ after a glorious victory which restored him his

¹ Expression of the Count de Saluces, *Histoire militaire du Piémont*, v. 189.

² *Mercure historique*, xxvii., 1705. "The Vaudois are still proud of having, at the time of the siege of Turin, in 1706, given an asylum to Victor Amadeus, their most cruel persecutor, who came unattended, to take refuge amongst them until the approach of the immortal Eugene. It was in the village of Rora that he found his place of retreat, and all our men who were capable of bearing arms, followed him to the siege, or rather to the deliverance of his capital." (*Letter of M. Paul Appia, deputy of the valley of Lucerna, to the Count of Nieperg, dated from La Tour, 2d December, 1799. Communicated by M. Appia of Frankfort.*)

³ *History of Prince Eugene of Savoy*. Edition of Vienna, 1755; III. 104.

⁴ "Invitati dalli buoni serviggi, sin qui resi, con ogni applicatione—fedelta e zelo, del Nodaro Collegiario, Guiseppe Brezzi, del Villar, in qualita di segretario delle valli di Luserna, deputato dal corpo, in generale delle ufficiali valdesi, &c." . . . (Rescript of Victor Amadeus II., dated from Bubiana, 31st July, 1706, and printed in 1711, in *Torino, per Gio Battista Valetta, stampatore di S. A. R.*)—Victor Amadeus arrived at Bubiana on 7th July, 1706; he remained there till the 14th, in the house of the missionaries. (*Storia della missione, dal P. Bonaventura di vergemoli*. Folio MS. in the Archives of the Bishopric of Pignerol.) From Bubiana he went to Lucerna; it can only have been from the 16th to the 28th of July that he was at Rora, as on 31st July he was at Bubiana on his return.

⁵ A silver goblet. (See all the modern writers.) Monastier, II. 173. Gilly, *Narrative of an excursion* . . . —Beattie, *Vallées vaudoises pittoresques*, 170, &c.

⁶ On 7th Sept., 1706. The Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene arrived, in the night between the 6th and 7th, on the hill of *Superga*, where Victor Amadeus, in

dominions.¹ The loss of the vanquished amounted, indeed, to no more than 2000 men; but such was their consternation that, instead of seeking a new position under the walls of Casal in order to cover the Milanese, their army retreated to Pignerol in order to retire into Dauphiny. This was to abandon all that they had won; and they experienced new losses in this retreat. The Vaudois, commanded by Colonel de Saint-Amour, harassed them during the whole time of their retreat, and took a number of their convoys.² They had organized a flying camp which passed rapidly from one mountain to another, and made incursions even into Dauphiny.

The war was carried on feebly for some years. In 1707, the French and Spanish troops restored to the allies the places which still remained in their hands in Lombardy,³ and evacuated that country. In the following year, Victor Amadeus attempted to seize upon Dauphiny; but the Marshal de Villars, the able governor of that province, frustrated all his designs. The duke, however, regained the cis-alpine districts of which La Feuillade had deprived him, and amongst the rest the valley of St. Martin.⁴ He fixed his camp near Mentoules,⁵ where the deputies of the valley of Lucerna⁶ came to solicit his clemency on behalf of their brethren who had been so grievously misled, and whose puerile republic had vanished upon the first appearance of his advanced guard. "His majesty, says one of these deputies, conversed with us for half an hour, with the kindness of a father, and with an affability which is without example on the part of a sovereign towards his subjects."⁷ Nor did he refuse pardon to those for whom it was asked, requiring only that they should renew their oath of allegiance to his dynasty.⁸

accordance with a vow then made, caused a most beautiful church to be erected, nine years after, from plans by Philip Juvara of Messina, in honour of the Virgin, "who, as the people pretended, had received in her apron the bombs which the French showered upon Turin." (*Mémoire pour servir à l'histoire des Vaudois*, folio MS., p. 61, by M. Paul Appia. Referring especially to the era of the Restoration. Communicated by the family of M. Appia.)

¹ On occasion of this victory, a medal was struck representing the fall of Phaeton, with these words, *Mergitur Eridano MDCCVII*. On the reverse is the Duke of Savoy embracing Prince Eugene, and Fame flies above them, displaying a scroll on which is written *Sabaudia liberata: is triumphe!*

² *L'Esprit des cours* . . . , t. XV. *Histoire militaire du Piémont*, v. 212.

³ By capitulation of 13th March.

⁴ Suza was surrendered on 30th October, 1707.

⁵ At Balbottet.

⁶ Paul Reynaudin, the moderator, with MM. Goante and Léger.

⁷ Letter of Reynaudin, dated from Bobi, 26th September, 1708. (Archives of Le Villar, vol. *Religionarii*, folio 158.)

⁸ *Patents of Grace*, dated from the camp of Balbottet, 17th August, 1708. (Archives of the Court.)

He at the same time authorized the meeting of a synod, in order to provide for the wants of the parishes thus restored.¹

It was in 1708, also, that the Duke of Savoy² entered into possession of Montferrat, which had been promised to him by Austria upon his alliance with the imperial party.³

The following year passed without any remarkable incident; but in 1710, the Marshal de Berwick was sent into Savoy by Louis XIV., and the Vaudois again took up arms for their sovereign. "A proclamation has been published at Turin," said a letter from that city, "that those who choose to go and serve amongst them shall enjoy the ordinary pay and wages of the militia, till the end of the campaign."⁴ This was a new invitation indirectly addressed to the French refugees. Ah! why should kings, after they have become victorious, so often prove unfaithful to the promises which they have made during their reverses? These unhappy exiles, already twice deceived, were again deceived a third time; for numbers of them at this time also joined the defenders of the throne of Savoy.

Victor Amadeus II. declared his resolution, on 26th May, 1711, to place himself in person at the head of his troops;⁵ and shortly afterwards he had recovered possession of Savoy. Next year, the Marshal de Berwick crossed Mount Genève with a French army, and encamped at Cézane.⁶ Thence he made himself master of the valleys of Oulx and Pragela. The Piedmontese king immediately raised his camp from St. Columban, where he then was, and drove the enemy back into Dauphiny. Meanwhile the Baron de St. Rémy seized the valley of Barcelonnette; and the Vaudois, being in the very centre of all these movements, did not fail to act with their accustomed valour and bravery. They made many victorious excursions and skirmishes at this time, which very much contributed to repulse the enemy, as well as to give themselves the means of providing ammunition, and of equipping themselves at the enemy's expense. The king, to testify his satisfaction, ordered the Count de Bagnol to send a cashier to Pignerol, to pay the arrears due to these valiant troops, to whom he even offered a continuance

¹ Decree dated from the same camp, 13th September, 1708.

² The title of *His Majesty* was already given to Victor Amadeus, but as King of Sicily, and not as King of Piedmont. It was not till the 18th of August, 1718, that he accepted Sardinia in exchange for Sicily, with the title of King of Sardinia, which has been inherited by his successors.

³ In virtue of the treaty of 25th October, 1703.

⁴ *Mercure historique et politique*; the Hague, 1710. No. for July, p. 524.

⁵ Extract from a letter from Turin, dated 17th June, 1711. (*Mercure historique et politique*. No. for July, p. 551.)

⁶ On 11th July, 1712. (Id., No. for August, 1712, p. 1647.)

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of pay, on the war footing, if they would continue to defend the passes of the Alps as they had done.¹

The treaty of Utrecht² gave Victor Amadeus peaceful possession of his enlarged dominions. The high valleys of the Cluson and the Doire remained in his hands, along with the county of Nice, in exchange for the valley of Barcelonnette, which remained in the possession of France; and we have already seen what the Vaudois of Pragela had afterwards to suffer because their interests were at that time overlooked and neglected by the Protestant powers. The Pragelans, however, took part by their deputies in the general synod of the Vaudois churches which was held at this time for the reorganization of the church.³ But they did not long enjoy this privilege. The acts of that assembly received the authorization of government in order to their being carried into effect, with the exception of the incorporation of the old Vaudois parishes of Pragela into the same body with those of the valleys.⁴

Henry Arnaud, who had returned to the work of the ministry in the valleys in 1703,⁵ left them again in 1707.⁶ The King of England invited him to his court,⁷ but in vain: the unambitious pastor of the Alps, not finding it possible to reside amongst the inhabitants of those valleys of Piedmont which he had reconquered, preferred to rejoin his exiled companions in their humble colony on the banks of the Eintz, where he occupied himself, like Xenophon, in drawing up the narrative of his patriotic labours.⁸

¹ Same collection. No. for May, 1713, p. 372.

² 11th April, 1713.

³ At Bobi, 11th November, 1709. The previous synod had already considered the duty "of proceeding, for the service of his royal highness, to the establishment of some pastors, in the valley of St. Martin, as a thing calculated to confirm the people of that valley in the fidelity which they owed to their lawful sovereign." (Preamble of the Synodal Acts of 23d October, 1708. *Archives of the Vaudois Table*.)

⁴ See the declaration of the intendant of Pignerol, appended to the Acts of the Synod of Bobi, 1709. It is in the Synod of Le Villar (23d Oct., 1708), that we find for the first time the intervention of the civil power to sanction the acts of our religious assemblies by declaring them *executory*: "quelli (articoli) admettiamo e dichiaramo esecutorii . . . Pasca, intendente e direttore." In other matters, the support of the secular power would have been of great value, and would have given great force to the decisions of our synods, if they had been contested. But they never had need of it.

⁵ See the *Mercure historique*, XXVI. 140, and the *Mémoire pour les Eglises du Piémont*, dated from St. John, 27th December, 1706. (*Archives of the Pastors of Geneva*, vol. R.)

⁶ See the 15th article of the Synodal Acts of 13th and 14th February, 1708. (*Archives of the Vaudois Table*.)

⁷ Acland, *The Glorious Recovery*, &c. . . . Bracebridge; Plenderleith, and *Mémoires de Paul Appia*. (Communicated.)

⁸ Published in 1710. Some say at Basle, others at Cassel. Republished at Neuchâtel in 1845.

The subsequent fortunes of the Vaudois people, whom he left, were worse than his own. Impoverished by the recent vicissitudes which they had experienced, and by the war just concluded, they exhausted themselves in providing for the necessities of the numerous refugees whom they had welcomed to their territories.¹ The military enrolments had at once taken away hands from agriculture, and added to the number of mouths to be filled,² and without the foreign succours which were bestowed upon the Vaudois,³ the generosity of their prince⁴ would not have saved them from the overwhelming pressure of extreme privations.⁵

This state of distress continued for many years.⁶ The Vaudois Church, nevertheless, seemed to acquire strength.⁷ The inhabitants of these regions regarded them with friendship. Not a few of the

¹ Order of Bercastel, governor of Lucerna, to the French refugees, *e altri stranieri* . . . *che non sono arrolati, e che possiedono alcun registro*, to quit the country within three days. Dated from Lucerna, 27th April, 1706. (*Archives of Le Villar*, vol. *Religionarii*, folio 131.) But this order produced merely a temporary effect: for we find, under date 18th September, 1708, a note of the poor and of foreign refugees in the Vaudois valleys; and on 25th May, 1709, a new order of expulsion, for the execution of which the Vaudois communes are made responsible, in which these refugees find harbour. (*Archives of Le Villar*, vol. above quoted, folio 161); and finally, under date 23d March, 1714, a new order for the same purpose. (*Id.*, *ibid.*, folio, 171.)

² Report on the afflicted condition of the churches of Pragela and the old valleys; addressed to Geneva by the Vaudois pastors, dated 1st June, 1714. (*Archives of the Venerable Company of Pastors of Geneva*, vol. S, p. 258.) The first cause of this was the edicts of 1703 and 1704, by which Victor Amadeus invited foreign exiles to serve under his banners.

³ *Mémoire en faveur des Vallées* in 1707. (*Archives of the Pastors of Geneva*, vol. R.) *Mémoire du ministre Léger, délégué par la compagnie pour se rendre aux Vallées, &c.*, . . . extending from 2d August, 1729, to the end of November, and inserted in the same Archives, vol. x. p. 173, *et seq.* A *mémoire justificatif* of the proceedings of Léger was published in the following year, under date 20th October, 1730. (Communicated by M. Vaucher Mouchon, of Geneva.)

⁴ *Stato delle compagnie Valdesi, che hanno servito S. M. durante l'hor scorsa guerra* . . . *quali hanno continuamente gioito del pane e delle contribuzione, stateli graziosamente accordati da detta S. M. &c.* Document dated St. John, 22d May, 1717. (In the State Archives at Turin, categ. Vald., No. 456.) MS. of 40 pages, folio. The names are written in double columns. There are 73 columns. The paper was drawn by the notary Joseph Brezzi.

⁵ Letter of the pastors of Bobi and Le Villar to the Venerable Company of Pastors of Geneva, setting forth that so great a famine reigns in the country, that some of the poor sufferers are even compelled to subsist upon wild herbs. "The Catholics," say they, "receive assistance from those of their own religion, and many of our people are in danger of sacrificing their religion in order to preserve their lives." Written by Reynaudin, 15th June, 1714. The council of the city of Geneva adopted a resolution granting 100 crowns for relief of the churches of Bobi and Le Villar. (*Archives of the Company of Pastors*, vol. S, pp. 260, 270.)

⁶ See *Mémoire sur la situation présente des Eglises évangéliques des Vallées*, . . . presented to the synod of the Hague, 9th September, 1762.

⁷ See the *Synodal Acts of the Vaudois Church*, from 1708 to 1730.

magistrates, appointed to govern them, even proved their protectors.¹ But the friendly feeling of the sovereign² and the esteem of the neighbourhood were not sufficient to counterbalance the hostile influence of the Church of Rome, which continually pursued them. To this influence it was conceded that they should be compelled to cease from all manual labour on the Catholic festival days,³ and that they should be prohibited from admitting into their places of worship any person not of their own religion;⁴ whilst, under

¹ The Marquis de Bercazel, governor of Lucerna, *spirito da un atto di carità, e mosso a compassione verso il detto popolo, se compiaciuto di farli l'offerta e di dar e sborsar, la soma di liure trecento ducati d'argento . . .* for the erection of the Protestant place of worship at Le Villar. (From a notarial deed of 11th February, 1706.) The place of worship was completed in 1707: it was merely a re-building. (This document, and many others relating to this place of worship, are in the Archives of Le Villar, vol. *Religionarii*, folio 121-157.) The bell of this church was recast in 1719, by a person named Nigretti, of Crussol. The stipulations made with him are of date 28th April, and are to be found in folio 174.

² In 1693 and 1694, in 1703 and 1706, 1708 and 1713, Victor Amadeus II. signified to the Vaudois not only his good-will, but even attachment and gratitude. (See at these dates.) We read in a letter of the moderator to the English ambassador at Turin:—"Will your excellency be so good as to remind our sovereign, that he gave his word to Mr. Molesworth (predecessor of Mr. Edges), never again to trouble the Vaudois." The letter is dated 26th May, 1727.

³ An order of Victor Amadeus II., dated 14th July, 1718, enjoined the Vaudois to abstain from all kinds of work on the festival days of the Romish church. (Archives of Le Villar, vol. *Religionarii*, folio 176.) The Vaudois petitioned against this prohibition; and by a new order, dated 9th August, 1718, they were permitted to work in their own houses, with closed doors, but only during the hours when the Catholics might be at liberty to employ themselves in similar labours. In order to apply themselves to those for which the Catholics required a permission from their parish priest, it was necessary for the Protestants to obtain one from the judge. (This document is in the form of a *biglietto regio* in the Archives of Turin, and of *explanatory instructions* transmitted by the Count de Mellarède, minister of the interior, in those of Pignerol.) The second article of the edict of 25th June, 1720, confirmed these regulations. But the Vaudois still petitioned against this compulsory resting on the festivals of a church to which they did not belong. (*Memoria sopra il raccorso fatto, nel 1718, dalli Protestanti, per la libertà di travagliare le festi, e sopra diversi abusi.* Archives of the Court, Turin, No. 451.) New instructions were addressed, in 1721, to the Senate of Pignerol, to confirm the edict of 14th July, 1718. (Id. No. 452.) But the vexations which arose from the arbitrary execution of this edict became so grievous, that upon a new petition from the Vaudois, the king mitigated it a little; by rescript of 12th May, 1724, confirming the regulations of 25th June, 1720, and by *biglietto regio* of 27th June, 1724, confirming those of 9th August, 1718. (Same source, Nos. 442, 927, &c.)

⁴ The superior Council of Pignerol demanded in the first place, on 31st March, 1717, that the Protestants of Le Pomaret should be prevented from admitting Catholics to their worship. (This was especially intended to keep away the Reformed of Pragela, who had been compelled to conform to the rites of the Church of Rome.) Victor Amadeus II., by a rescript of 2d April, 1717, assented to this demand. On 28th May a manifesto appeared, which allows some individual exceptions to this prohibition. (Turin, Archives of the Court; category *Valdesi*, Nos. 474-478.) But this prohibition was soon extended to all the Vaudois places of worship. (Orders of 23th Sept. and 22d Oct., 1720; quoted in a petition of 1721.)

pretext of public security, their most lawful rights were often disregarded.¹ It had already been attempted to restrict the number of their places of worship;² and the *Propaganda* redoubled their activity in instigating new annoyances.³

These severe measures were followed by proceedings still more vexatious;⁴ even criminal attempts remained unpunished—cruelties

¹ Order of 20th June, 1714; which, whilst it banished the French Protestants from the country, forbade the Vaudois themselves to leave it. Note of the Procurator-General, dated 11th September, 1714, saying that these measures are for the public tranquillity. (Archives of Le Perrier.)

² When the territory of Lucerna and that of St. John formed but one commune (in 1638, in consequence of the depopulation of the country by the expulsion of the Vaudois), the Catholics of St. John built a church, which afterwards, on the return of the exiles, passed into the hands of the Protestants, in virtue of some transactions unknown to me; and the restitution of this edifice to the Catholic religion was ordered by decree of 12th May, 1717. The Protestant church of St. Germain, which had been demolished in 1686, and rebuilt in 1711, was not in the same spot with the old one. Upon this account its destruction was demanded; but as the site of the old church could not be exactly determined, the new one was allowed to remain. (*Risoluzioni prese nel congresso tenuto avanti S. E. il signor conte ministro e primo segretario di stato, Mellarède, li 12 maggio, 1717.* (Turin, Archives of the Court, *Valdesi*, No. 473.) A special edict of Victor Amadeus had authorized Protestant worship in the commune of Prarusting: *dalle regioni di costa longia e Massera in su, verso la montagna; e alla Duriva del Colloretto, ove vi an piccolo canale, &c.* (Edict of 2d October, 1699. In the *Archives of the Court of Accounts*, at Turin, *Reg. contr. gen.* MDCXC. No. 199, folio 112.) The instructions of 20th June, 1730, could not suppress this edict, but they laid down the rule that no new Protestant place of worship should be erected in the valleys; and as to that of Prarusting, it is said "*vogliamo ben permettere che sussista la campana*" (some authors have read *la cabane*), "on condition always that it be not extended, and that the pastor who formerly lived at Rocheplate shall again fix his residence there, and shall not be entitled to reside at St. Barthelemy." (*Istruzione a riguardo de Valdesi*, 20th June, 1730, art. ix.) Subsequently all places for religious meetings, other than the churches, were closed in the valleys. (Decrees of the Senate of Turin, of 19th Feb., 1756, and 18th January, 1771. Archives of the Senate.)

³ Particularly in order to obtain conversions to Catholicism. The marriage portions were fixed (*stato delle dotti . . . costituite a figlie convertite . . . &c.* Archives of the Court, No. 448.) Even gifts abounded. (Testamentary deed of 2d July, 1723, by which the testator disposes of his property in favour of such Vaudois as should become Catholics. Archives of the intendancy of Pignerol, categ. I., class IV., art. viii., No. 8.) Concerning the annoyances, I possess a memorial entitled *Grievances of the Valleys of Piedmont*, belonging to the year 1721. It would be too tedious to enter into the details.

⁴ Criminal prosecutions were instituted against pastors who performed the functions of their ecclesiastical office for any one born on the left bank of the Cluson or in Pragela, where the government would acknowledge the existence of none but Catholics. For having administered baptism to an infant born at Fenestrelle, on 18th April, 1727, the pastor of St. John, Cyprian Appia, was condemned to banishment and confiscation of goods. But the English ambassador, Mr. Edges, obtained his pardon. "We can no longer venture to meet for any business," wrote this pastor afterwards, "because of the prosecution which has been commenced against five of our number, who had met for public affairs." . . . (Letter of

were from time to time openly perpetrated, or being shrouded in mystery, inspired the greater alarm.¹ The protection of foreign powers did no more than repair these injuries—it did not prevent them.² Distrust everywhere prevailed;³ the complaints of the

Appia, dated 24th August, 1733, to Mr. Chetwynd, at London.—*Vaudois Correspondence*.) This prosecution also terminated in a condemnation, but through the indulgence of the sovereign, it was annulled by letters-patent, dated 16th April, 1734, and recorded on the 20th. Amongst these persons was one named Daniel Musseton. Cyprian Appia was also implicated in it, as well as other pastors.

¹ It seems to have been in 1727 that the monks of Le Villars formed the project of blowing up, by means of a mine, the Protestant church of that place, built in 1707. I have given some particulars of this story, in a volume on the Vaudois, published in 1834, p. 53. See also BLAIR, *History of the Waldenses* (2 vols. 8vo, Edinburgh, 1833), ii. 533. Of cruelties openly perpetrated the greatest and most frequent was the carrying away of Vaudois children, which took place from time to time either by open violence or secretly. The *Vaudois Correspondence* from 1725 to 1765, which I have consulted, contains a great number of instances. "No means are neglected to make children rebel against their father and mother. . . . Stephen Odin, of Prarusting, is much annoyed about his daughter, who has become a Catholic. . . . The tribunal of Pignerol caused Odin's property to be judicially sold, to endow his daughter's apostasy, to the prejudice of his children who remain faithful. . . . All the petitions which we have presented since 1718, have been disregarded." (Passages extracted from divers letters of the Moderator, from 5th January to 12th June, 1727.)

When the walls of the convent of Le Villars were demolished, some human skeletons were found, incased in the thick partitions of the edifice.

² "The evangelical churches of Piedmont, which exist only by a perpetual miracle of Providence . . . have always been the object of especial patronage and protection on the part of the sovereigns of Great Britain, since the reign of Queen Mary. The afflictions to which they are continually exposed render this protection now more necessary to them than ever." (Letter of condolence, written on 10th September, 1727, by the moderator of the Vaudois churches, to George II. of England, on the death of his father, George I.—*Vaudois Correspondence*.)—"Amongst foreign powers," says the Report of 1729 on the State of the Vaudois churches, "England is now their firmest support, as before the peace of the Pyrenees they were supported by the King of France." (Records of the Venerable Company of Pastors of Geneva, vol. X, p. 174, &c.)—We must add Holland and Prussia, which certainly have, at all times, done much more for the Vaudois than ever was done by France.

³ Even against the pastors: for the pecuniary supplies which came from abroad had no fixed destination. The synod disposed of them. Part of the support of the pastors and schoolmasters was derived from these sums. Hence arose some irregularities, many rivalries and jealousies, and rumours of malversation incessantly renewed, although always disproved. The directors of the Vaudois churches complained of the ingratitude and the accusations to which they were subjected. Their letters, again, were often intercepted at Pignerol. No one could venture to express himself freely, nor to confide in anybody at home or abroad, &c. (The Records of the Venerable Company of Pastors of Geneva, vols. T, V, X; the Correspondence of the Vaudois Moderator, and a great number of letters and pamphlets of the period, which it would be tedious to particularize, contain proofs of these facts.) In 1727, an impostor presented himself in London, with forged papers and an imitation of the seal of the Vaudois churches, with the view of appropriating to himself the supplies designed for them. (Letter of the Moderator to Mr. Chetwynd, agent for the Vaudois in London, dated 6th May, 1727, &c.)

Vaudois were no longer listened to.¹ Their synods could do no more than to redress particular grievances,² to maintain union in families,³ to watch over the morals of the people,⁴ and to keep up the exercise of discipline.⁵ But this discipline itself had participated in the effects of those perturbations by which everything was unsettled;⁶ and the laxity of opinion which characterized the age increased continually without putting an end to religious fanaticism, now without even the excuse of sincere conviction for its intolerance.⁷ The Vaudois church multiplied its public prayers and

¹ "No answer is given to our petitions; our complaints produce not even an echo; the very letters which we send to you are retained." *Vaudois Correspondence* of 1718-1729. (Letters to Mr. Edges at Turin, and to M. Turretin at Geneva.)—"The books which we procure from Geneva for the religious instruction of our children are stopped at the office at Pont d'Arve, and we cannot recover them from it." (Note in the handwriting of Cyprian Appia, dated in 1729.) "Our deputies are not permitted to obtain access to the king, . . . our petitions are unfairly dealt with" . . . (Synod of 28th November, 1724, § 5), &c.

² See Synodal Acts of 3d June, 1694, art. 1 and 2; of 25th October, 1695, art. 7 and 9; of 25th April, 1697, art. 2 and 5; of 28th April, 1705, art. 7 and 10; of 23d October, 1708, art. 8 and 9; of 1712, art. 3; of 1724, § 7; of 1727, § 4; of 1729, § 9 and 16, &c.—"The Vaudois are little in favour with the Catholic magistracy; but the disputes which they have amongst themselves are almost always terminated by the intervention of their ministers and others, whom they choose for arbiters." (*Briefve narration des Vaudois, ou sujets protestants de S. M. . . . faite par un gentilhomme, en ses voyages d'Italie*: without date; but it mentions the differences between the court of Rome and the house of Savoy, fourteen years ago, which would place this note in 1707, if the reference is to the differences of 1694 relative to the re-establishment of the Vaudois; or in 1733, if it is to those concerning the Monarchy of Sicily, which were prolonged till 1719. State Archives at Turin, category Valdesi, No. 458.)

³ See the Synodal Acts, at the sections already quoted. (*Archives of the Vaudois Table*.)

⁴ See also the Synods of 1703, § 14; 1707, § 7, 8; 1708, § 11, 12; 1712, § 6, 11; 1713, § 4, 15; 1716, § 9; 1718, § 8, 9; 1725, § 3; and 1729, § 8, 9, 16.

⁵ See the synod of St. Germain, 20th November, 1729, art. viii. (Various regulations follow.) The preceding synod, according to a letter of the moderator to M. Iselin, at Basle (dated 12th March, 1727), "resolved henceforth to examine students, before sending them to the places which may be granted them by foreign academies." All the proceedings of these assemblies had, however, no other object than the maintenance of order, morality, evangelical doctrine, and discipline.—For the regulations in detail, see the minutes of their proceedings.

⁶ The same sources as are indicated in the preceding notes; also Synod of 1703, art. 1 and 2; of 1710, § 23 and 24; of 1715, § 4 and 8; of 1716, § 2; of 1727, § 5, &c. "Our schools are very irregularly kept." (Letter of the moderator to James Léger, pastor at Geneva, dated 5th April, 1723.) "Our churches stand in need of considerable reforms." (Letter to M. Burlamaqui, of 23d April of the same year.)

⁷ The Vaudois were forbidden (1), to acquire properties beyond their limits, and to exercise certain professions; (2), to settle out of their valleys, even for trade; (3), to make proselytes from the Romish church, and to oppose proselytism amongst themselves; (4), to reclaim their children taken from them under pretext of abjuration; (5), to increase the number of their places of worship and of their minis-

fasts, in order to obtain the blessing of God for the time to come.¹ But a transformation was taking place in society—habits and opinions were changing, and meanwhile the spirit of the past struggled with new energy to regain its empire. The promulgation of the old Piedmontese statute,² which made the situation of the Vaudois so much worse than before,³ took place about the same time with the opening of the council of Embrun,⁴ which fomented the dissensions occasioned by the bull *Unigenitus*.

Remonstrances were vain on the part of the Vaudois; they could obtain no more mild or equitable regulations,⁵ but on the contrary they had reason to apprehend new severities, and the edict of 20th June, 1730, published under the form of *Instructions* to the senate of Pignerol, did nothing but collect and codify, so to speak, all the oppressive measures which had already been adopted with regard to them. It was then that all Protestants of foreign birth were for the second time expelled from their valleys, and, with a few exceptions, all the Protestants, natives of Pragela, were banished, no more to return.⁶ In vain did the organs of the

ters, even within their own valleys; (6), to hold religious assemblies, or even simple prayer meetings, out of these places of worship, and without the presence of the pastor. (See Gilly, *Vigilantius and Valdo*, page 32.)—Each of these prohibitions became a ready pretext for calumnies and prompt proceedings.

¹ From 1701 to 1726, seven public and solemn fasts were appointed by the synod in the valleys. That of 1720 was for preservation from the scourge of pestilence; and that of 1723, to thank God for having preserved them from it.

² The synod of 28th November, 1724, was principally occupied in examining, with reference to the interests of the Vaudois, the *Royal Constitutions*, as they were called, which were published in 1723. (See the minutes of that synod.)

³ This did not repeal the edict of 23d May, 1694, re-establishing the Vaudois.—There was no mention made in it of the inhabitants of the valleys, *although the Jews were, by the same constitutions, protected from all insult and violence*. (Such are the terms of a petition drawn up by the Synod of 1724.) The observance of the Catholic festivals was rendered obligatory. Protestants were prohibited from having notaries of their own religion, *although they had had them from time immemorial*. (Terms of the same petition.) Parents were obliged to dispose their property in favour of their children who had become Catholics, whom they had just the least reason for favouring, &c.

⁴ Opened on 16th August, 1727. It was on 24th October, 1728, that a *parere* was adopted, *circa il capo da aggiungere alle costituzioni a riguardo de Valdesi*, containing a declaration with regard to the edict of 1694, upon which the Vaudois rested in demanding the maintenance of their privileges, that "when circumstances change, edicts lose their value." (Turin, Archives of the Court, No. 441.) This maxim needs no comment.

⁵ "Notwithstanding all our petitions we have not been able to obtain the slightest relief." (Concluding words of a memorial drawn up in 1728, under the title *Griefs des Vaudois*. In my possession.)

⁶ A list of the names of the Vaudois of Pragela, exiled in 1730, and who were within the canton of Berne in the month of May of that year, may be seen in *Dieterici*, p. 404. They amounted to 360 persons. Those of the other valleys who were in Switzerland as exiles, in December, 1730, amounted to 480 persons. The

Vaudois church and its foreign protectors reclaim against these abuses of power: the only replies to their just complaints were deceitful subtleties,¹ or promises almost always illusory.² They renewed their petitions.³ But these protestations of their rights

list is also given by Dieterici, pp. 408-414. (Total of the Vaudois exiled at the close of 1730, 840.)

¹ "All these reclamations of the Vaudois, or of the powers which protected them, are founded upon the edict of 23d May, 1694; but this edict leaves untouched all those which were issued anterior to 1686, and consequently the plenitude of action of the sovereign." (*Progetto di capo per aggiunta alle costituzioni*. . . . Archives of the Court, No. 471.) Instead of granting more liberty to the Vaudois, they must be restrained as much as possible. (*Parere sopra la tolleranza degli eretici, in Piemonte*. Same source, No. 464. Without date.) "The King of England caused representations to be made, on the subject of the Vaudois, by Mr. Molenvork [?], his envoy extraordinary at Turin; a promise was given to regulate their situation according to the anterior edicts, and all the articles of the edict of 20th June, 1730, were successively communicated to the English ambassador, with the edict upon which they were based. He acknowledged their exact accordance; it is therefore with a bad grace that complaints are made of them now." (Extracted and abridged from a note sent to the English secretary, Allen, on 27th April, 1731. Same source, No. 465.) It was, however, acknowledged that many of the edicts brought forward, were not applicable to the Vaudois valleys. (Rescript of 12th August, 1730, published by *Borelli*.) The States-General of Holland wrote to Victor Amadeus with the same object, on 7th November, 1730; the king's reply, polite but evasive, is dated 2d December, 1730. (Archives of the Court, Nos. 467, 468.) The influence of the Catholic clergy was then exercised over the king, through the instrumentality of a female, for whom he thought it little to sacrifice the repose of the Vaudois, and for whom he ere long sacrificed his throne.

² The King of Prussia wrote to Victor Amadeus, on 6th January, 1725:—"The tranquillity of the Vaudois cannot be a matter of indifference to me. . . . It is attempted to compel them to observe the Catholic festivals, contrary to the edict of 23d May, 1694. . . . The ordinance by which they are required to provide a pension for their children who have abjured the religion of their fathers, seems to me no less hard. . . . And the books necessary for the exercise of the Protestant religion are stopped at the custom-house. . . . I beg your majesty to be well assured that of all marks of friendship which you can give me, that of attending to my intercession for the Vaudois churches will always be the most agreeable to me." This letter, full of such noble and touching expressions of interest, is given entire by Dieterici, pp. 395-397. Victor Amadeus replied on 3d March, 1725:—"Sir,—my brother [*monsieur mon frère*],—I have received with great pleasure your majesty's letter, which has just reached my hands. I will always be exceedingly desirous to gratify you in everything; but I cannot refuse myself the satisfaction of informing you that the kindness which your letter seeks to do to the Vaudois, my subjects, by a mere act of generous intercession, has been entirely anticipated by the sentiments of good-will and protection with which I regard the fidelity and zeal of the said Vaudois, and consequently their tranquillity. Their tranquillity is in no danger whatever, but my intention is that it shall be as permanent as their faithfulness in fulfilling their duties shall be; and I beg your majesty to rest assured of the perfect friendship and respect, with which I am, Sir,—my brother,—your majesty's attached brother [*bon frère*], Victor Amadeus." Although this letter makes no reply as to any of the facts mentioned by the King of Prussia, it is not the less remarkable because of the testimony which Victor Amadeus bears to the fidelity of the Vaudois, and their fulfilment of their duties.

³ On 20th November, 1730; signed by 165 heads of families of the valleys; presented to the king by Appia and Léger, deputies.

served only to excite injustice;¹ and the refusals of justice added still more and more to the grievances which they endured.²

Was this a chastisement of Providence inflicted upon this people—small in number, and already tried more than almost any other by the rods of the jealous love of their God—to punish them for the decrease of zeal which was manifested amongst them, and the relaxation of morals of which their own synods already complained?³ “In the end of the eighteenth century,” says M. Monastier⁴ (and we do not hesitate to apply this judgment to the eighteenth century altogether), “the valleys suffered in some measure from the decline of religious sentiments, which were generally weakened everywhere. Christian zeal, in former periods so lively and fruitful, drew less support from the pure fountain of the gospel. A self-sufficient and feeble reason, and human understanding, always the more proud the more narrow its bounds, began to assert for themselves a place in theology.” We shall see in next chapter how these germs of moral and religious weakness developed themselves, and happily, towards the end of this history, we shall behold their decrease. “The Lord,” says David, “will not cast off his people: neither will he forsake his inheritance.”⁵ May the Israel of the Alps also never be forgetful of the blessings graciously vouchsafed by their God!

¹ An inquiry after all persons actually Protestants, but who had been born or baptized in the Romish church, before 1686 and after 1676, to compel them to return to Catholicism, or to leave the country. (From 1730 to 1732.) A rescript of 9th October, 1733, prohibiting the Vaudois who were not so situated, from leaving the country to accompany their friends into exile. (Archives of Le Villar, vol. *Religionarii*, folio 177.)

² This is but too well proved by all the criminal prosecutions which took place at this period, and the numerous proscriptions which decimated the Vaudois valleys, as well as by the measures above quoted.

³ In the preamble of each exhortation to public fasting. (*Synodal Acts, &c.*)

⁴ II. 198.

⁵ Ps. xciv. 14.

CHAPTER XX.

INFLUENCE OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ON THE VAUDOIS CHURCH, AND PROGRESS OF EVENTS DOWN TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.¹

(A.D. 1730 TO A.D. 1792.)

Persecution continued in many forms of vexation—Growth and effects of new ideas—Children seized and retained by Papists—Popish missions in the valleys—Insincerity in replies to remonstrances of the British Government—Vexatious prohibitions and restrictions—Poverty and distress of the Vaudois—Their services to the King of Sardinia in his wars—Battle of Assiette—Continued vexations on the part of the Popish clergy—The *Refuge of Virtue*—The Vaudois Table instituted—Origin of the Vaudois congregation at Turin—The Vaudois churches of the French Alps begin to display signs of life—Unhappy effects of the infidel philosophy of the period on the spiritual character of the Vaudois pastors and church.

No period has left a greater number of documents than that of which we are now to treat;² but nothing can be more monotonous than the view of the facts which it exhibits. Never were events more numerous or less remarkable than in this part of our history.

The spirit of persecution continued to exert itself in a multitude of ways against the repose of the Vaudois; but it had lost its audacity, as their faith had lost its heroism. Boldness had passed over to the side of new ideas, equally remote from faith and from intolerance. A long succession of mean and assiduous annoyances, proceeding at once from low cunning and from bitter hatred, and wrought in an underhand manner and upon frivolous pretexts, spread like a stifling network over the Vaudois church.

That church itself already felt in some degree the relaxing influence of the eighteenth century. “The candidates for the holy ministry,” says M. Monastier, “no longer acquired, for the most part, in the foreign academies to which they went to pursue their preparatory studies, anything else than a cold orthodoxy or the fatal germs of Socinianism. Virtue was often preached and exalted more than the work of Christ, or faith, or the love of God.”³ Yet it was at this very time also that virtue became more rare! This

¹ AUTHORITIES.—Indicated at the bottom of the pages.

² It must not be forgotten that these documents are almost all unpublished. I will point out a sufficient number of them to enable the reader to judge of their abundance, at the same time mentioning the sources from which they are derived.

³ Monastier, *Hist. des Vaudois*, II., 198.

apparent incongruity is only a consequence perfectly clear in the eyes of the Christian; and even the science of metaphysics itself, from recognizing at present merely a great number of moral phenomena which succeed each other within us, without the intervention of our own will, must necessarily advance towards the acknowledgment on scientific grounds of that mysterious, free, and powerful influence which the humblest child of Christ already knows under the name of the grace of God.

But at the period at which this chapter must resume the history of the Vaudois, questions of form still struggled to maintain an empire which already had in reality ceased to be theirs. The narrow and tyrannic formalism of the Romish church in particular endeavoured to impose its own shackles upon all, and contended by violence against the increasing repulsion which it caused. "We are subjected to very bitter tribulations," says a letter from the valleys at this period, "for the persons born or baptized Catholics before 1686, and those who became Catholics during the persecution, but who returned to their own church in more quiet times, as the edict of 1694 also authorized them, have received orders, contrary to that edict, to abandon Protestantism, and not to leave the country to go and profess it abroad, under pain of confiscation of goods and of the galleys. Many of those who have returned since 1730 have died in the prisons; others are wandering in the mountains or without resources in foreign countries."¹

"On the 23d of June last," says another Vaudois (in 1735), "one of my daughters, named Catharine, was carried off from us without our knowing at first what had become of her. But a few days after, her little brother, aged seven years, met her; and she, taking him by the hand, conducted him to Le Perier, to the house of the priest Don Quadro. I then went to the house of that ecclesiastic to reclaim my children; but he refused to give them up to me, on the pretext that they had become Catholics. I then said that the little boy, of seven years, was not come to an age when he could have understanding for anything of the kind; but all was to no purpose, and I have not seen them again."² The Vaudois pastors demanded at Pignerol the restoration of these children to their unhappy father; but they obtained only promises from which nothing resulted; and the petition addressed to the

¹ Letter of 12th July, 1733, addressed by M. Cyprian Appia, pastor at St. John, to M. Turretin, professor at Geneva. (In my possession.)

² *Petition of John Richard, native and inhabitant of the village of Les Prals, in the valley of St. Martin.* It is not dated. (Archives of the Court, Turin, No. 523.) The petitioner asks to have his children restored to him. I have not found the answer to this petition.

king with the same object appears not even to have received a reply. However, the edict of 18th August, 1655, did not authorize the abjurations of children, contrary to the will of their parents, before a fixed age.¹ But so great was the influence of the persons by whom these things were done, that they ventured frequently to repeat the same kind of enormity.

In the Synodal Acts of the valleys,² we read that "the assembly, grieved to see that, contrary to the edicts of our sovereigns, and, in particular, contrary to the letters-patent of Pignerol of 1655, some children have been carried off from their parents, has resolved that a most humble petition shall be addressed to his majesty, to order that they may be restored to us, and that, in future, the royal and gracious regulations of his majesty in our favour, and those of his glorious predecessors, may be observed." The representations of the synod remaining without effect, recourse was had to the mediation of England, which, however, was productive of no better results. "Children have not been carried off from the Vaudois," it was replied to the ambassador of that power; "but those who have voluntarily retired to an hospital of refuge³ have only been received into it."⁴ The note from which these words are extracted even adds that two children who had not attained to the requisite age—viz., a boy of eleven years and a girl of seven—had been sent back from the hospital to their parents. But if this ever took place, it can have been only a deceitful show, perhaps, got up for this very occasion; for we find, on the contrary, that this hospital, far from voluntarily sending back to their parents any of the children whom it had inclosed within its gates, aimed at nothing less than compelling the parents themselves to restore to it, against their will, those of their children who had escaped from the watchfulness of their captors, and had returned to their own families.⁵

¹ Above twelve years in the case of boys, and above ten in the case of girls.

² Synod held at Les Clots, 23d October, 1736, § v.

³ *Opera del rifugio, ed ospizio pe' cattolizati e cattolizandi.* It was first founded at Turin, in 1679, by the Duchess Mary, then regent of the dominions of Savoy. To this establishment was attached a rent of 3000 francs, taken from the revenues of the order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus; and of 2500 francs, taken from those of the company of St. Paul. It was not till 1740 that it was transported to Pignerol. Long details on this subject may be seen in Duboin, vol. xiii. and vol. xv., pp. 217-251.

⁴ "Reply to the memorial transmitted by the Duke of Bedford, minister of England, to the Chevalier Ossorio, and by him sent to Turin, with his letter of 31st May, 1738, to the Marquis de Gorzègue, on the subject of the representations of the Vaudois." (Inscription on the envelope containing this note, in the State Archives at Turin.)

⁵ This appears from a despatch of the intendant of Pignerol, who asked the advocate-general, *se possa obligarsi un religionario, a restituire all' ospizio, un figlio*

The monks and priests who were scattered over the valleys, were the natural purveyors for this hospital of detention. The government was petitioned to restrict the number of these ecclesiastics, but instead of diminishing it increased it. It was at this period that the bishopric of Pignerol was founded,¹ and the reply of the government was that they had not sent into the valleys more priests than were strictly necessary for the spiritual direction of the Catholics.² These words were intended to mislead foreigners as to the existence of the proselytizing missions which were in the valleys. The denial of their existence was implied, although not made in formal terms, and yet this organized proselytism was incontestible. We may judge what confidence could be placed in promises from a quarter, in which there was such insincerity in diplomatic relations. In the same note it was said³ that the Protestants were never made to contribute to the expense of Catholic worship; and yet, two years before, the Vaudois of St. John were still called on to contribute for payment of the paschal taper, and for the maintenance of the bells of the Popish church in their locality, as we learn from their own petitions.⁴

Meanwhile, with inconceivable injustice, the severest proceedings were adopted against every Protestant who was suspected of making proselytes to the Reformed Church.⁵ This was upon the

minore d'anni dieci? The reply of the advocate-general was in the negative. This reply was dated from Turin, 21st July, 1778. (Archives of the Court, No. 613.) But there appears, under date 15th November, 1747, a *petition of Peter Roche*, having for its object to obtain the restitution of a child which had been taken from him before the age authorized for abjuration. It was in vain that the father produced the certificate of his child's birth; that document was sent back five times in succession, to be drawn out in different forms. I know not if this restitution was obtained.

¹ In 1748.

² Reply to the memorial of the Duke of Bedford. (Document already cited.)

³ In article V.

⁴ Dated March, 1746.

⁵ A prosecution was instituted against the pastor of St. John, Daniel Isaac Appia, on the accusation of a renegade, who pretended that this pastor had spoken to him with the view of preventing him from embracing Catholicism. (Letter of Appia to the commandant of Pignerol, justifying himself from this accusation. The letter is not dated, but it contains the following words, which determine the time when it was written: *Sotto li tre di questo medesimo mese d'agosto del cadente anno 1773.*) As, between 1708 and 1780, there were in the valleys eight pastors who bore the name of Appia, I think it may be useful to give their genealogy here. Two brothers of this name, Paul and Cyprian, who had both studied in England, were ordained at La Tour, on 13th February, 1708. Paul Appia was pastor at Prarusting, from 1708 to 1724; then at Le Villar, from 1728 to 1738; and, finally, at Bobi, from 1739 to 1756. His son, Paul Joseph, was pastor at Maneille, from 1732 to 1734; then at Rora, from 1735 to 1764. He had one son, named Paul, who was pastor at Prarusting, from 1750 to 1760, and at Bobi from 1760 to 1768. Cyprian Appia was pastor at St. John, from 1708 to 1738. His son, Daniel Isaac,

part of Popery a self-condemning manifestation of distrust, indicating a suspicion of weakness in regard to doctrine. Such was, indeed, the dread entertained of Protestantism that opposition was made, even on the part of the authorities, to its adherents obtaining a majority in the municipal councils¹; nay the family worship was prohibited in which the Bible supplied the simple souls of our good mountaineers with the spiritual nourishment of which they stood in need.² This was to deprive them of one of the blessings which they prized most highly; and the value which they attached to it is attested by the numerous but fruitless petitions which they addressed with regard to it to the government,³ which thus reserved to itself the power of instituting arbitrary prosecutions at pleasure, on the pretext of religious meetings.

Nor were these the only vexations of this period. For example, if it happened that any old persons were induced, through the failure of their faculties or for any other reason, to embrace Catholicism, it was demanded that their children who had been brought up in the Protestant faith, should abandon their own convictions, to enter the Church of Rome.⁴ As for illegitimate children, they

was pastor at Angrogna from 1736 to 1739, and at Le Villar from 1739 to 1761. The son of Daniel Isaac bore the name of Daniel only, and was pastor at St. John from 1745 to 1762. He had two sons, Cyprian Bartholomew, who was pastor at Maneille from 1760 to 1762, and at Prarusting from 1762 to 1787; and Daniel Isaac, who was pastor at St. John from 1762 to 1780. (It is this last who is named in the beginning of this note.)

¹ Informations and report of the commandant of Pignerol, concerning the constitution of the Council of Prarusting, *ch' erano tutti religionarii*. Dated 13th July, 1747. (Turin, Archives of the Court, No. 577.)

² Decree of the Senate of Turin, dated 18th January, 1771, and *renewing* the prohibition of all meetings or religious conferences not in the churches. (Archives of the Senate.) They had been already prohibited on 19th February, 1756, and 9th August, 1769.

³ "After the reading of the report, presented by M. Jahier, concerning the steps which he had taken, along with his colleagues, to obtain the revocation of the prohibitions pronounced by the Royal Senate, concerning the exercises of religion elsewhere than in the places of worship . . . the meeting resolves to renew the petitions presented on this subject on 12th March, 1771, and 23d September, 1773." Minutes of Synod held at Le Chiabas, 6th May, 1772, article VII.). But it would seem that these petitions were fruitless, for in the Synod of 12th and 13th October, 1774, Pastor Jahier read a new report of his further proceedings; and on 24th October, 1774, an order of the intendant of Pignerol (Sylvester Bertram) renewed the prohibition *di far adunanze, sinodi o colloqui, in luoghi e case particolari, senza licenza di S. M.* (In my possession.)

⁴ Order of the Secretary of State for the Department of the Interior, enjoining the Prefect of Pignerol to see to it, that children born of Protestant parents, whose parents should afterwards become Catholics, should be brought up Catholics. This order, founded upon the *biglietto regio* of 17th July, 1728, is dated 14th April, 1744. (Turin, Archives of the Senate: *Materie eccles. et ordinarie*, 1738-1745. Register V., folio 351.)

were clear gain to Popery;¹ and the guilty mother often experienced a distress as great as that of her shame, in seeing her infant taken from her arms to be transported to the hospital for proselytes.

Moreover, the Vaudois valleys were during almost the whole of the eighteenth century in a state of great destitution, partly occasioned by public events,² partly by bad harvests,³ sometimes aggravated by exchequer prosecutions,⁴ or by unexpected calamities⁵

¹ *Nel 1751, un fanciulo essendo nato da due herdici, sciotti amendue dal Vincolo matrimoniale, fu scritto dal Prefetto da Pinerolo al senato, &c. . . .* It was decided that this child should be taken from its parents, and brought up a Catholic. (*Parere, sul ricorso del Vescovo di Pinerolo, toccante l'allevamento nella cattol. rel. de spurii nati da religionarii.* Dated 21st May, 1788. Turin, State Archives, category Valdesi, No. 518.) By a *real biglietto* of 24th June, 1739, Charles Emmanuel III. ordered, with regard to an infant born in such circumstances, that its paternity should be inquired into, and that if the father was a Protestant, the child should not be brought up a Catholic. According to an order of the Senate of Turin, dated 2d May, 1755, the prefect of Pignerol was to recommend to the judges of St. John and Angrogna to take care that two children, in such circumstances, should be brought up by their mothers, until they could be received into the hospital. The mothers were held bound to present these infants, as often as they should be required. (Particulars derived from the same *parere*.) In 1757, the Vaudois presented a petition for liberty to bring up such children in their own religion, when the parents or the church would bear their maintenance. This petition is not dated, but the *Report of the Senate of Pignerol, presented to His Majesty*, as to the prayer of it, is dated 29th November, 1757. It mentions that this subject was examined into in 1739, and with an opposite result in 1751. It proposes to adhere to the regulations of 18th August, 1655.

² "The calamities with which God has afflicted various nations, the chastisements with which he has visited ourselves, in these last years, by the scantiness of the harvests (the sole resource of this country), and other misfortunes which have reduced the greater part of the inhabitants to a state of lamentable poverty . . . induce the meeting to resolve that a public fast shall be celebrated, &c. . . ." (Acts of the Vaudois Synod, held at Le Villar, 19th April, 1768, art. IV. and V.)

³ "The severity of the winter has destroyed our crops, and caused great distress." (Synod of 19th October, 1716, § IV.) "Our crops have almost totally failed . . ." (Letter of Cyprian Appia, September, 1728.) "I have exercised the ministry in the valleys for twenty-seven years. We are always exposed to the hatred and outrages of our enemies. We suffer the severest afflictions. The valleys are poor, and can do very little for their pastors. Without the British assistance we could not subsist." (Letter of the same. Vol. of 1734.) The crops failed again in 1752, in 1768, and in 1779.

⁴ Sequestration of the goods of those whose taxes were in arrear. (Archives of Le Perrier, year 1716.)—Reports by Léger on the state of the valleys in 1729. (Archives of the Pastors of Geneva, vol. X. p. 174, &c.)—*A Brief Account of the Vaudois of Piemont.* Pamphlet published in 1753.—"We are crushed down by extraordinary taxes, whilst the Catholics are even exempted from the *taille royale*." (*Vaudois Correspondence.* Letters of 1764, &c.)

⁵ "We still suffer much from the effects of a terrible calamity which took place in 1728." (Letter of Cyprian Appia, moderator, dated from St. John, 3d March, 1731.) This was an inundation. Another disastrous inundation took place in September, 1738. It was in consequence of this flood that the dike called the *rampart* was constructed at Bobi. Collections were made from 1739 to 1743, in Holland and England, for its erection, and to relieve the wants of the inhabitants.

now resulting in the gradual ruin of families, now in their demoralization.¹ This excessive poverty arose in part from the want of employment and of commerce—the sad consequences of the manifold prohibitions which pressed upon the Vaudois; it was also in part owing to the superabundance of the population shut up within the limits of the three valleys, to which they were absolutely confined.² But it must be recorded, to the praise of the doctrines of the gospel, that the foreign Protestant churches displayed an assiduity in relieving the Vaudois commensurate with the indigence by which they were distressed.³

The statement of the distribution of these funds forms a folio MS. of 40 pages. Of the 372 heads of families who appear in it, there are 186 (the exact half) whose signature is represented only by a conventional sign. This circumstance may serve to show us, pretty exactly, what was the state of elementary education in the Vaudois valleys at this period, from the proportion of those who could sign their names and of those who were completely illiterate.

¹ *Note on the events which took place after 1730.*—"Many of our people, finding nothing but inquietude and disorder at home, wished to leave their native country. Some, knowing that more considerable aid was given to those of whose proselytism most hope was entertained, in order to secure that object, affected to be ready to abjure, that they might participate in this aid. Others sold their properties at a loss and went abroad." Not having found themselves so well off in foreign countries as they expected, they returned more miserable and distressed than before. In many cases, also, persons who had abjured to escape the vexations of the edict, could not get quit of those of their own consciences. Some repaired to Switzerland, to return to the religion which they had abjured. Their properties were then confiscated in Piedmont, and they were exposed to great dangers if they attempted to return thither. Prosecutions were even instituted against the pastors, on the charge of having encouraged these persons to relapse after they had become Catholics; and those of them who remained in the country were forbidden to leave it. Some, after having spent all that they had in foreign countries, returned to augment the misery of their native valleys. The children of some Protestant parents had been baptized Catholics, and numbers of these children having returned to the faith of their fathers, were proceeded against as relapsed. A relaxation of family ties, of discipline, and of morals, was the result of this unquiet and wandering life. The country long experienced the effects of it," &c.

² "Besides that the limits within which they have from time to time been restrained are narrow, they are not permitted, although they are Christians, to leave them, and to settle elsewhere with their brethren in the dominions of the same sovereign; so that these mountains are in some places too densely peopled and in other places not sufficiently. Commerce is there impossible, poverty is general, &c." . . . (Petition of the Vaudois pastors *aux magnifiques Seigneurs de la Florissante République Helvétique à Zurich*; dated 15th March, 1728. It is in the handwriting of Reynaudin, moderator-adjunct, and is signed by nine other pastors, amongst whom is Vincent Arnaud, son of the colonel. (In my possession.)

³ A long series of documents and letters, extending from 16th March, 1730, to 11th August, 1731, all relative to the management and distribution of the 10,000 florins granted by Holland to the Vaudois valleys. (Report by Professor Léger, printed at Geneva in 1731, 30 pages, 4to. See also the manuscript report contained in the Archives of the Pastors of Geneva, vol. X. p. 177.)—*États de secours accordés par la Hollande aux Eglises Vaudoises, fait et arrêté à Delft, le 13 Mars, 1738, par MM. les commissaires du Synode vallon, &c. . . .* (Report communicated.) This

The King of Sardinia might perhaps have contributed more to their assistance; for they had recently given him new proofs of their fidelity. "You know, gentlemen," wrote the intendant of Pignerol to the Vaudois ministers, in 1733, "that his majesty our sovereign has declared war; and you are, no doubt, aware that he goes to put himself at the head of the army. It is my duty therefore to signify to you, that you should, if you please, exhort your flocks to make extraordinary prayers . . . for the success of his arms."¹ We shall by and by see that the Vaudois themselves contributed by their valour to his military glory.

The cause of this war was, however, in no way connected with the interests of the people of Piedmont. It concerned the crown of Poland, which the Emperor of Austria² wished to place upon the head of the Elector of Saxony. This was opposed by France, and the King of Sardinia allied himself with France. He joined his troops to those of the Marshal de Villars, and took from Austria several places in Italy.³ The death of the marshal⁴ put an end to the exploits of Charles Emmanuel III., but did not prevent him from reaping the fruits of them; for the treaty of peace, which he concluded in the following year with the court of Vienna,⁵

aid was regular, and was granted (1) to the poor of each parish; (2) to the actual pastors; (3) to pastors *emeriti*; (4) to the widows of pastors; (5) to school-masters. At the date of the report, there were in the valleys sixty-eight schools participating in this aid, and three widows of pastors, who each received sixty florins. These were Madame Léger, Madame Bastie, and Madame Reynaudin. They all lived together at Villesèche. From 1739 to 1744, the distribution took place of the aid granted in consequence of the inundation of 1738. We find, under the date of 1741, a *General Statement of the Ecclesiastical Subsidies for the Valleys*, in which England is set down for £270 sterling.—A memorial on behalf of the *Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Lucerna, Pérouse, and St. Martin*, addressed in 1758 to the stadtholder, and followed by a note regarding an extraordinary contribution of 300 francs, granted in December, 1758, by the Walloon churches to the poor of the Vaudois churches, and for the building of a schoolhouse at Villar Pinache. Finally, the *Mémoire concernant la situation présente des Eglises évangéliques des vallées Vaudoises*, *présenté au Synode tenu à la Haye, le 9 Septembre 1762, &c.*, completes the exhibition of these foreign supplies, received at this period by the valleys.

¹ Letter dated 17th October, 1733. (Correspondence of the Moderator of the Vaudois churches from 1732 to 1734. In my possession.) ² Charles VI.

³ Pavia, on 4th November, 1733; Milan, on 30th December of the same year; Novara, on 7th January, 1734; Tortona, on 28th January, &c.

⁴ Which took place at Turin, 17th June, 1734. De Villars was 84 years of age.

⁵ Signed at Vienna, 3d October, 1735. By this treaty, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily were given up to Don Carlos, the ally of France and a descendant of the house of Bourbon. He was the son of Philip V. and Elizabeth Farnèse, was born 20th January, 1716, became Duke of Parma and of Placenza in 1731, and King of the Two Sicilies in 1735; he was proclaimed King of Spain, under the name of Charles III., at Madrid, on 11th September, 1735. He then left Ferdinand, his third son, at Naples, as King of the Two Sicilies. It was not till 1716 (15th August)

added to his dominions the whole of the Novarais and some other districts of Lombardy.

A few years after, war broke out again between Austria and France;¹ but this time, the King of Sardinia, true to the habitual policy of his predecessors, declared against France and allied himself with Austria.² The French army attempted to invade Piedmont in 1742, by the passes of the Vaudois Alps; but Charles Emmanuel drove them back into Dauphiny. In the following year, the French, having entered into alliance with the Spaniards, penetrated into Piedmont by the Var, and defeated the King of Sardinia, near Coni, on 30th September, 1744. They then laid siege to Coni, but could not gain possession of the place, where the Vaudois, as historians tell us, displayed great valour.³ Three years after this, the battle of Assiette took place,⁴ the success of which was principally owing to the Vaudois, and the effect of which was still more to enlarge the dominions of their sovereign.⁵

The Col [or Pass] of L'Assiette is a narrow defile situated between Fenestrelle and Exilles, in the mountain range which separates the valley of the Pragela from that of the Doire. The Piedmontese and Imperial forces⁶ had made strong intrenchments there. The Marshal De Bellisle attacked them. He had nine

that the family compact was concluded at Versailles, amongst the four sovereigns of the house of Bourbon, in consequence of which England declared war against them.

¹ France was then in alliance with and supported by Spain.

² In 1742.

³ See *Monastier*, II., 182.

⁴ On 19th July, 1747.

⁵ By treaty, signed at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748.

⁶ There were there eight battalions of Piedmontese troops, and three battalions of Imperial troops. (These and the following particulars are taken from a manuscript entitled: *Memorie storiche, estratto dal libro titolato Liber rerum notabilium et decretorum, pro hoc conventu Sanctæ Mariæ Gratiarum Carmeli collecti, da Fra Cypriano, segretario del convento*. Archives of the Bishopric of Pignerol.) For these particulars I have also consulted two ballads or *sirventes* on that event. One of these pieces is in patois, and commences thus:

"Sé fossé may senti," &c. . . .

The other is written in bad French, and was probably composed by a Vaudois soldier; it is merely a long play of words on the name of the field of battle. Some idea of it may be formed from the following lines:

"Dix mille fantassins
Y ont laissé la vie. . . .
Voulant tremper leurs doigts
Dans l'Assiette aux Vaudois."

This complaint contains twenty-two couplets. According to the French historians, only 1500 men fell at the battle of Assiette. The narrative from which I quote gives the numbers differently. I have adopted them because of their precision, but I cannot vouch for them. It would have been difficult and superfluous for me to have made researches on this point.

pieces of artillery—his opponents had not one. He had a reserve of eight battalions, whilst all the Piedmontese forces were engaged at once. The attack commenced about mid-day, and the firing was continued until evening. By the aid of their artillery, the French gained some ground at first, and ascended the mountain to the base of the Piedmontese intrenchments; but by a vigorous sortie, the Piedmontese successfully repulsed them. The Marshal de Bellisle, rallying his troops on the level grounds below, gave them a few moments of rest, and then encouraging them brought them back gallantly to the charge. This time they mounted to the assault with such rapidity, that the Piedmontese musketry could not make them fall back. The combat now became one of swords and pikes along almost the whole line. The place which the Vaudois occupied became so filled up with dead bodies that it has ever since been called the *Valley of Death*.¹ But the enemy kept their ground; when some of our mountaineers, recollecting the success of their guerilla tactics, rolled down enormous stones upon the assailants, and that in such quantity that the French, notwithstanding the vigour with which they had begun, gave way before these thundering avalanches of rocks, and were a second time repulsed. "Then," says our narrative, "Bellisle, who in this affair had, notwithstanding his reverses, conducted himself very well, and whose countenance reddened with shame, resolved to hazard in a further effort both his glory and his life. He made a last effort, brought back his wearied troops a third time—set them an example in his own person, exposing himself at their head to the fire of the enemy, like a common soldier, and with all the courage of a hero was the first to plant, with his own hand, a standard upon our intrenchments. It was gloriously done, but it was all. The marshal was killed upon the spot. His army lost 6000 men killed and wounded, including more than 300 officers. Three colours also were taken. On our side," continues the narrator, "we had 200 killed and wounded, including three officers, one of whom recovered."²

The attention of their sovereign having been thus favourably recalled to the loyal and valiant inhabitants of the Vaudois mountains, Charles Emmanuel at first granted them some favours. They were allowed to have notaries of their own communion.³ Civil

¹ These particulars are extracted from the *Mémoires de Paul Appia*. (MS. communicated by the family of the author.)

² Narrative above quoted, "*Memorie storiche, estratte dal libro titolato Liber rerum notabilium*," &c.

³ Charles Emmanuel II. established six offices of notaries for the Protestants in the Vaudois valleys, under the restriction that these civil officers should do no business except for those of their own religion.—Royal Letters Patent of 14th

justice also showed less partiality in regard to Protestants;¹ its authority was even exerted upon some occasions for their protection.

But the Church of Rome only became more active in its schemes of annoyance and of proselytism. It obtained at once new *Instructions*, more rigorous than those of 1730,² and permission to open at the very gate of the valleys the office for ensnarement and abduction which had hitherto been located at Turin, under the

February, 1746. (This was contrary to Section IV. of Chap. II., Title XXII., Book V., of the Constitutions or General Code of the Kingdom.) Before these letters-patent were granted, several Protestant notaries had, however, been authorized to execute their professional functions in the valleys. John Peter Brezzi, at St. John, had received this authority on 4th September, 1732; James Brezzi, his brother, on 7th August, 1733, to act at La Tour, but he removed to St. Germain. John Francis Combe filled the office of notary at St. John, which he purchased on 22d July, 1708, from Manfredo Danna, but for which Combe received no formal authorization before 5th May, 1741. (Extracted from various documents in the *Archives of the Court*.)

¹ In 1774, the Vaudois petitioned to be freed from the taxes unjustly levied from them. (Their petition, according to the unfortunate custom of the times, is not dated.) An order from the Chamber of Accounts, dated 17th August, 1774, bore that the taxes unjustly levied should be repaid to them. (These two documents are printed on the same sheet.)

² *Instructions of the Senate of Turin*, dated 29th July, 1740, and addressed to the Judges of the Vaudois valleys on the course which they ought to pursue with regard to the religionaries. They contain thirty-two articles, founded upon all the former edicts, like those of 1730, on which they are a seriously aggravated commentary. According to these new instructions, if it so happened that a Protestant fell ill beyond the legal limits of the Vaudois valleys, the pastor could not go to visit him without being accompanied by a layman; he was forbidden to pass the night with the sick man; he could not remain in the place for more than one day, and must abstain from conducting any kind of religious service. The Catholic worship, on the contrary, could be celebrated everywhere, even in localities entirely Protestant, if the parish priests or the missionaries thought proper. The number of Vaudois pastors and places of worship could not be augmented. All exercise of religion, whether public or private, was interdicted at St. John. Still less were the Protestants permitted to have a school there. The pastor was prohibited from residing there; and if he were called to a sick person, he could not pass more than one night there. (It was then that the Vaudois of St. John celebrated their worship at Le Chiabas, a church built within the district of Angrogna.) Moreover, by these instructions, the Vaudois were prohibited from admitting any Catholics into their places of worship, from inclosing their burying grounds, from purchasing or renting lands beyond the tolerated limits, and from any religious relations with foreigners. Mixed marriages were also forbidden, unless the Protestant party contracting the marriage should first sign a promise to embrace Catholicism. The children of Protestants could be taken from their parents at a fixed age (for boys above twelve years, and for girls above ten), if the children manifested a desire to become Catholics. (And it may be conceived how easy it was to imagine this desire, or to create it by the allurements of some promise, in the unreflecting mind of the child.) Finally, foreign Protestants were not to be entitled to settle in the Vaudois valleys without an express permission from his majesty. "*Con questi lumi*," add the Instructions in conclusion, "*restando voi sufficientemente instrutto, di cio che riguarda li sudetti religionarii, non avete dunque che a vigilare*," &c. . . .

title of the *Refuge* or *Alberga of Virtue*.¹ This establishment was subsequently still more extended,² and to this period are to be referred some attempts to enforce abjuration by violent means not only in the case of children, but even of men of mature age.³

¹ The *Alberga di Virtù* was an establishment anterior to the *Refuge*, but to which the latter was originally united. (From 1679 to 1739.) In 1740 the *Refuge* was transported to Pignerol, and opened under the title of the *Hospital for those who have become, and for those who wish to become Catholics*. Those who found refuge there were to have been instructed in some arts or trades, by which they might gain their living after their leaving it. But the religious, or rather the ecclesiastical interest very soon predominated over those of industry and charity. This establishment was then no longer devoted to any purpose but the propagation among Protestants of the doctrines and forms of the Catholic religion. This propagation had especially the object of attaching to the Church of Rome the children who had been drawn into the hospital. It then took the name of the *Hospizio di Catecumeni*. (In 1772.)

² There is a *Royal Order*, of date 28th December, 1740, for furnishing 20,000 livres towards the building of the *Hospital* at Pignerol. On 13th May, 1744, a new order to provide for enlargements of the building. On 1st May, 1745, letters-patent were issued to organize the administration of the establishment. On 14th June, 1745, a *biglietto regio*, ordaining the transference thither of the Vaudois children, supported *nell' Alberga di Virtù, in Torino*. On 24th June, 1730, a concordat with Benedict XIV. applied the fourth part of the income of vacant benefices to the Hospital of Pignerol. (Articles VI. and VII.) On 21st March, 1752, letters-patent were issued, by which his majesty declared that he took that establishment under his protection, and approved its rules. According to these (1) the establishment is to be reckoned secular; (2) the direction of it is confided to a commission which shall be presided over by the bishop, and in his absence by the governor or commandant of Pignerol. This commission is to meet once a-month. (Articles II., III., and IV.) The Hospital not being able to maintain more than fifty boarders at one time, they are to be divided into two classes (Article XVI.), &c. See *Dubois*, t. xiii. vol. xv. pp. 220-228.

³ There is a little poem, very imperfectly versified, but full of simplicity and sometimes of energy, in which a Vaudois, named *Michelin*, relates that, having set out on a Saturday evening, to go to the valley of St. Martin, he was arrested at Le Pomaret by the soldiers, conducted to La Pérouse, rifled, deprived of his clothes, and thrown into a dungeon. There, says he,

Je n'étais assisté d'aucune nourriture
Et mon corps grelottait par la grande froidure.

[I was supplied with no food, and my body shivered because of the great cold.] Then follow some details concerning his captivity:

Les enfants, le matin,
Venaient devant ma porte
Me disant, Michelin . . .

Ne nous chantez-vous plus la chanson de l'Assiette?

[The children in the morning came about my door, saying, "Michelin . . . will you not sing to us any more the ballad of l'Assiette?"] This refers to the ballad which I have quoted in speaking of the battle of Assiette. Perhaps it was the work of the same mountain-bard, now a prisoner. Like Homer, poor Michelin appears to have been blind; for in this narration, he speaks only of what he hears, and never of what he sees; he mentions that he fell as he walked in his dungeon; and, finally, that the common people said to him, "Sing, with your violin, and you will win two or three *picaillons*." (The *picaillon* is an old Pied-

Meanwhile, the effect of all this upon the Vaudois church, was to produce a deeper sense of the necessity of perfecting its discipline and organization.¹ It obtained the right to be officially represented

montese coin, worth two deniers.) "When the constables came," he proceeds to say, "they had to employ force to drive away the crowd from the gates of my dungeon." And the curious conversed about him in the following terms:—

S'il se faisait chrétien
Se disaient-ils l'un l'autre,
On lui ferait du bien.
Mais il n'est pas des nôtres;
Et puisq' il ne veut pas
Changer de religion,
On va le laisser là
Perir dans la prison.

["If he would become a Christian," said they, one to another, "he would receive favours. But he is not one of our people; and since he does not choose to change his religion, he will be left to perish there in the prison."] Four stanzas are here devoted to the narration of the different remarks of the crowd:—

Croyez-vous que cela le tirera d'affaire? . . .
Que peut-il avoir fait, ce pauvre misérable? . . .

[Do you think the fellow will get out of this scrape? . . . What can he have done, the poor wretch? . . .] "And I," says he, "who heard all this, as I lay upon the straw, I prayed to God to support me

En fermeté de foi, pendant toute ma vie."

[In steadfastness of faith, during the whole of my life.]

He had also charitable visitors, who brought him something for his comfort. The monks, likewise, came to urge him to abjure. At last he was conducted to Pignerol, where he endured a new imprisonment and new solicitations:—

Si vous n'abjurez pas votre infâme hérésie . . .
Votre corps périra
Au fond d'une prison
Et l'on confisquera
Toute votre maison.

Ma maison est au ciel; c'est en lui que j'espère! . . .
Quand j'aurais en ce lieu
Tout perdu, corps et biens,
Mon ame devant Dieu
Ne craindra jamais rien.

[If you do not abjure your infamous heresy . . . your body will perish in the depths of a prison, and your whole house will be confiscated.—My house is in heaven, it is it that I hope for! . . . When I shall have lost everything in this place, body and property, my soul shall be before God, and shall fear nothing.] At last the perseverance of the *converters* was overcome by the perseverance of the captive in remaining faithful to the gospel, and Michelin was restored to liberty. This piece of verse has thirty-seven couplets, of two quatrains each. I have thought it right to quote it, notwithstanding its little literary merit, because of the sentiments which it expresses, and the particulars to which it introduces us; for these particulars sometimes do more to enable us to understand the character of the period, than more serious documents.

¹ Being obliged to restrict myself in these notes, which have already exceeded due limits, I can do no more than mention here; without almost any quotation, the *Synodal Acts* relative to this subject, and the things of which they treat.—Of

by elective directors, appointed by its own synods, under the name of the *Vaudois Table*.¹ Regulations were framed concerning the stipends of the pastors² and salaries of the schoolmasters,³ and arrangements were made for watching over the students of theology at foreign seminaries.⁴

Consistories: Synod of 1760, § vii.; Synod of 1768, § xiii. Of the *Diaconate:* Synod of 1765, § iv. Of the *Sanctification of the Sabbath:* Synod of 1722, § i. and x.; of 1724, § i.; of 1727, § viii.; of 1745, § iv.; of 1743, § ix.; of 1753, § iii.; of 1760, § ii., &c. Of *Worship:* 1718, xiv.; 1722, viii., xi.; 1729, viii.; 1745, x.; 1762, ii., &c. Of *Synods:* 1720, viii.; 1744, v.; 1791, iv., &c. "The moderator and adjunct shall make a visit to all the churches, in those years when there is no synod, to inquire into their wants, and to maintain good harmony between the parishioners and their pastor." (Acts of the Synod, held at Les Clots, 23d October, 1736, § x.) The synod of St. Germain, 29th November, 1729, *remarked with grief that discipline was more and more relaxed* (§ viii.); and the synod of La Tour (1749), ordained that every pastor should read from the pulpit, at Easter annually, the articles of discipline *extracted from the Synodal Acts*, that the members of the church may not be able to allege ignorance with regard to them (§ viii.) This first compend of the acts relative to discipline was made by Pastor Bastie, but it was very incomplete.

¹ A letter from the intendant of Pignerol, dated 12th September, 1754, authorizes the *Vaudois Table* to draw up and sign petitions in name of the valleys. In the synod held in 1754, at St. Germain, it was resolved that an inventory should be made of all the papers relative to the Vaudois churches, and that they should be put into the hands of the moderator, to be preserved by him and his successors, in the archives of the body over which they presided (§ viii.) The introduction of *lay members* into the *Vaudois Table* was attempted in 1722. (Synod of Le Villar, art. xiii.) It was proposed again at the synod of 1795, but not finally resolved upon till that of 1823. In the synod of 1765, it was resolved that two persons, closely related to one another, could not belong to the Table at once (§ ix.)

² The English subsidies were suspended in 1723. The arrears were paid in 1726. On the report of the attorney-general, Edward Wortley (dated at London, 30th May, 1726), George I. made arrangements for their regular payment in future. (Order signed at Whitehall, 9th June, 1726.) By a mandate, dated 20th May, 1726, the Vaudois churches authorized the banker Chetwynd, of London, to receive this money, in order to transmit it to Piedmont, where they received it from the hands of a banker of Turin. (In that same year, 1726, some assistance was sent to the valleys by the church of Amsterdam.) George II. renewed the order which secured to the Vaudois the regular payment of these subsidies. The first distribution took place in his reign, on 25th March, 1728.

³ There were then sixty-eight schoolmasters in the Vaudois communes, and only fourteen who regularly participated in the foreign assistance, viz., the thirteen regents of the communal schools, who each received 160 francs from the British subsidies, and the regent of the Latin school, who received 250 francs from Holland. The other fifty-four teachers received their payment from their pupils, and kept school only for two or three months during winter.

⁴ There were at Lausanne five places or bursaries for Vaudois students, paid by the Evangelical cantons of Switzerland. In 1726, one of them was transferred to Geneva. In 1727, the synod of the Walloon churches founded one at Marburg. Queen Anne established three in England. There was at that time one, and afterwards a second was created at Basle, in Erasmus' college; and two others were created at Geneva, after 1730. There were thus three in that city, and thirteen in all. See the Synodal Acts of 16th September, 1693; of 3d June, 1694; of 6th October of the same year; of 17th June, 1695; of 19th July, 1701; of 17th Sep-

In the year 1727, we find the origin of the little Protestant church at Turin, which did not obtain a regular supply of ordinances till a century after;¹ and which quite recently, and after a struggle, has obtained a recognized place amongst the Vaudois churches.² It had many difficulties to contend with,³ but it had the patience and hope in God, requisite for happily surmounting them. May it now praise and glorify him for all his mercies by a truly living Christianity!

The long forgotten remains of the ancient Vaudois churches in the French Alps were also gradually restored.⁴ New and vigorous shoots sprung up around the stump, which seemed to have disappeared. And faithful to their origin, these churches thus beginning to re-appear, took advantage of the first ray of liberty which shone upon them, at the period to which we now approach, immediately to incorporate themselves with their sister churches of the valleys of Piedmont.⁵ The course of events prevented this outward unity

tember, 1720; of 13th November, 1725; and successively, in the years 1727, § vi.; 1729, § vii.; 1743, § ii., &c.

¹ Cyprian Appia, the pastor of St. John, who had studied in England, offered to the ambassador of that power, at the court of Turin, that he would conduct a religious service in his residence as often as he desired it. (Letter of 5th January, 1727.) But it was not till 1827 that, by decree of 6th July, a Vaudois pastor was named *Chaplain of the Protestant Legations at Turin*.

² See the *Echo of the Vaudois Valleys*, of 6th September, 1849, p. 43; and chap. xxiv. in this volume.

³ A *reggio villetto*, al vicario di Torino, riguardante i religionarii stabiliti, in questa città, dated 23d March, 1753, ordained—

(1.) That all the Protestants in Turin should have their names inscribed in the police books.

(2.) That they should never have any Catholic domestic in their service.

(3.) That they should not obtain permission to reside there for more than a year, but that after the expiry of this term, the permission should be prolonged if there was occasion for it.

(4.) That they should not be entitled to become tenants of lands in the neighbourhood of Turin, without special permission from the authorities.

(5.) That none of them should be permitted to devote himself to the employments of spinning or working of silk, which were exclusively reserved for the Catholics.

(6.) They were forbidden to speak, write, distribute books or plates, or hold conferences on religious subjects.

The British ambassador, Lord Rochefort, on 4th July, 1753, made a protest, in which the following sentence occurs:—"I do not suppose, that in interdicting all religious conferences, it was intended to prevent any one from being present at the religious service which takes place in the chapel of the legation." The king's reply to this note is dated 7th July, 1753. It is there said on this subject:—"As for Protestants continuing to frequent the house of the English minister, as they have done in time past, we will shut our eyes to it, in the way of toleration." (Archives of Turin, Nos. 529, 530, 531.)

⁴ See in chapter iv. of the First Part of this Work, under the year 1775, the *Report on the progress of heresy in the valley of the Po, and in Queyras*.

⁵ We read, in the Acts of the Synod of 1801, § iii.:—"The churches of St."

from being maintained; but there is room to hope that their spiritual union has, ever since that time, increased. God permitted the same men at a subsequent period to contribute to it by their labours on both sides of the Alps.

Meanwhile, the spirit of a future era had begun to manifest itself. The hostility cherished for ages by Popery against the Reformed Church was somewhat abated, and a more kindly feeling had begun to exist amongst the more enlightened representatives of both communions.² The Vaudois experienced less opposition in carrying on the exercise of their worship.³ The interests of their church became connected by new reasons with the maintenance of union amongst its members and with the rectitude of their lives. Thus the old difficulties were gradually forgotten, which had created alarm for the very existence of the Vaudois church,⁴ and the intestine dissensions which had threatened its welfare.⁵ The cause which had produced them subsisted, indeed, too long: for, from

Véran, Molines, Fonsillarde, La Chalp, Arvieux, and Brunissard, in the department of the High Alps, having deputed to this assembly the citizen, David Monnet, their present pastor, . . . urgently request that they may be considered as forming one and the same body with us." The synod granted with delight this request, rejoicing in this interchange of testimonies of brotherly kindness between the two sides of the Alps.—The venerable pastor Monnet is now (1850) the senior pastor of the Vaudois church.

¹ The sainted Felix Neff came to the valleys in 1826. His influence, although it manifested itself more slowly, was not less deeply felt there than amongst the French Alps, where his memory is so justly venerated.

² In the synod of 1701, it was resolved to address the Bishop of Pignerol, to obtain the removal of the parish priest of Pramol; "persuaded (it is said in art. v.) that that prelate, who is a model of gentleness, equity, and all Christian virtues, will in his wisdom remove a man who is likely to be the author of discord."

³ Religious services were conducted at St. John, contrary to the edict of 1740; but no severity was employed to cause them to be relinquished. However, the Vaudois having petitioned on 11th February, 1792, to have a bell for their church at Serres, the reply, dated on the 13th, was in the negative. In 1722, the superior council of Pignerol opposed the rebuilding of the place of worship at Faët. (See Acts of Synod of Le Villar, 6th October, 1722, § ii.)

⁴ In a letter, written from St. John, 3d March, 1736, we read:—"Those of the plain are so extraordinarily indebted to creditors, who for the most part are Catholics, that, when the creditors ask for payment, the greater part of their debtors are compelled to leave their places of residence. There are always some who change. . . . This church is gradually losing ground. . . ." (Vaudois Correspondence in my possession.)

⁵ Without enlarging on this subject, I remit the reader to the report by Léger inserted in the *Records of the Pastors of Geneva*, vol. X., p. 177, and to that which he published in 1731. The following, however, are some passages of a letter addressed by the Walloon synod to the Vaudois church, 17th December, 1730:—"Can our churches be insensible to the mournful divisions which they see arising amongst you? . . . In the name of God, gentlemen and much honoured brethren, take effectual precautions to quench, in a Christian manner, so soon as they appear, these first flames of a dissension, whose consequences will be eternally lamentable to you."

the son of Reynaudin to the learned and caustic Peyrani, the valleys scarcely ever ceased to have some pastor whose student life had not only been marked by little seriousness, but, in too many cases, even by things that were reprehensible. Sometimes, the fever of innovation which characterized the time, impatient of all ancient rules and institutions, followed them even into their parishes.² But these aberrations became gradually more rare; and the frequent invocation of the Spirit of the Lord, on the part of the Vaudois church, by fasting and prayer, with exercises of contrition, humiliation, and repentance, was at last answered. It may be said to have issued a second time from the middle ages.

However, the influences, which had affected it but slightly, failing to subvert its ancient institutions, exhibited a fearful strength all over the world, overthrowing the French monarchy and shaking all the thrones of Europe. And when the revolution of 1790 broke out, even our valleys themselves were soon drawn into the terrible vortex of its innovations. "At that time," says M. Monastier;⁴ everything tended to draw away the mind from the inward life, which is hid with Christ in God. The power of the human intelligence, united with material force, had undertaken to

¹ The son of Reynaudin was dismissed from the Academy of Basle for his irregular conduct, after having been previously removed from Utrecht. He quitted the latter city in company with Scipio Rostan, who was successively at Utrecht, Lausanne, Geneva, and Basle, and who gave cause of complaint everywhere. Notwithstanding this turbulence of his youth, however, he exhibited a generous spirit, and conducted himself in a blameless manner in his maturer years. The same may be said of James Peyrani, whose youth furnished occasion for a very severe report. But we may be permitted to forget these *juvenilia*, from which the reputation of Theodore Beza himself does not suffer, to recollect that the synod of Bobi (October, 1760) addressed special thanks to Peyrani, for the excellence of his moderatorship, and in the same article (§ i.) cited him as an example to future moderators.

² There exists a Latin report, which must be referred to the year 1780, in which the pastors James Peyrani and Paul Appia are accused of wishing to put an end to the effusion of water in the rite of baptism. These pastors protested their innocence of this charge in the synod of Le Pomaret, 20th July, 1830.

³ "We cannot disguise from ourselves the deplorable condition into which the Christian world has long been sunk" (said the Synod of 1782, § ii.); "vice continuing to reign among us, and even to augment its empire" (Synod of 1788, § ii.) "shows the lamentable effects of the lawless passions which from time to time break out" (Synod of 1777, § iii.) "Our falls are so frequent, our transgressions so multiplied, our vices so numerous, that our consciences, agreeing with religion, urge us to solicit the Divine compassion." (Synod of 1774, § iii.) And the solemn fasts which took place after that date—viz., in 1775, 1778, 1781, 1783, 1786, 1789, and 1799, were all preceded by similar humiliations and fervent exhortations to repentance, full of prayers and supplications, than which, perhaps, none more expressive of deep feeling were ever employed by any church.

⁴ II., 200.

regenerate the world. Nothing was thought of but social organization, visible conquests and worldly glory; there remained no longer, it might almost be said, any room on earth for the interests of heaven." But we may also add, that it was a time of storm, and that storms are rapid and purify the air. Thus the dull atmosphere of the previous age was freed, by these agitations, from the antiquated elements which were incompatible with the life of progress. God brings good out of evil, and men full of their own turbulent passions are unconsciously governed by his hand.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE VAUDOIS VALLEYS DURING THE WARS WHICH THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION CAUSED IN ITALY.¹

(A.D. 1789 to A.D. 1801.)

Prudent reserve of the Vaudois at the outbreking of the French revolution—Piedmont, allied with Austria, at war with France—The Vaudois troops on the frontier under General Gaudin—Popish conspiracy for a massacre of the defenceless Vaudois families—It is discovered and defeated by General Gaudin—Odious conduct of the Piedmontese government upon this occasion—Fidelity of the Vaudois to their sovereign—Jealous tyranny of the government—General Zimmerman intercedes for the Vaudois—Pretended favours granted by the government—Continued friendship of Zimmerman—Accession of Charles Emmanuel IV.—Petition of the Vaudois and reply of the king—Attempts to conciliate the Vaudois when their support became very important—Some ameliorations of their condition—Their treatment varies with political circumstances—Abdication of Charles Emmanuel IV.—Suwarrow and the Russian army in Piedmont—Great kindness of M. Rostan, pastor of Bobi, to wounded French soldiers—Suchet's public acknowledgment of it—Characteristic proclamation of Suwarrow—The valleys threatened with pillage and devastation by Russian troops—Successful appeal of M. Appia to the Russian commanders—Illustrative anecdotes of Suwarrow, Prince Bagration, and other Russian officers—The manners and habits of the Russian troops—Hatred of the Popish priests against the Vaudois exhibited in malicious falsehoods assiduously told to the Russian generals—Napoleon's victories—The battle of Marengo—The Cis-alpine Republic—The Vaudois become possessed of equal rights with other citizens.

THE revolutionary scenes of which France was the theatre, were at first regarded in the Vaudois valleys merely with a prudent reserve.

¹ AUTHORITIES.—In general, the modern authors, mentioned at the end of the *Bibliography*. In particular, the unpublished *Mémoires de Paul Appia*, containing the narrative of the events which took place in the Vaudois valleys, from 1799 to 1816. And, besides these, the particular sources indicated at the bottom of the pages.

A Vaudois pastor having ventured, in a public discourse,¹ in 1789, to make allusion to the events which were taking place on the other side of the Alps, was suspended from his functions for six months. "This decision," says M. Monastier, "was equally wise and just; for the preacher had failed in his duty, both as a subject of the King of Sardinia in bringing forward questions inconsistent with obedience to his government, and as a pastor in introducing politics into the Christian pulpit. It was next to impossible for men so little favoured by the existing powers, as the Vaudois had been, to have displayed, in such circumstances, more prudence and moderation."² But it was next to impossible, also, that many hearts should not have throbbed in secret with ardent sympathies for the cause of liberty, in these poor valleys which had so long been subjected to hard bondage. The very fact which has just been mentioned, proves the existence of these secret sympathies, of which only the public expression was blamed.

And, as if the genius of the past ages had felt a presentiment of defeat, and had sought to have a last struggle with the genius of modern times, the hateful and fanatical spirit of the old Popery arose again at the very commencement of this new era, to plot the massacre of the Vaudois, and sought to respond by new martyrdoms to the republican acclamation of "Liberty, Fraternity, Equality," by which the echoes of our mountains began to be awakened. In 1792, war broke out between France and Austria. Piedmont supported the latter power. Towards the end of the year, Savoy conquered by Montesquieu, and the province of Nice by Anselme, were united to France, which had just constituted itself a republic.³ The King of Sardinia (Victor Amadeus III.) having caused the Vaudois to take up arms, committed to them the defence of their own frontiers, under the orders of General Gaudin.⁴ All the Vaudois militia were encamped upon the ridge of the Alps to oppose the enemy. There remained in the valleys below only the women, the children, the aged, and the infirm—"feeble defenders!" says M. Monastier.⁵ Catholic fanaticism conceived the idea of a new St. Bartholomew's Day against these Protestant families, thus deprived of their natural protectors, who were occupied in the defence of their country. The execution of this plot was to have taken place in the night between the 14th and 15th of May, 1793. The list of the conspirators contained more than 700 names. A

¹ At the opening of the synod of 1789, says M. Monastier, II. 183. But no synod was held in the Vaudois valleys, that I know of, from 1788 to 1791.

² Monastier, II. 183.

³ 21st September, 1792.

⁴ A native of Switzerland, born at Nyon; his name is by some authors written *Gudin*, and by others *Godin*.

⁵ Monastier, II. 185.

column of assassins, assembled at Lucerna, was, on a signal given, to spread itself over the communes of St. John and La Tour, consuming all with fire and sword.¹ The house of the priest of La Tour, his church, the convent of the Recollets, and the houses of a few Catholics of the place, were filled with murderous villains ready alike for pillage or for massacre.²

But there were also some generous Catholics, who refused to take part in this odious wickedness. These worthy men were better than Catholicism; and for the fourth time in the course of this history, we see issuing from the ranks of the Romish church the saviours of the people whom it sought to destroy. Don Brianza, priest of Lucerna, not only refused to join the conspirators, but he also hastened to make this conspiracy known to those whose existence was menaced. Captain Odetti, of Cavour, likewise ran to warn the Vaudois, and to defend the friends whom he had amongst them.

An urgent message was immediately sent to General Gaudin,³ asking him to bring down his troops from the mountains, or at least to permit the Vaudois legion to go and preserve their own homes from invading assassins. The brave general, unable to believe in such perfidy and cruelty, attached no importance to the revelation which was made to him. A new messenger was despatched to him without more effect. A third arrived and presented the list of the conspirators. The general could not believe in it. Moreover, he had his orders; he could not abandon his post, nor consent to the withdrawal of part of his troops; and this third emissary also returned without any success. Seventeen persons went to him in succession. Time pressed; the alarm was given; the Vaudois troops, boiling with indignation, were all impatient to run to the succour of their families. At last the magistrates of La Tour and Le Villar themselves came to assure General Gaudin of the reality of this atrocious conspiracy, and to entreat for protection. He then adopted his resolution.

It was the eve of the fatal day; a report was spread of an approaching attack of the French; the troops fell back, and the Vaudois companies took position in their respective communes. But the troops of St. John and La Tour, being at a greater distance from their homes than the rest, and more impatient to return to

¹ Monastier, II. 185.

² These, and the following particulars, are derived from a contemporary report which even gives, in part, the names of the conspirators. The author was afterwards a member of the general council of the department of the Po, as representative of the canton of Lucerna.

³ Whose head-quarters were at Malpretus, above Bobi.

them, descended the mountains with such rapidity, that many of the soldiers lost on the way some part of their baggage. The delay of a moment to pick up from the ground anything that might have fallen from their hands, would have seemed to them to endanger the existence of that which was dearest to them, and of which the loss would have been irreparable.

The conspirators, seeing these irritated and warlike troops arrive, made their escape by the gate of the convent of the Recollets which looks out upon the torrent of the Angrogna.¹ The list of their names, drawn up by themselves, was sent to the Duke of Aosta,² who had manifested some regard for the Vaudois; but none of these traitors was prosecuted. The king³ even reproached General Gaudin for having permitted his troops to abandon their position. "Sire," replied he, "it is the most glorious day of my life, for I have not had to shed blood but have prevented the effusion of it." He was, nevertheless, dismissed from the service. But if he incurred court disgrace, he became the object of the liveliest gratitude to the Vaudois who owed to him their preservation.

"The French," says M. Monastier, "who were not ignorant how precarious and exceptional the situation of these poor people had been, thought that they would have little difficulty in persuading them to revolt, to deliver up to them the passages of the Alps, and to make common cause with them. They were mistaken. The Vaudois deemed fidelity to an oath, even in an inferior condition, preferable to the splendid hopes of religious, civil, and political liberty obtained by perjury. This admirable conduct, however, could not silence calumny, nor stifle suspicion."⁴

The fort of Mirabouc had surrendered. This place was very feeble: it had only two cannons, one of which burst when it was fired. The garrison consisted of a single company of Vaudois and of some Piedmontese invalids. The commander was a Swiss officer, named Mesmer. The French surprised the fort, from the side of the Col la Croix. The Vaudois were accused of having favoured them; Mesmer was sick; he surrendered; in truth, he could not have resisted; but he was a Protestant, and he was shot in the citadel of Turin.

The tyrannical Piedmontese government became always the

¹ These particulars are derived from the report above quoted. There exists on this subject a MS. poem of 225 lines, commencing thus—

Dieu tout-puissant, Dieu de nos pères,
Ton bras s'est encor déployé . . .

(Amongst the papers collected by M. Appia.)

² Who ascended the throne in 1796, and took the name of Charles Emmanuel IV.

³ Victor Amadeus III.

⁴ Monastier, II. 184.

more suspicious, the more that it found itself in danger. Colonel Fresia succeeded General Gaudin in the valleys. One of his commissioned officers was a Vaudois, by name Davit; he was accused of treason, and put to death. Colonel Maraudo and Major Goamte, the two officers of highest rank in the Vaudois troops, were cast into prison.¹

All the powers of Europe entered into a coalition against France,² but she increased her territories in combating them. When the storm of the reign of terror had passed over her,³ and Napoleon was making his first campaign,⁴ Piedmont became sensible of approaching danger. General Zimmerman, former colonel of the Swiss guards at Paris, having escaped the massacre of the 10th of August,⁵ entered the service of the King of Sardinia. He very soon succeeded in making himself generally beloved. Although a Roman Catholic, he demanded for the Vaudois those civil and political rights which France had offered them, and which their own sovereigns, faithful to the policy of Rome, persisted in refusing them. The Duke of Aosta, second son of Victor Amadeus, undertook to transmit to the king these requests of the noble-hearted general. The king replied to his son—"We have read the memorial which General Zimmerman has sent us through you, concerning the desires which our dear faithful subjects, the Vaudois, have expressed to you relative to their present political condition. Considering the constant and distinguished proofs of their attachment and fidelity, which they have always given to our royal predecessors, and the devotedness which they have shown in the present war, we are disposed to regard favourably the contents of the said memorial, and to make them at once experience the effects of our special good-will; reserving to ourselves, in regard to some of the articles on which fuller inquiry is requisite, to grant them, after the war, such concessions, compatible with the constitution of the state, as may still more assure them of the estimation in which their services are held by us."

After these not very plain nor intelligible sentences, and as a reward for all the fidelity, bravery, and other virtues which he was pleased to acknowledge in the Vaudois, Victor Amadeus III. granted them (1) authority to practise medicine, but only amongst those of their own religion; (2) a *promise* that the abuses of which they were the victims, in matters of taxation, should be put an end to.

¹ These details are taken from Monastier, II. 186.

² Except Turkey, Switzerland, Denmark, and Russia. (7th March, 1793.)

³ From 28th March, 1793, to 27th July, 1794.

⁴ At Toulon, in December, 1793.

⁵ 1792.

But abuses ought not to exist in the case of any person whatever. Under what sort of legislation, then, must the people of the valleys have been placed, when their rulers could venture to speak of the cessation of *abuses* as a great favour? (3) "We prohibit," he added, "any one from taking away their children from the Vaudois, *before the age fixed.*" But the law forbade that already; and was not that *fixed age* itself the very utmost stretch of arbitrary tyranny? (4) "If any burdens shall ever be imposed upon the Vaudois from which the Catholics are exempt, *we will cause the matter to be cared for according to the demands of justice.*" And these were the signal favours so pompously announced! this was the extent of the *special good-will* of the King of Sardinia towards these Vaudois, who had always given *constant and distinguished proofs of their fidelity* to his royal predecessors!

He continues thus:—"You will be so good as to announce to our dear and faithful Vaudois subjects, our resolutions and sentiments above expressed; making them understand that as we are persuaded they will thereby be the more animated to display upon this occasion, all their zeal, courage, and bravery against our enemies, they may also always reckon with increased confidence on our strong desire to give them, *at the close of the war,*¹ the most particular marks of our special protection; and so we pray God that he may keep you under his holy and good protection."²

Is this the language of a father writing to his child—of a sovereign who acts as a father to his subjects? The promises thus adjourned to the end of the war were never fulfilled; but the expression of good-will towards the Vaudois increased with the increase of external dangers, and when these dangers were past severity was resumed as before. A few insignificant concessions ensued at first upon these pompous promises. The communes of Maneille and Chiabrans obtained the right to have a burying-ground.³ A new ratification of their privileges was granted to the Vaudois⁴—these privileges having now been ratified already more than fifty times, without any extension of them in harmony with the wants and enlightenment of the age, beyond what they had been three centuries before. And when the mighty voice of the present seemed

¹ An armistice was concluded at Cherasco on 28th April, 1796, and a treaty of peace signed soon after.

² Given at Turin, 4th June, 1794. Signed *Your very affectionate Father, Victor Amadeus*. Countersigned *Granéri*.

³ By authorization granted 6th December, 1694. (Turin, Archives of the Court, No. 617.)

⁴ On 1st February, 1795, sanctioning those of 14th September, 1448. (Turin, Archives of the Court of Accounts, a small folio vol. of stamped paper, No. 576.)

again less distinct and loud, the precarious favour of the government was transferred from the children of the martyrs to their persecutors.¹

"Yet there are none whose attachment the court of Savoy should be more solicitous to secure than the inhabitants of the valleys," said General Zimmerman at another time in one of his memorials,² "for their mountains are almost everywhere impregnable ramparts . . . and an army, *however numerous*, might fail in the attempt to reduce them to subjection; if it were possible that hostile proceedings should ever destroy that love for their sovereigns, of which they have on so many occasions given the most unquestionable proofs." In the letter accompanying this memorial, it is said that many proposals of democratic insurrection had been made to the Vaudois by the inhabitants of the plain, but that these mountaineers had always rejected them; and the memorial itself adds, "all that can happen on the plain will be but a transient blaze, if we can keep the mountains quiet and attached." "The general has visited all the valleys in person," it is also said in this letter;³ "he has there conversed with the humblest of the inhabitants, and what has been his regret . . . to hear them make bitter complaints . . . especially of their children being forcibly taken from them, one of nine years of age having recently been carried off for the hospital of Pignerol! From the nature of these complaints," he adds, "they deserve the most prompt and serious consideration." He proposes, in his memorial, "to treat the Vaudois on a footing of equality with the Catholics, and in particular recommends to the attention of the sovereign, Colonel Marauda, Major Musset, the two brothers Arnaud of La Tour, and the moderator, M. Geymet, who, he says, "is a man of talent, well-informed, of a pleasant disposition and generally esteemed, and desirous of nothing but order and peace." It was only under the French administration, however, that justice was to be done to his merits; for in the first article of the synod of 1801, we read: "The citizen Geymet, moderator of the Vaudois churches, having been appointed subprefect of the arrondissement of Pignerol, the thanks of the synod are returned to him for the manner in which he has

¹ By a royal rescript of 3d December, 1796, enregistered 17th January, 1797, the king granted a sum of 2114 francs to the Catholics of the valleys, and those who had become Catholics. (Turin, State Archives, No. 507. No. 506 is entitled *Relazione sopra l'origine del annual grazia, sovra i tributi, che S. M. fa, alle comunità delle vall, &c.* It was in consequence of this report that the rescript was issued.)

² Accompanying a letter of his, dated 15th June, 1797. (Turin, State Archives.)

³ Third page.

discharged his duties, and J. R. Peyrani is appointed to succeed him."

But before these events took place, a new king had ascended the tottering throne of Victor Amadeus III.¹ This new king was the brother of the young Duke of Aosta, to whom Zimmerman, in the first instance, addressed himself on behalf of the Vaudois. The Vaudois themselves sent a petition to him, of which I shall here exhibit in an abridged form the principal points, with the answers given to them respectively by the minister of state.²

Request I.—That Protestants may not be compelled to contribute to the expense of Catholic worship. *Reply.*—The usual practice must be continued.³

Request II.—That the municipal elections may take place without regard to religious profession. *Reply.*—The law is to the contrary effect, and expressly requires that the number of Catholic councillors shall be greater than that of the Protestant ones, whatever may be the portion of the population adhering to the one or to the other religion.

Request III.—That when the taxes imposed upon Catholics are diminished, those imposed upon Protestants may be diminished likewise. *Reply.*—This may depend upon the will of his majesty, but can only have the effect of reducing the revenues of the state.

Request IV.—That, without augmenting the number of their places of worship, the Vaudois may be permitted to repair those which exist. *Reply.*—This merits some consideration, although the ancient edicts admit neither of repairing nor enlarging the places of worship.⁴

Request V.—That the inhabitants of St. John may be permitted to have a school in that commune.—Refused.

Request VI.—That Protestants may be admitted to employment in civil offices, as well as the Catholics. (This was what Zimmerman asked, and what the Duke of Aosta had held out hopes of, when he was only the heir to the throne; but now when he was

¹ He ascended the throne on 10th October, 1796, taking the name of Charles Emmanuel IV.

² The petition is signed *Geymet*, moderator, and *Meille*, secretary (of the Vaudois Table). It bears no date, but the *parere* of the minister is dated 19th July, 1797.

³ It will be recollected that, in its *Reply to the Memorial sent by the Duke of Bedford to the Chevalier Ossorio, and by him transmitted to Turin on 31st May, 1748*, the Piedmontese government affirmed (§ v.) that it had never made Protestants contribute for Catholic worship.

⁴ The minister of state ought to have informed us what edicts prohibit the repairing of religious edifices.

the occupant of the throne, he had forgotten it all.) There is no reply to this last request.

We see how prompt the re-actionary spirit was in repulsing the Vaudois, so soon as the support of their arms was no longer necessary.

It was at this time that the national spirit of Italy was united with the aristocratic antipathies of the various powers of that country, in a common effort to throw off a foreign yoke. Bonaparte, by his career of victory, had forced the King of Sardinia to conclude an alliance offensive and defensive with the French republic;¹ but the court of Savoy was not more faithful to the republic than it had been to Louis XIV. Charles Emmanuel IV. hoped to be soon freed from his embarrassing allies. The French were massacred at Verona;² Venice rose in insurrection against them;³ the cause of liberty seemed to decline. This was the reason of the bolder tone which tyranny assumed in the Vaudois valleys. But before it was able to restore the former state of things, a revolution broke out in Genoa,⁴ and the *Ligurian Republic* was proclaimed.⁵ Milan responded on the east, by proclaiming the *Cisalpine Republic*.⁶ These shouts of liberty silenced the voice of despotism. Kings found themselves again in danger, and their tone was immediately changed. By his *Instructions* of 18th July, 1797, addressed to the *Senate of Pignerol*,⁷ Charles Emmanuel IV. unexpectedly announced (1) That the Vaudois would no longer be required to contribute to the expenses of Catholic worship; (2) That there would be no respect of persons in appointments to public offices, which certainly must have referred to municipal elections alone; (3) That when his majesty should grant any exemptions to Papists, they should be equally granted to Protestants; (4) That the Vaudois would be permitted not only to repair their places of worship, but to enlarge them, and to hold their religious meetings wherever they thought proper; (5) That, after the example of the Divine Being who did good to all, his majesty wished to make all his subjects happy.

And, as if these unexpected concessions were not sufficient, Charles Emmanuel likewise wrote to the prefect that he should invite the Vaudois to address themselves in all confidence to their sovereign, assuring them of his very particular affection, &c.⁸ It

¹ Treaty signed at Turin, 5th April, 1797.

² From 4th to 6th April, 1797.

⁴ 22d-23d May.

⁷ Deposited in the Archives of the Court, No. 594.

⁸ This letter is dated 25th August, 1797. (Same source, No. 595.) These documents were published under the form of *Biglietto regio*, on 26th August, but with

³ From 17th April to 16th May.

⁵ 14th June.

⁶ 6th July.

is easy to see that the times were changed. To a suppressed agitation, tumultuous movements had rapidly succeeded, and that even at Montcalier, at the very gates of Turin. Truth demands the admission that the valleys did not remain free from commotion. A troop of revolutionists, composed of Catholics as well as Vaudois, went to Campillon, the castle of the Marquis of Rora, and demanded his feudal titles in order to destroy them. "My friends," he replied with admirable presence of mind and amenity, "if it is only my titles that you want, I will freely give them all up to you, with the exception of one, which you shall not wrest from me, I mean my title of the friend of the Vaudois, due to my old affection for them." This happy saying sufficed to disarm them; and they retired without the slightest act of violence.¹

The Vaudois, however, in virtue of the *Instructions* of 18th July (1797), which authorized them to hold religious meetings wherever they thought fit, demanded permission to erect a place of worship at St. John. But Napoleon had quitted Italy;² the effervescence of the former days had subsided; the throne seemed again to be firmer, and the good-will which Charles Emmanuel had promised to the Vaudois, was withdrawn from them in the same proportion. They were told that the parish of St. John, having at a former period been deprived of its place of worship, had no right to erect one.³ But new armaments were soon formed in France, the destination of which was kept secret;⁴ there seemed again to be danger for Piedmont, and the interest felt for the valleys suddenly revived. The commune of Le Pomaret took advantage of it, to

some modifications. The authority granted to the Vaudois, to practise medicine amongst those of their own religion, is there repealed. The obligation to have a Catholic majority in the communal councils is maintained. As to the places of worship, permission is given to repair and enlarge them, but not to increase their number. Another document also bears the date of 25th August, 1797, which seems to have been a sort of preparatory study for these, entitled, *Parere intorno ad una rappresentanza de religionarii delle valli, in qua espongono varii aggravii*. This paper consists of 22 folio pages. (Same source, Nos. 511 and 618.)

¹ Monastier, II. 189, 190. The author does not give the date of this occurrence. In his narrative it seems to be referred to the year 1797; but although I abstain from placing it in a different part of the history, I believe that it would more correctly be referred to the year 1799, when other similar occurrences took place, especially at La Tour, where the Count Rorengo was compelled to throw his parchments, with his own hands, into a bonfire kindled in the centre of the public square, and to join a ring of revolutionary dancers around the tree of liberty. It was at this period that the great garden, situated in front of the count's residence, was destroyed, and that the public square, which now occupies that spot, was laid out.

² To go to Rastadt. He set out on 17th November, 1797.

³ Extract of one of the letters of M. P. Appia to the Count of Nieperg, dated from La Tour, 2d December, 1799. (Communicated.)

⁴ For the expedition to Egypt; from September, 1797, to February, 1798.

ask permission to enlarge and inclose its Protestant burying-place. This was granted.¹ It seems a small favour enough; but small as it was, it was withdrawn, as soon as the government believed itself sufficiently strong to venture upon so doing.² This versatility contributed to weaken it. Charles Emmanuel made an undignified abdication of the crown of his fathers, and retired to Cagliari.³ I defer to next chapter an account of the measures taken by the provisional government, which was then established in Piedmont. Its authority was not of long duration.⁴ A new coalition was formed against France;⁵ and six months had scarcely elapsed, when a Russian army invaded Piedmont, under the command of Suwarow.⁶ Napoleon was no longer there; Milan,⁷ Turin,⁸ and Alexandria⁹ fell into the hands of the allies. The republics of Genoa and Naples soon ceased to exist.¹⁰ The French army, victorious at the Trebbia¹ and at Novi,¹² fell back exhausted by its victories before

¹ By decree of the senate of Turin, of date 16th February, 1798.

² By a new decree of the senate of Turin, dated 11th April, 1798.

³ The abdication is dated 20 *Frimaire*, an VII. (10th December, 1798). In the first article the King of Sardinia declares that he *renounces* all power, and *orders* his subjects to obey the provisional government to be established by the French general (Suchet). The heir-presumptive to the throne adds at the bottom of this abdication, *Io garantisco che non porterò impedimento alcuno all' esecuzione del presente atto. Vittorio Emanuele*. (He ascended the throne in 1814, under the name of Victor Emmanuel IV.)

⁴ Before the invasion of which we are now to speak, the provisional government retired to Pignerol, then to Fenestrelle, where its retreat was covered by the Vaudois, who repulsed the Austrians at the defile of Le Malanago. Fenestrelle remained in the hands of the French during the whole time of the Austro-Russian occupation.

⁵ In consequence of the treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between England and Russia, signed 5th January, 1799. (A simple treaty of alliance had already been concluded between the two powers on 18th December, 1798.)

⁶ Pronounced *Suzarof*.

⁷ On 20th June.

⁸ On 22d July.

⁹ Surrendered on 24th May.

¹⁰ The *Parthenopeian Republic* was established after the occupation of Naples by Championnet (23d January, 1799). We read in the life of this general that the population of Naples, and especially the clergy, saw with dissatisfaction the occupation of that city by the French army. On the day on which the pretended miracle of the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius—the patron saint of the Neapolitans—is annually performed, the usual prodigy did not take place at the usual time. "It is a sign of the Divine wrath against the French occupation," said the monks. The people began to manifest hostile intentions, and things wore a threatening aspect. The general was apprised. "Go and tell the bishop," said he to one of his *aides-de-camp*, "that I make him responsible for the miracle's taking place. If in ten minutes the miracle is not wrought, his excellency will be immediately shot." It is needless to add that the liquefaction of the pretended blood of St. Januarius took place in a few moments after this message was brought to the prelate. General Championnet was a Protestant.

¹¹ The battle of the Trebbia took place from the 17th to the 19th of June, 1799. The Austrians pretend to have gained it.

¹² On 15th August.

superior forces.¹ At Carmagnole, the native population rose against the garrison, and the bravery of the Vaudois contributed much to repress the popular movement."²

However, the French were compelled to fall back. The Cossacks had entered Pignerol. The French sick and wounded, the honourable but wretched remains of the army of Verona, were conveyed away before them. "These poor creatures," says a contemporary,³ "arrived at La Tour, crowded together in a number of carts. They came from Cavour. They alighted from their carts in the great square. Bread, cheese, and wine were brought to them. Many of them suffered dreadfully. There were some whose wounds had not been dressed for more than fifteen days, because the Cossacks pursued so hard after them. M. Fissour, the surgeon, dressed many of them. But just when they were going to lodgings, a false alarm of the approach of the Cossacks, who were said to be at Les Blonats, threw them into consternation. The carts which had brought them, had gone away back to Cavour, and most of them had difficulty in dragging themselves along. Some of the people accompanied them as far as Bobi, where they arrived without money, without medicines, and without linen."

To the humanity of the pastor of Bobi, the venerable Emmanuel Rostan, and the self-denying kindness of his parishioners, these wounded Frenchmen were indebted for their being enabled to return to their native land. The following is an official declaration of this fact, in the order of the day of the commander-in-chief of the French army:⁴—

¹ At Novi the French lost 10,000 men. The Austro-Russians had 12,000 killed and 7000 wounded. But their army consisted of 70,000 men, and that of the French only of 45,000. General Joubert, who commanded it, fell.

² See the reflections of Monastier (II. 191) on this subject. A contemporary thus represents this event: "The general administration of Piedmont had taken refuge in Pignerol. . . . Four or five hundred Vaudois were despatched to that city, who supposed they would not have had to go any farther; but they were caused to march on to Noun, where they found themselves surrounded by 2000 French, who forced them to march upon Carmagnole. . . ."—(*Letter to the Count de Nieperg*, above quoted.)

³ *Mémoires de Paul Appia* (on the events which occurred from 1799 to 1816). The author of these *Mémoires* was appointed a member of the general council and *juge du paix* at La Tour. His writings are the principal source from which I have drawn for the year 1799. They were communicated to me by the venerable M. Appia, pastor of the French church at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, to whose memory I cannot sufficiently testify my grateful and respectful attachment.

⁴ General Suchet. He himself sent this order of the day to the minister, M. Rostan, with a letter which concluded thus: "The general-in-chief, citizen pastor, thinks that, in such circumstances, he can give no more sensible testimony of his satisfaction than by commending such conduct to the admiration of his army." Both documents are dated from the camp of La Pietra, 3 *Frimaire*, 1799 (24th

"Three hundred sick and wounded arrived at Bobi, in a state of the most absolute destitution, and ready to perish for want of assistance. The worthy old man Rostan and his spouse displayed upon this occasion, that noble simplicity which belongs to republicans. They had only a calf and twenty-five loaves, but these were immediately distributed amongst the sick. The generosity of this venerable old man did not stop here; he added the little wine which he had, and a few shirts, which were employed in dressing the wounds of the wounded. Towards the close of the day (it was rather some days after),¹ an alarm arose of being surprised; for the enemy were no more than four miles from Bobi. On the appearance of danger, the solicitude of citizen Rostan was awakened anew. He called upon his compatriots of the whole valley, to carry upon their shoulders" (beyond the Piedmontese frontiers),² "the 300 sick or wounded French. And this they speedily did, traversing the Col la Croix, which is one of the longest and most difficult passes of the Alps, and was still covered with snow. After ten hours of most fatiguing march they arrived at the first village of France, where the wounded were set down, who forgot their sufferings to bless their liberators; and the brave inhabitants of the valley of Lucerna, who had exhibited a courage beyond all praise, returned to their own homes. May such conduct and such devotedness be useful as an example, and find many imitators!"

This conduct, however, was alleged against the Vaudois as a crime, by their Piedmontese enemies,³ and Suwarow addressed to November, 1800). A letter from *chef du bataillon* Pressecq, local commandant at head-quarters, accompanied this communication. "I am very proud, citizen pastor," he said, "to have received from my general the honourable commission to transmit to you the accompanying packet." He then thanks him for having saved the lives of so many of their brethren in arms. "It was not in my power," he says, "to inform the general any sooner of this noble conduct, as it was only in the month of Brumaire last that I myself heard of it, and that by pure accident," &c. Rostan afterwards received a letter from the chancellor of the order of the Legion of Honour (the Baron De Lacépède), announcing that the decoration of that order was sent to him. I will state, in a subsequent part of this history, why he never received it. The following are the first lines of Suchet's order of the day:—"The general-in-chief, having been informed of the acts of humanity and republicanism performed towards the French, by the inhabitants of the valley of Lucerna, and especially by the worthy old man [*respectable vieillard*] Rostan, Protestant minister, ordains that the particulars of their praiseworthy conduct should be submitted to the grateful consideration of his army." Then follows the narrative of facts.

¹ This parenthesis is in Suchet's order. The Austro-Russians arrived at La Tour on the 3d of June and it was on the 4th of June (1799) that the wounded French were transported from Bobi to France.

² This parenthesis is not in the order of the day.

³ See Monastier, II. 192. This author has thought it his duty to take notice at

them a threatening proclamation. "People," said he, "to what party do you think to attach yourselves? Deluded men, you protect the French, the disturbers, the enemies of public tranquillity. They have declared themselves the enemies of the God-man! and the ancient attachment of your forefathers to the doctrines of Christianity . . . procured for you the protection of England. The French have declared themselves the enemies of that power; and is not that power, which is your benefactress, now our ally? &c."¹ . . . The Russian troops arrived at Pignerol. "The inhabitants of the valley of Lucerna," says Appia in his memoirs, "foreseeing that they would ere long receive a visit from them, deemed it proper to appoint deputies, who should go to meet them and treat with them."² I was one of this number, and on the 3d of June, 1799, at daybreak, having been apprised that the troops of the allies were making their appearance in great numbers on the side of Lucerna, I rose from my bed; but before I was dressed, the Cossacks were already scouring the streets of La Tour, uttering frightful *hurrahs*. They were followed by plunderers seeking to spoil us. My colleagues were absent; Peter Volle was defending his own house from robbery. James Vertu had lost the power of speech by the shock, and could not accompany me. I retraced my steps in much perturbation concerning what I had to do, for I

the bottom of this page that Marauda, in his work *Tableau du Piémont*, claims for himself the honour of this generous action, performed, as he says, by his orders. The following contemporary anecdote will show the value of this assertion. "In 1801," says Appia in his memoirs, "happening to be at Turin, I paid a visit to M. Marauda, who was then occupied in writing his *Tableau du Piémont*. 'You will intend to insert in it,' said I, 'the noble action of Rostan?' 'What is it?' said he. I told him. He was at that time ignorant of this fact; and when his work was published I was extremely surprised to see that he appropriated it, making a letter be addressed to himself, in which it was said that, under his orders, the soldiers of his corps had saved these Frenchmen. But in 1799 that corps did not exist. Marauda was then in the valley of St. Martin, having taken with him the horse of John Bonjour, of La Tour, which he never thought fit to pay, and which the Austro-Russians took from him at Pral when he was endeavouring to make his way through the pass, to retire to Abriès." It was because of the uncertainty thrown upon the noble action of the pastor of Bobi, by this claim of Marauda, that the intention of decorating the venerable Rostan was not carried into effect. Marauda himself asked the cross of honour, but his letter remained unanswered. I cannot judge of him in his military character (although the memoirs of Appia contain also this note—"Marauda acted as a double spy in 1792 and 1793"), but as a historian he is of no authority. His name would not even have been found in these pages but for the note of M. Monastier.

¹ This proclamation, which is not dated, is printed in two columns, the one in Italian and the other in French. Hahn gives it entire at p. 207 of vol. ii. of his work, *History of the Sects of the Middle Ages*.

² These deputies were—John Daniel Peyrot, James Vertu, Peter Volle of St. John, former captain of the Vaudois militia; the advocate Plochtu, although a Catholic; and Paul Appia, the author of the memoirs.

hesitated to present myself alone before 400 or 500 infuriated men, who might not be able to understand what I said. 'M. Appia, take care!' said a Catholic whom I met, 'for you have still your tricolor cockade.' I thanked him for the warning, and immediately substituted for my perilous cockade a little piece of white paper. Then raising my hands towards heaven, I prayed God to help me, and in the hope of being useful to my country, I proceeded towards the Cossacks. They had just slaughtered eight of Zimmerman's hussars. My heart trembled as if it had been suspended by a thread. They commenced plundering, and I saw them enter the shop of the brothers Long. The danger increased my courage. He is well protected whom God protects, and so committing myself into his hands, I advanced without fear towards the officer who appeared to me to be of highest rank. He asked me in German, 'Who are you, and what do you want?' I replied in the same language, that I was a magistrate of the place, and that I desired to know what he demanded of the inhabitants of La Tour. 'That they lay down their arms, and that they deliver up all the French to us.' 'No one is armed—the French are fled or slain.' 'Your name?' 'Appia.' 'Will you guarantee with your head the truth of what you say?' 'Yes, sir.' 'In that case I will cause a retreat to be sounded.' But before parting from him, I wished to be informed where his general might be found. 'There is no general,' he replied. 'Your commandant, then.' 'He is at St. John.' 'Give me a safe-conduct to go to him.' He reflected for a moment, and then said, 'You have no need of one.' He then caused a retreat to be sounded, and I went to seek my brother deputies. The two first whom I saw durst not come out, because they had heard the first officer, who made his appearance, say that the whole place was to be given up to fire and sword. I encouraged them to better hopes, and we set out on our way to St. John.

"There was fighting there, for we heard the sound of musketry. Each shot went to my heart. Arriving at Les Blonats, we were surrounded by three patrols of Croats. But we could not make them comprehend us at all. At this moment an officer made his appearance on the bridge; we waved a white handkerchief in the air; he replied to us in the same manner, and caused us to be brought to him. Having explained to him the object of our mission, he told us to go and meet him again at Lucerna, in presence of Colonel Woisach. We went thither accordingly, and were very graciously received by that officer. The first thing which I asked of him was that he would restore to liberty Peter Volle's eldest daughter, who had been taken by the soldiers. This he immediately

granted. Emboldened by my success, I asked the same favour for thirty prisoners whom we had seen in the covered market-place, but he refused. After this he said to us, 'Gentlemen, return to your houses, and tell the people to be quiet, and to resume their labours without fear.' I asked him to give me this order in writing. 'Go and write it,' said he, 'and I will sign it.' We went to the priest's house, where we wrote the order; but the colonel had already mounted his horse—we made haste to carry it to him, and he signed it on the pommel of his saddle. I then asked him for authority to establish patrols to secure us from pillage. 'Go,' he replied; 'all that you do will be approved.' And he added this authority on the note which he had signed. He spoke to us partly in Latin and partly in German. We left him very much satisfied with the result of our mission."

The author then relates that he favoured the escape of a company of French soldiers,¹ giving them guides to conduct them to Angrogna, and thence to the French territory, thus enabling them to avoid falling into the hands of their enemies.

He immediately caused a special guard to be established in each Vaudois commune.² But considering that the favour which he had obtained for the repose of the Vaudois still depended only on an inferior officer, he resolved to seek the sanction of it from the commander-in-chief. Having re-assembled his fellow-deputies, he set out with them for Pignerol. "On our arrival at Briqueras," says he, "we fell into the midst of some hundreds of Cossacks, who burned with desire to plunder us. One of them had even stretched out his hand to the bridle of my horse, but an Austrian officer caused them to let us go." At Pignerol Count Zuccato introduced the deputies to Count Denison, who commanded the advanced guard of the Austro-Russian troops. "Gentlemen," said that officer, "you come from a rebel valley; you must be placed under arrest." And he caused them to be conducted back to their hotel by a hussar, charged to keep a sharp watch over them. "This hussar," adds our author, "spoke Dutch very well. We entered into conversation. He had lived in Amsterdam, and was connected with a number of persons of my acquaintance. In a short time we were quite good friends. The inn was filled with Austrian officers, amongst whom were some wounded. They had been repulsed at

¹ Belonging to the 33d demi-brigade of the line, which General Carpentier had sent to Zimmerman from Briançon.

² The Catholics, says he, and those who hoped for pillage, could not comprehend how arms were immediately put again into the hands of a population who had just been disarmed. Accordingly they said of the Vaudois, "If the devil should come, he would presently be their friend."

Le Malanage by our people of the communities of Prarusting, Angrogna, and St. Germain, who had been posted there to cover the retreat of the provisional government. These officers regarded us with a very evil eye. There arrived, in course of the day, 10,000 or 12,000 Austro-Russians, who bivouacked in the public squares of Pignerol. These troops were destined to march against the valley of Lucerna. This distressful thought prevented me from obtaining any repose during the night. At break of day a burst of music was heard. It was a Russian regiment at prayer. A moment after there was a loud beating with the butt-end of a musket at the door of the hotel, and then at that of our chamber. It was an aid-de-camp, who came to conduct us to Prince Bagration.

"The Prince was lodged in the house of the Count de Pavia, one of our bitterest enemies. The fate of our country was perhaps to depend upon the chances of a single interview. But no; it depended upon God, and God protected us; for this Russian prince proved an angel of goodness, whose memory will always be blessed among the Vaudois. He heard with patience all that I said to him of the situation of our valleys, and I concluded by saying that I brought to him the submission of the inhabitants. 'That is good!' said he; 'have you it in writing?' 'No, my lord.' 'Well, go and write it and sign it.' When we had brought it to him we petitioned for the release of the thirty-three unhappy prisoners whom we had seen at Lucerna. 'I grant you this,' he most kindly replied. Having then gone out of doors, we saw in the square a crowd of 500 or 600 men, provided with sacks, ropes, and great baskets. 'What do these people want?' said the prince. 'To ask arms from you,' said I. 'For what purpose?' 'To ravage and plunder our valleys.' 'Let this rabble be driven off!' said he to a colonel; and a regiment of Croats very soon dispersed them.

"An officer of Nice was in the square of St. Donatus, seated at a table, where volunteers were being enrolled, and there he cried to the crowd—'*Ki veul piè parti per ender contra i Barbets?*'" (Who will enlist to march against the Vaudois?) "But as soon as he heard Bagration's order, he also disappeared."

The deputies then proceeded to the mayor's house, whither the orders of the prince were to be forwarded to them, along with passports. But before they were put into their hands they were made to sign a declaration, by which they became responsible, *with their heads*, for the tranquillity of the valleys. These worthy patriots did not hesitate to sign it. Having returned to the valleys, they learned that a horde of some hundreds of robbers had invaded the hill of Prarusting, in order to plunder it, and were already destroy-

ing by fire the quarter of Les Gay.¹ The Vaudois deputies immediately sent off a messenger to inform the prince. Bagration lost no time in putting an end to this robber-violence, and a few days afterwards he sent an express to La Tour, to ask the same deputies to return to Pignerol. "Gentlemen," said he, when he saw them, "I have been so satisfied with the candid and faithful manner in which you have acted, that I could not think to quit this city without having the pleasure of seeing you again. But this is not the only reason which has made me desire your presence; to-morrow you will be called upon to make your submission to the marshal."

Next day they set out with Count Zuccato to go to Turin, to the presence of Suwarow. "Some officers who recognized the count, said to him, 'Whence come you, Zuccato?' 'From an expedition which has ended in nothing.' 'What expedition?' 'We were to have marched to-day against the valley of Lucerna, but that country has submitted; here are the deputies.'"²

After a few hours' rest they were conducted to the palace of the marshal, who lodged in the palace of the Prince de la Cisterne; but not being able to receive them that day, he invited them to dinner next day, at eight o'clock in the morning. "Whilst we were awaiting the hour of dinner, we were introduced into the hall of the staff, where we found Colonel Contsnikow,³ and the young Prince of Gorciakow.⁴ . . . These gentlemen spoke French with a readiness which astonished me. . . . Having been introduced into the dining-room, we saw a little old man enter in a white Keyserlitz vest, white small clothes, and a little leather cap on his head; his stockings and boots loose, and coming down about his heels. . . . This was the marshal. The count took me by the hand and presented me. I was about to repeat to him orally the formal submission which had already been made in writing; but he said, 'This is not necessary; I know all.' Then he embraced me, pronouncing these words, '*Pace, amicizia, e fratellanza!*'"⁵ . . . I could not

¹ The loss sustained in this quarter was estimated at 25,000 francs.

² Before entering Turin, the count recommended the postilion to go round the city, in order to enter it by the gate of the Po, for the French still occupied the citadel, and fired on all carriages or cavalcades which entered by the Porto Nuovo. "Bah!" said the postilion (to avoid half-an-hour's ride), "they will not fire just now." "If you have no fear, then, neither have I," said Zuccato; "it is not my trade." "And the carriage dashed on at the gallop." But a wheel soon came off, and at the same moment a bullet passed over the heads of the travellers. "I am persuaded," said Appia, "that the artilleryman believed it was he who had overturned us." But this accident was followed by no bad consequences.

³ Pronounced *Consnicoff*.

⁴ Pronounced *Gortshakoff*.

⁵ *Peace, friendship, and fraternity.* "The true salutation of a Jacobin!" adds the author. (P. 41 of the MS.)

help remembering that this man who received us so well, was the same cruel general who had caused the suburb of Praga, at Warsaw, to be destroyed by fire and sword; and I trembled when I thought that we might have had the same fate.

"After this a servant came, bringing him a large glass of brandy, which he drunk off at a draught. A moment after the same servant brought him a plate, on which were a dozen large radishes, with salt and oil. He crunched them with his fleshless gums as easily as if he had still had young teeth. Then he approached me, put three of them into my left hand, and caused a glass of brandy to be handed to me. When we had finished our radish, he said to us, 'Gentlemen, what religion are you of? Do you say *thou* or *you* to the good God?' When we had told him our religion, he turned to an old Danish general and said to him, 'Pray for these gentlemen.' The general clasped his hands and commenced a prayer with much unction. But it seemed that Suwarow did not approve of it, for, laying his hand upon his arm, he interrupted him, and began himself to recite one to him, which the Danish general repeated, sentence by sentence, and without varying a word. The spectators of this singular scene had much difficulty in restraining themselves from laughter. When it was over the marshal said to us, 'Now, let us take our places at table.'"

After dinner he informed the Vaudois deputies that they were to go to pay their respects to the president of the supreme council.¹ Count Zuccato introduced them. "Your excellency!" said he, "here are three Vaudois deputies." . . . But the president did not give him time to say any more. Rising in a rage like that of a madman, he said, "These fellows are from a rebel valley; their hearts are rotten!" "You may judge how we felt," writes Appia. "The president came and planted himself right opposite to us; and, in our perplexity, not knowing what complaints he could have against us, we knew not what to answer to his coarse inculpation. But the good Count Zuccato did not allow himself to be brow-beaten, and firmly answered, 'These gentlemen are respectable persons, to whom their country is much indebted. Moreover, they are under the immediate protection of Marshal Suwarow.' At this formidable name the president stood for a moment disconcerted—his lips trembled, and all his features spoke his rage that the expedition against the valleys had come to nought."² It was said that

¹ This was Count Thaun, de Saint-André, Marquis de Revel. The council met in the palace of the Place de St. Charles.

² It was known at Turin that an expedition had set out against the valleys. The Vaudois who dwelt in that capital were in consternation. I happened to

he had suggested it; he was therefore doubly irritated. However, when he was informed how we had been received by the marshal, he excused himself three times over, and concluded by inviting us to dinner, to make us, as he said, *forget his stupidity*." It may readily be understood that the Vaudois were not anxious to accept such an invitation. They hastened to return to the valleys, to give an account of the result of their mission, by a circular which was sent to all the communes.

Not very long after this, thirty or forty Cossacks, commanded by a lieutenant, were sent and stationed at La Tour. "The glut-tony of these troops is unparalleled," says the author of the memoirs just quoted.¹ "These soldiers often brought in from the country green walnuts, and grapes scarcely formed; all which they put into their pot, with the provisions which were given them, and added candle-ends for seasoning. I saw them make this admirable porridge in their quarters, but they never chose to lodge in a house. Their suspicion was extreme. They lay indiscriminately amongst their horses. In the morning, at break of day, they turned towards the east and performed their devotions with a multitude of signs of the cross. The reverence which they showed to their superiors is incredible.² They would even approach them on their knees to kiss their boots, after having been beaten with the knout. They were enthusiasts in their admiration of Suwarow. One evening, having invited their lieutenant, whose name was Kitow,³ to supper, along with the interpreter, who was a Bohemian, I asked him a question about the marshal. Immediately Kitow rose, drew his sabre, took it between his teeth, took a pistol in each hand, and raising them above his head, cried with a tremendous voice, notwithstanding the sabre which he was biting, '*O Suwarof! Suwarof!*' My wife and children were in mortal fear of him."

I omit many details, amongst which are some relative to a rash enterprise of Maraуда, which had well-nigh entailed ruin upon his country. Having raised in France an irregular troop of some hun-

meet Malanot in the *Rue des Ambassadeurs*; "O heavens!" said he, "how are you here?" "I come from La Tour." "Do the Vaudois valleys still subsist?" &c. . . . (*Paul Appia's Memoirs*.)

¹ These details are of no great historic value; but they are so characteristic of the scene which we have been contemplating, that I could not think of suppressing them.

² "When their colonel (Stadion) sent me a letter, the Cossack to whom it was intrusted brought it to me immediately, and whatever was the hour of the night when it arrived, he caused me to rise that he might put it into my hands, and that I might sign a receipt for it. I wrote my name in the register of the post in great Greek capitals, and then they were able to read it, &c. . . ." (Same memoirs.)

³ Pronounced *Kitoff*.

dreds of men, he came by the Col la Croix to attack the Cossacks quartered at La Tour. He was repulsed; but he was a Vaudois; it was believed that there was some understanding between his compatriots and him; they were accused of treason; and the deputies, who had guaranteed with their heads the tranquillity of the valleys, had well-nigh lost their lives. Some of them were arrested; others fled.¹ The Divine protection still furnished them, upon this occasion, with the means of justifying themselves, and their anxieties were allayed.

The malevolence of their enemies was not so readily appeased. Whilst the Count de Denison still commanded at Pignerol, he wrote one day to the representatives of the valleys, and to Appia personally, that revolutionary conferences were held at La Tour. Appia hastened to present himself before the commandant, to persuade him of the contrary. He found him much irritated. "I am better informed than you think," said Denison to him; "I know the members of your club"—and he named them.² "I can assure you," replied the deputy, "that not only have you been basely deceived concerning the formation of this pretended club, but that amongst the persons who have been named there are not two, perhaps, who have met with one another for a year past." "Whence then come these accusations?" said the count. "It would rather be for me to ask you that question," replied Appia. "Let that pass," said the count; "but what is the reason of this hatred of which you are the objects? for there is not a day but some priest comes to besiege my gate, to stir me up against you."³

"Prince Bagration had already told me the same thing," observes Appia in his memoirs. "And when General Wukassovich arrived at Pignerol, in 1799, a canon of that city exerted himself to irritate him against the Vaudois by the falsest accusations. We made haste," says Appia, "to draw up a defence of our conduct since the 3d of June, and to carry it to him. He was able to satisfy himself of the accuracy of the statements. But he then added—'I have here, in the prisons, one of your mountaineers, who attempted to kill one of my sergeants by a pistol shot.' I was acquainted with the case. 'General!' said I, 'the man you speak of is no

¹ In connection with this, Appia relates the particulars of his escape to France; but they are so purely personal, that I cannot give them a place here.

² Lauzaro, reader and precentor at Bobi; Peyrot, pastor at Rora; Frache of La Tour; Brezzi, &c.

³ The deputy having explained to the commandant that this hatred was occasioned by difference of religion, Denison exclaimed, "Good God! is that possible? We live on the best terms with the Kalmucks, and yet they are idolaters!" "Yes," said Appia, "but you are not Catholics!" (*Paul Appia's Memoirs.*)

Vaudois; he is a Catholic of Lucernette.' Having acknowledged the correctness of our representations, Wukassovich sent us away, saying, 'Go, and keep yourselves quiet. My conduct will be regulated according to your moderation.' One winter day," proceeds the narrator—"it was in December, 1799—Colonel Papius came to my house, accompanied by a number of officers. He said to me, 'We are informed, sir, that the Vaudois wish to poison us, or to deliver us to the French.' I was struck dumb for a moment. My indignation could not be expressed. But God gave calmness. I caused my three children to be brought, of whom the eldest was only nine years of age, and I said to the colonel, 'These, sir, are my children; they are dearer to me than my life; take them for hostages; and if you receive a single scratch from a Vaudois, do with them what you think proper.'" The words of a noble-minded citizen who knew his compatriots well, and showed himself most worthy to represent them! The officers went away re-assured, and left him his children; but this incident of modern history is also worthy of the noblest days of ancient Italy.

I will go no farther: facts accumulate and carry me beyond my limits. Notwithstanding all my efforts to abridge, I feel as if the plan of this work were giving way under the pressure of the multiplied events which must be included in it. I hope the dryness of the following pages, in which the necessity of extreme conciseness permits me to insert nothing but what belongs to the subject of the chapter, may be compensated by the more animated details of these.

Napoleon returned from Egypt;¹ he dissolved the directory,² organized the senate,³ received the title of First Consul,⁴ re-constituted the tribunals,⁵ the administration,⁶ and the army.⁷ It required his powerful hand to reconstruct, in so short a time, the France that was to be, from the ruins of the France that had been. On the 6th of May, 1800, he set out from Paris to put himself at the head of the army of the Alps. Ten days afterwards he led them across the snows of the St. Bernard. Scarcely had one week elapsed till Suza, Yvrée, and La Brunette were already in his hands. On the 2d of June he was at Milan.

The whole of the allied troops opposed to him were assembled in the plain of Alexandria. He marched thither, and defeated them at Montébello;⁸ but it seemed as if victory was to desert

¹ From 24th August to 16th October, 1799.

² On 10th November.

³ On 24th December.

⁴ On 13th December.

⁵ On 17th March, 1800.

⁶ On 17th February, 1800.

⁷ From 10th November, 1799, to 27th April, 1800.

⁸ On 9th June. He made 6000 Austrians prisoners.

his hitherto victorious army,¹ at Marengo. "It was three o'clock in the afternoon; all the generals regarded the battle as lost. In the belief that the French army was routed, Zach manœuvred to cut off its retreat. 'Soldiers!' exclaimed Napoleon, 'we must sleep upon the field of battle!' At the same moment, he gave orders to advance. The artillery was unmasked, and kept up a terrible fire for ten minutes; the enemy paused in astonishment; the drums beat for a charge at the same moment along the whole line; and that impulse which communicates itself like flame to the hearts of brave men, carried them on at the voice of their general. Desaix arrived with his division, calm and intrepid; and the enemy who thought to cut off our retreat, found his own left turned. At this moment, Bonaparte ordered the cavalry to pass through the intervals at gallop. This bold manœuvre decided the victory. The Austrians gave way everywhere. The ardour of our troops increased; they seized upon Marengo. . . . The battle was won."²

The whole of Piedmont and of Lombardy thus fell again under the influence of France, and the Cisalpine Republic was immediately proclaimed. "This event," says M. Monastier,³ "in which, moreover, the Vaudois had no part, made their position such as it had never been before, and such as they had never ventured to hope that it would become. In one day, and as if by enchantment, they saw all the prohibitive laws abolished, under which they had so long groaned. The barrier which separated them from other citizens was broken down. A field was opened up to their unfettered activity, in which their enlightenment and their industry could be rendered available. From having been despised pariahs, they passed to the enjoyment of the same political rank with their haughtiest persecutors. And, what was more precious to them than all the rest, they were now to enjoy without impediment, that religious liberty for which they had struggled during three centuries."

In the following chapter, we shall see them in this new position.

¹ The capture of Nice (29th May), of Novara (30th May), of Turbigo (31st May), of Pavia (3d June), of Lodi (4th June), of Cremona (5th June), and of Placenza (7th June), preceded the battle of Marengo.

² An extract from a writing of Marshal Lannes, quoted in the history of Napoleon, by Hugo, pp. 154-158. The battle of Marengo took place on the 14th of June. An armistice was signed on the 15th; and the treaty of Alexandria, which gave up Piedmont and Lombardy to France, was concluded on the 16th of June, 1800. Next day, the 17th, Napoleon was on his way back to Milan.

³ II., 190.

CHAPTER XXII.

STATE OF THE VAUDOIS UNDER THE DOMINION OF FRANCE.¹

(A.D. 1799 TO A.D. 1814.)

The two periods of French dominion in Piedmont—Ridiculous proclamation of the provisional government of 1798—The new organization and political arrangements—Changes favourable to the Vaudois and to liberty—Addresses of Paul Appia to his Vaudois brethren—The English subsidies withdrawn from the Vaudois—Distress of the pastors—Peyrani chosen moderator—Napoleon at Milan—Interview of Peyrani with the emperor—New ecclesiastical arrangements—Congratulatory address of the Vaudois to Napoleon—Official installation of pastors under the new French law—Earthquake of 1808—Downfall of Napoleon, and of the French empire.

PIEDMONT was united to France on the 2d of February, 1799; it escaped from the dominion of that country in the month of June of the same year, but fell under it again after the victory of Marengo, in June, 1800. This chapter, therefore, includes two periods, in which the authority of France extended over the Vaudois valleys; the first of which contains the first six months of 1799, and the second commences a year afterwards, and continues to the restoration of the old powers, in 1814. The intermediate year (from June, 1799, to June, 1800) presents to our view the invasion by the Austro-Russian troops, of which we have spoken separately, in order not to interrupt the exhibition of the events now before us, by an event of a different kind.

Charles Emmanuel IV. retired to Cagliari on 9th December, 1798; on the same day, a provisional government was appointed;² and next day there appeared, with the signature of Eymar,³ and under the eyes of Joubert,⁴ a proclamation in which it was said—"People! . . . the dawn of reason has appeared on your horizon, along with the French army. . . . The names of a Joubert, an Eymar, a Grouchy, will be the eternal *objects of tenderness* and admiration to all grateful hearts." The bombastic vanity of

¹ AUTHORITIES.—The same as in the preceding chapter. Also, *Raccolta delle leggi, providenze e manifesti, emanati dai governi francese e provvisorio, e dalla municipalità di Torino, &c.* . . . 2 vols. 4to, the first of 320, and the second of 240 pages.—*Fortunes of the Vaudois during and since the French Revolution* . . . by John Valer (in German), Berlin, 1820.—*Synodal Acts of the Vaudois Church*.—*Consistorial Archives*, 1800-1814.—Private documents.

² Composed of thirteen members.

³ Signing: *Vu, au nom de gouvernement français.*

⁴ Commander-in-chief of the French army then in Italy.

such a document, extorts a smile of contempt. But more serious measures succeeded these declamatory sentences.

All the old administrative authorities were provisionally maintained. All titles of nobility gave place to the common designation of citizen.¹ Various decrees were soon issued for the organization of the municipalities,² and of national guards,³ and for the regulation of the public finances.⁴ All temporal power was taken from the church.⁵ The civil law ceased to maintain the irrevocability of ecclesiastical vows;⁶ and finally, the new government, "considering that difference of religion ought not to introduce, amongst the citizens of a free people, any difference of rights or of duties," decreed that for the future, *Protestants should enjoy the same prerogatives with Catholics.*⁷ Torture and the Inquisition were abolished;⁸ the right of asylum in churches was suppressed,⁹ and unlimited freedom of the press established.¹⁰ At the same time, it was resolved that the magnificent chapel of the Superga, built upon a hill at the gates of Turin, should, like the Pantheon at Paris, be "destined to receive, under the name of the *Temple of Gratitude*, the remains of citizens who had deserved well of their country," without distinction of religion.¹¹ The *College of Nobles*, the *Tribunal of Apanages*, and the orders of the *Nonciata* and *St. Maurice* disappeared by one stroke.¹² Piedmont was united to France,¹³ and the national guards of the valley of Lucerna were assembled at La Tour,¹⁴ to take the oath of fidelity to the constitution, around the tree of liberty.

The commandant of Pignerol attended upon this occasion.¹⁵ Paul Appia, the author of the memoirs so often quoted in the preceding chapter, having been elected by his fellow-citizens a municipal officer, delivered a fervent oration. "Citizens and brethren," said he, "we are now enrolled under the standard of liberty; arms are not given you to make you quit your homes, but that you may defend them—that you may watch over the public tranquillity—

¹ Decree of 10th December, 1793.

² On 15th December.

³ On 18th December.

⁴ On 21st December. By this decree the *intendancies* were abolished, and in their stead a *council of the public finances* was established in each province.

⁵ Decree of 19th December, 1793.

⁶ Same decree.

⁷ Decree of 31st December, 1793.

⁸ *Torture*, by decree of 17th December, 1793; and the *Inquisition*, by that of 28th January, 1799.

⁹ By decree of 6th January, 1799. This right of asylum was of use only to criminals, whose impunity it favoured.

¹⁰ On 17th January.

¹¹ Decree of 6th January.

¹² By decree of 1st and 10th February, 1799.

¹³ By decree of 2d February, 1799.

¹⁴ On 20th January, 1799.

¹⁵ General Niboyet.

that you may rid the country of any one who would assail the life or property of citizens. . . . I invite you to banish from this time forth, as brethren, all hatreds and party spirit. . . . Thus will those infamous informers disappear, who dishonour and trouble society. . . . When he must accuse any one, the true republican is not afraid to put his own name, like the Scythian, on the arrow which he shoots. . . . Citizens! consider seriously the greatness of the promises which you have just made. You have sworn to be obedient to the laws—to respect your superiors, and to obey them, and to banish despotism under whatsoever form it may present itself. Let this henceforth be the motto for all of you alike, *To live freemen, or to die!* Hurrah for the Republic! [*Vive la République!*]¹

"O Vaudois! O my dear countrymen!" exclaimed he at a later period,² "who has more reason than we to cherish this liberty? We shall no more see those unhappy times, when soldiers and executioners were the logicians whom kings sent against us; when superstition and fanaticism brooded over schemes of vengeance, and sharpened poignards to stab our brethren. But let us draw a curtain over the past. Instructed in the holy religion which teaches us to pardon, let us invite all our compatriots, of whatsoever way of thinking, to unite with us, that all may form one and the same family, and all may labour together for the prosperity of the country, so that it may always be said, These mountains are inhabited by a virtuous people, the enemies of luxury and of all the passions which corrupt the hearts of men."³

After having attended to the military and administrative organization of the country, the provisional government appointed a commission, "for the purpose of collecting in the national archives and libraries, all the documents which might be deemed useful for the composition of a national history."⁴ It appointed also a com-

¹ These extracts are considerably abridged. The address was printed entire at Pignerol, by Scott, under the title, *Discours prononcé aux quinze compagnies de garde nationale de la vallée de Lucerne . . . ce 1er pluviôse, an VII. de la République française, et le 1er de la liberté piémontaise, par Paul Appia, officier municipal.* (Hahn quotes some larger fragments of it. *Geschichte der Waldenser*, &c., pp. 204-206.)

² In 1808, being then *juge de paix* at La Tour.

³ *Mémoire historico-statistique sur les Vaudois . . . ou réponses aux questions qui ont été adressées à Paul Appia, membre du conseil général et juge de paix à La Tour, par M. Alexandre Lameth, préfet du Pô, par ordre de Son Excellence M. le ministre de l'intérieur, en 1808.* MS. of 26 folio pages, communicated by M. Appia of Frankfort. (Quoted by Hahn, p. 206.)

⁴ By decree of 26th February, 1799. This project has been partly realized in our days, by the commission of the *Monumenta patriæ*.

mission of sciences and arts, of which the moderator of the Vaudois churches (Peter Geymet) was nominated a member.¹ The Archbishop of Turin himself recommended order and forbearance,² notwithstanding the abolition of the ecclesiastical tithes.³ By a decree of the 3d of April, 1799, Piedmont was divided into departments; and the valleys were included in the department of the Po, called at first that of the Eridan. Its administration was confided to a central commission, of which likewise Geymet was nominated a member.⁴

But the coalition formed against France had already re-animated the hopes of the partizans of the ancient regime. The Austro-Russian armies approached Piedmont. A decree was published, prohibiting under pain of death, the cry, *Vive le roi!*⁵ The defenders of liberty had not learned even to respect the liberty of sympathies. It was to render themselves unworthy of exciting them; it was to compromise the dignity of their fall, now soon to take place.

The allies speedily entered Turin.⁶ The provisional government removed its seat to Pignerol; but the Austrians and Russians followed hard after it, and it took refuge in the fort of Fenestrelle. Perhaps, even this might have fallen into the hands of the enemy, had it not been for the bravery of the Vaudois, who exposed their lives to arrest the Austro-Russian forces, at the defile of Malanage.

The re-actionary Piedmontese, and the special enemies of the Vaudois, endeavoured to organize an expedition for the purpose of wasting the Vaudois valleys by fire and sword. Twelve thousand men had already arrived at Pignerol for this object; and we have seen, in the preceding chapter, how Providence permitted this calamity to be warded off by the patriotism and prudence of the men who became answerable with their heads, for the tranquillity of these countries.

"After the battle of Marengo," says Appia in his memoirs,⁷ "Piedmont was inundated with French troops, whom it was necessary to supply with provisions, notwithstanding their great price, for the sack of wheat was then sold as high as five louis, and other things in proportion. Our communes were burdened with

¹ This commission was instituted by decree of 27th February, 1799. It was at first composed of fifteen members; and by decree of 29th December, ten more were added to them. It was this last decree which nominated Geymet.

² Mandatory of 14th March, 1799.

³ By decree of 31st March.

⁴ By decree of 3d April, signed *Musset, commissaire du gouvernement*.

⁵ By decree of 14th May.

⁶ Towards the end of May. But the citadel did not surrender till the 20th of June.

⁷ P. 57.

an exaction every ten days, which much exceeded their feeble resources. It consisted of money, hay, wood, straw, wine, and provisions. Not being able to meet this demand, the communes sent a deputation to Turin, to General Chabrand, in order to obtain exemption from it; and in consideration of the services which we had rendered, he discharged the Vaudois from that extraordinary tax."

Napoleon passed seven days in Milan,¹ occupied in re-organizing the Cisalpine Republic,² and in opening relations with the court of Rome.³ In the midst of these great affairs, however, the Vaudois church was completely forgotten. "The financial position of the pastors," says M. Monastier,⁴ "became in these circumstances extremely critical. The royal subsidy from England, which formed the greater part of their slender stipends, had been withdrawn from them, on their becoming subject to France. The English national subsidy continued to come to them, but irregularly.⁵ The share of each minister amounted to about 500 francs. This was their whole salary, certainly insufficient for the wants of a family. The devoted attachment of their parishioners caused them to make an effort to supplement it. In more than one locality, the elders of the church went from house to house, begging the bread of which the pastor stood in want. On hearing of such great necessities, the executive commission of Piedmont adopted measures, which were well intended, but not very politic."

It began by reducing the number of Catholic parishes in the Vaudois valleys from twenty-eight to thirteen.⁶ Then, "considering that notwithstanding the oppression to which the Vaudois have been subjected for so many centuries, . . . they have always shown themselves *warmly attached to the Piedmontese nation*

¹ From 17th to 24th June, 1800.

² Which afterwards took the name of the *Italian Republic*, and of which he was named president on 26th January, 1802.

³ Rome then belonged to the King of Naples. Pius VI., carried away from his metropolis and transported to Valence in 1798, had died in that city in course of the same year. A conclave of thirty-five cardinals had been assembled for some months in Venice, to appoint a successor. A skilful policy directed the choice of Cardinal Chiaramonti, Bishop of Imola, who in his diocese (then united to the Cisalpine Republic), had delivered a homily full of moderation and almost of sympathy for liberal ideas. He was elected under the name of Pius VII. It was with him that Napoleon concluded the *concordat* (15th July, 1801) which regulated the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in France.—But Pius VII. likewise wished at a future period to re-establish the Jesuits and to resist Napoleon, whom he excommunicated (1809); he in his turn was carried away from the Vatican (6th July, same year) and did not re-enter his dominions till the Restoration (1814). He died in 1829.

⁴ II., 194.

⁵ Also the subsidy granted by the Walloon churches, for the Latin school.

⁶ Decree of 27 Brumaire, year IX. (18th November, 1800).

—that, in the disastrous campaign of the year VII. (1799), they covered a part of the French army,¹ and that they no longer receive the English subsidy, destined to the support of their pastors”—the executive commission decreed that the whole revenues of the suppressed Catholic parishes should be paid over to them; that the hospital of Pignerol, destined till then to facilitate the carrying off of their children, and the catholization of the necessitous members of their church, should also, with all its revenues, be placed under the management of the Vaudois Table; and, finally, that the Vaudois should be *declared worthy of national gratitude*.² Shortly afterwards, the valley of Lucerna received the name of *Val-Felis*, from the name of the torrent which flows through it; and that of St. Martin was called *Val-Balsille*, in commemoration of the heroic defence made by Arnaud and his valiant troop of mountaineers, at the time of the glorious return of the Vaudois to their native country, in 1689 and 1690. Each of the thirteen actual Vaudois pastors was, moreover, confirmed in the post which he occupied, and called to take the oath of fidelity to the constitution.³

During this interval, however, the moderator of the Vaudois churches had been appointed sub-prefect at Pignerol.⁴ He convoked the synod of these churches, in order to demit his office of moderator, for his discharge of the duties of which he received the thanks of the meeting of synod.⁵ John Rodolph Peyrani was elected in his stead. “The meeting,” it is said, “being deeply impressed with a sense of the benefits which have been so largely bestowed upon the Vaudois by the republican government, expresses its gratitude for them, and vows an inviolable attachment to the sacred cause of liberty.”⁶ And afterwards, “considering that irreligion

¹ By arresting the Austro-Russian forces at Le Malanage, and thus favouring the retreat of the provisional government to Fenestrelle.

² Decree of 28 Brumaire, in the year IX. (19th November, 1800). The provisions of this decree were renewed by that of 13 Nivôse, in the year IX. (3d January, 1801). The latter decree suppressed, moreover, the Catholic parish of Prarusting, with reservation of the revenues to the priest who then served the cure, but appointing that after the death of that ecclesiastic, the revenues of his parish should also pass to the Vaudois churches.—The Catholics of St. John petitioned against the suppression of their parish, which had been united to that of Lucerna; and the executive commission re-established it, assigning to the priest of it, *pro tempore*, the church, the parsonage house, and the meadow attached to it, with a yearly allowance of 800 livres, to be taken from the national exchequer. (Decree of 14 Germinal, in the year X.—4th April, 1801.)—The donation of this national property to the Vaudois was ratified by the decrees of 11 and 22 Germinal, in the year X. (12th and 23d April, 1801).

³ Decree of 18 Germinal, in the year X. (8th April, 1802). ⁴ In May, 1801.

⁵ Synod of 1st, 2d, and 3d June, 1801, § i.

⁶ Same Synod, § ii.

is the product of this age, which calls itself philosophical, and not being able to conceal from themselves that the vices which are the consequences of it, make progress daily, the meeting, strongly persuaded and convinced that religion is the firmest bond of society, and that it alone can make man happy, enlarge his ideas, perfect his reason, and destroy or weaken vice, resolved that a day of extraordinary fasting and humiliation shall be kept, according to the ancient custom of the Vaudois church.”¹ It was in this synod that the ancient evangelical churches of the French Alps enjoyed the privilege of being admitted to form thenceforth part of the same body with those of the valleys of Piedmont.²

Meanwhile, Charles Emmanuel IV. had abdicated his eventual rights to the throne of Sardinia, in favour of his brother, Victor Emmanuel.³ Napoleon had been named President of the Italian Republic,⁴ then Emperor of the French,⁵ and finally, King of Italy.⁶ When he went to Milan, to place the iron crown upon his head, he received at Turin a deputation of the Vaudois Table.⁷ “Are you one of the Protestant clergy of this country?” said he to Peyrani, who was the speaker of the deputation. “Yes, sire; and moderator of the Vaudois church.” “Are you schismatics from the Church of Rome?” “Not schismatics, but separate.” Then the emperor, suddenly changing the conversation, as if something had just occurred to his recollection, said to him, “You have had

¹ Minute of Synod of 1801, § xiii.

² Ibid, § iii.—These churches were represented by Pastor Monnet.—They were those of St. Véran, Fonsillarde, Molines, Arvieux, La Chalp, and Brunissard.

³ In 1802.—Charles Emmanuel IV. died at Rome in 1819; and his brother, who in 1814 took the title of Victor Emmanuel IV., abdicated in 1821, in favour of a third brother, named Charles Felix.

⁴ On 26th January, 1802.

⁵ He was crowned on 2d December, 1804.

⁶ Crowned, 26th May, 1805, at Milan.

⁷ In June, 1805.—All the historians who have spoken of this interview place it in the year 1797. It cannot have taken place at that date, for the King of Sardinia did not abdicate till 1798; and the Vaudois never made a spontaneous submission to a foreign power, whilst the sceptre of their legitimate sovereign was still extended over them. Moreover, I find no occasion in 1797, nor in the following years till 1805, upon which Bonaparte could have received a Vaudois deputation at Turin. Again, it appears that Peyrani said to him, “Sire, I am moderator of the Vaudois church.” Now, a style proper only to crowned heads could not have been used to Napoleon in 1797, as he was not crowned till 1804. Nor could Peyrani have called himself moderator in 1797, as he was not appointed to that office till 1801. Finally, a letter addressed by Peyrani to M. de Portalis in May, 1805, contains the following: “A Vaudois deputation having had the honour to be presented to his imperial and royal majesty on his passage at Turin, and having informed him of the circumstances of the churches which they represented, received orders from him to apply to your excellency, to ask their organization,” &c. . . . This agrees exactly with the particulars of the interview, which must have taken place in June, 1805.

brave men among you!" "Yes, sire; Arnaud, the pastor and colonel who conducted our ancestors back to their own country." "Your mountains are the best defenders you can have. Cæsar had difficulty in passing through your defiles. Is Arnaud's Return accurate?" "Yes, sire; but we believe that our people were aided by Providence." "How long have you formed an independent church?" "From the days of Claude, Bishop of Turin, about the year 820." "What stipend have your clergy?" "We have no fixed stipend."¹ "Had you not a pension from England?" "Yes, sire; the kings of Great Britain have always been our protectors and benefactors, till recently." "How is that?" "The royal pension has been suppressed, since we became subjects of your majesty." "Are you organized?"² "No, sire." "Present a memorial; send it to Paris, and you will obtain this organization immediately."³

The moderator having returned to the valleys, lost no time in convoking the mayors and pastors of all the Vaudois communes to a public meeting, to be held in the open air, at St. John, in the square of Les Blonats.⁴ Each pastor and each mayor was asked to append his signature to the letter of convocation, to attest his knowledge of it, and to give his consent to the proposed conference.⁵ When the meeting was assembled, Peyrani submitted to it—(1) The draft of a petition to the minister of worship,⁶ to ask of him an ecclesiastical organization, in accordance with the new law. (2) A plan of organization by which the Vaudois parishes were grouped into five consistorial parishes, to preserve to them the right of having a synod of their own.⁷ In this document are to be found these sentences:—

"Down to the time when Piedmont was finally united to France,

¹ Even the revenues granted to the Vaudois by the executive commission (18th November, 1800, and 3d January, 1801) were suspended by the sequestration of the national domains.—Decree of 4 Germinal, in the year X. (25th March, 1805).

² To understand this question, and more especially the answer to it, it must be borne in mind that an organic law for the Protestant churches of France, had been passed on the 18 Germinal, in the year X. (24th April, 1802); and that some years elapsed before the new organization was everywhere established.

³ These particulars are related by Gilly, *Waldensian Researches*, pp. 80, 82;—Blair, *History of the Waldenses*, vol. ii.;—Sims, *Oeuvres de Peyrani*; Hahn, *Geschichte der Wald.*, p. 12;—Acland, *Sketch of the History and present Situation of the Waldenses*;—Monastier, II., 189, &c.—See the Bibliography.

⁴ The letter of convocation is dated 26th May (it is signed by all the members of the Table); the day of meeting was fixed for 30th May, 1805.

⁵ It bears the signatures only of eight pastors and eight mayors.

⁶ M. Portalis.—This petition was accompanied by a topographical description of the Vaudois churches, according to the terms of the law of organization.

⁷ In accordance with art. XIII. of the law of 18 Germinal, year X. (*Titre II. sect. 1.*).

we enjoyed the privilege of assembling in synod, to frame regulations for ourselves. Having learned from the concordat the form of organization which the Protestant churches of the empire must assume—which we resemble, although we were never reformed—we regret to perceive that the number of our parishes will with difficulty admit of the five consistorial churches requisite to form the district of a synod. However, my lord, upon account of isolation, we venture to solicit a slight exception to the rule,"¹ &c. . . .

The assembly adopted these papers, and also (3) a memorial intended to be presented to the minister of the interior, and the finance minister. In this memorial, after having recounted the principal facts of their eventful history, the Vaudois stated, that the resources which they derived from England had been cut-off, since the incorporation of Piedmont with France; that the bursaries established at Geneva, Lausanne, and Basle, in favour of students from the valleys, had been suspended; that the revenues of the national domains granted to them by the decree of 28 Brumaire, in the year IX., had also been taken from them by the sequestration of these domains.² In consequence of all this, they asked that the government should provide in a regular manner for the maintenance of their pastors, and that the sequestered domains should again be placed at their disposal, that their revenues might be entirely devoted to the purposes of public instruction in the valleys.³

All these papers having been addressed to M. Mestrezat, president of the consistory of Paris, to be by him presented to the different ministers concerned, it was replied that the number of the Vaudois parishes would not admit of more than three consistorial churches—that it was difficult to allow them to retain the national domains—and that the stipends of the pastors (determined by the amount of the population) could not, in the valleys, be higher than the

¹ It was proposed to form five consistorial churches, in the following manner:—I. Bobi, Villar, and Rora. II. La Tour, St. John, and Angrogna. III. St. Germain, Pramol, and Pomaret. IV. Ville Sèche, Maneille, Macel, Pral, and Rodoret. V. Prarusting, Rocheplate, Pignerol, and the localities of the plain in which there were scattered Protestants.

² In consequence of a decree which suspended all sale or donation of these domains, until new inquiries were made into the subject. (Decree of 4 Germinal, in the year XIII.—25th March, 1805.)—"These revenues amounted," says the memorial, "to an annual sum of 10,000 francs, including the interest due by a number of creditors in different communes, of which, however, nothing could ever be obtained." (Words of the memorial.)

³ This paper is signed by all the pastors of the valleys without exception—by the mayors of all the Vaudois communes, also without exception—and by Paul Appia and John Daniel Peyrot, with this title, *deputy of Val-Pellis*.—In all, twenty-eight signatures.

third class. "However," it was added, "the prefect of the Po (M. La Villa) is well inclined towards you; and the minister will ask from him more exact information concerning the Vaudois valleys."¹

It will be seen from this, that this business threatened to become protracted. Napoleon, having been crowned at Milan on 26th May, proceeded thereafter to Genoa, in order to effect the annexation of that country to France. He returned to Turin.² The moderator, having obtained a new audience, presented a congratulatory address, and reminded him of the necessities of the church. "It is to you, sire," said he—"it is to the prodigies of valour and heroism, to the power of genius which presides over the destinies of the world—that this small body of people which has escaped from the ravages of time and the rage of intolerance, owes the blessing of its political existence, and the assurance that its altars will henceforth be protected."³ Therefore, the name of your majesty is often mentioned in our prayers. . . . Exposed for centuries to all the storms of fanaticism, . . . the Protestants of our valleys have, at different periods, been spoiled of their goods, . . . or banished from the land which was red with the blood of their martyrs. . . . England came to the help of our wandering families and desolated churches. . . . Our sanctuaries were rebuilt; the caves and rocks again resounded with our hymns, and a royal subsidy conveyed to us annually the fruit of the piety of the British court. . . . The new political institutions which have been given us have caused an abatement of this interest taken in us by Great Britain, and the royal subsidy has been suppressed. . . . Our valleys have served as an asylum for the remains of the army of Verona. . . . But a painful feeling mingles with the delight which the arrival of your majesty creates in our mountains. A report has been spread that you are about to deprive us of the national domains. . . . Be pleased, sire, to confirm them to us by an imperial decree, . . . which will engrave for ever on our hearts an eternal, admiring, and grateful recollection of your august mightiness."⁴

¹ Lettre of M. Mestrezat, dated from Paris, 1 Messidor, year XIII. (20th June, 1805).—The letter of the minister demanding information is of 29 Prairial (18th June).

² About the end of June, 1805.

³ I give mere extracts from this address, and these of the best parts; for it abounds in such phrases as this: "with the same hands with which you have flung the thunderbolt . . . you have raised up the standards of philosophy and of a religion which commends itself to all . . . which makes men happy without staining the earth with blood." "A philosophical government, the friend of men, rises on the ruins of a superstitious court," &c. . . .

⁴ This document is not dated.—A letter of 4 Messidor, of the year XII. (24th June, 1804), addressed by the prefect of the Po to the sub-prefect of Pignerol,

No sooner had Napoleon returned to Paris than he demanded information concerning the nature and value of the national domains which had been assigned to the Vaudois by the executive commission;¹ and without even awaiting the arrival of that information, he continued to the Vaudois pastors the endowment which they had thus received,² without prejudice to the stipend allowed them by the state.³ At the same time he signed the imperial decree⁴

said, "The minister of the interior has just transmitted a duplicate of the decree of 15 Germinal last (5th April, 1804), by which the government has fixed the stipend to be allowed to the pastors," &c. . . . This relates to the pastors of France in general. All that was done at this time was to inquire into the circumstances of the Vaudois parishes.

¹ By decrees of 23 Brumaire, 13 Nivôse, 11 and 22 Germinal, of the year IX. (19th November, 1800; 3d January, 12th and 23d April, 1801).—The minister demanded from the prefect of Turin, a statement of the domains granted to the Vaudois, by letter of 17 Thermidor, of the year XIII. (6th August, 1805).—The prefect wrote to the same purpose to M. Geymet, 29 Thermidor (18th August); the sub-prefect to the pastors, 4 Fructidor (22d August). And the information demanded was prepared on 5 Fructidor (23d August) by the officers of the *Vaudois Table*, and sent off on the 6th, in a report which showed the nature, origin, extent, value, management, and revenue of these domains, as well as the amount of the subsidies, previously received from England and Holland.

² By imperial decree of 25 Thermidor of the year XIII. (13th August, 1805).—It is evident that Napoleon did not await the arrival of the information demanded in order to make up his mind; as that information was not returned until the 24th of August, and it was on the 13th that the national domains in question were confirmed to the Vaudois.—Afterwards, a prefectorial decree of 25th January, 1806, appointed—(1) That the three presidents of the consistorial churches of the valleys, should provisionally manage these domains on behalf of the Vaudois. (2) That all the pastors of the valleys, assembled under the presidency of the sub-prefect of Pignerol, should nominate by an absolute majority of votes, an agent and a treasurer, selected from amongst themselves—these should be joined with the three presidents; and that their duties should be gratuitously discharged. (Then follow articles of detail.) (6) That each of the three presidents should discharge the duties of principal manager, during four months of the year. (8) That all the Vaudois pastors should assemble once a-year, under the presidency of the sub-prefect, to audit and attest the accounts.—The imperial decree of 5th May, 1806, considering the places of worship and *presbytères* or parsonages as public edifices, laid upon the communes the burden of building and repairing them as might be required.

³ As pastors of the third class. Decree of 25th July, 1805.—The rent yielded by the national domains was appropriated entirely to the purposes of primary and academic education.

⁴ I have not seen this decree, but the following is an extract of a letter of the minister of worship, Portalis, dated from Paris, 19 Thermidor, in the year XIII., by which he announced its promulgation to the prefect of the department of the Po:—

"*Monsieur le Prefet*,—I have the honour to acquaint you that by a decree of the 6th current, his majesty has granted three consistorial churches to the Vaudois of your department: the first is established at *La Tour*, the second at *Prarostino*, and the third at *Ville Sèche*, without prejudice, however, to the external rites of the Catholic religion. By the same decree, Messrs. Peter Bert, Emmanuel Rostan, Peter Gril, and Paul Solomon Bonjour, are confirmed as pastors of the church of *La Tour*; Messrs. David Mondon, Paul Goante, and Joshua Meille, are confirmed

of 6 Thermidor, in the year XIII. (25th July, 1805), by which their churches were organized in three consistorial churches—one at La Tour, another at Prarusting, and the third at Ville Sèche.¹ All the actual pastors were confirmed and officially installed in their respective parishes, by the prefect of the Po, as the organ of the government.² It must have been very gratifying to them to see associated with him the former moderator of their churches, M. Geymet, who retained the office of sub-prefect of Pignerol, during the whole time that the authority of France subsisted in Piedmont.

The following is the account given of this ceremony by a contemporary:³—"I was lately present at the institution of three consistorial churches accorded to the Vaudois of the valleys of Pignerol. The prefect⁴ had announced that he would be at La

as pastors of that of Prarostino; and Messrs. Alexander Rostan, John Daniel Olivet, David Monnet, Daniel Combe, Ferdinand Peyani, and Solomon Peyrani, are confirmed as pastors of the Vaudois church of Ville Sèche," &c.

¹ The following table shows the parishes attached to each of these consistorial churches, with their population at that time:—

Consistorial Churches.	Parishes.	Total Population.	Protestant Population.	President of the Consistorial Churches
I. LA TOUR.....	Bobì.....	1,594	1,570	Peter Bert, pastor at La Tour.
	Villar.....	2,260	1,930	
	La Tour.....	2,200	1,700	
	Rora.....	540	500	
II. PRARUSTING	Angrogna.....	2,100	1,750	Joshua Meille, pastor at St. John.
	Prarusting.....	1,420	1,400	
	Envers-Portes.....	600	400	
	St. John.....	1,700	1,600	
	Pignerol and Turin.....	140,000	400	
III. VILLE-SECHE	St. Germain.....	810	700	Peyrani, pastor at Le Pomaret.
	Pramol.....	980	900	
	Envers-Pinache... ..	480	400	
	Pomaret.....	600	550	
	Val Balsille*.....	4,600	3,100	

² The following are the papers relating to this occasion. *Decree* of 6 Thermidor, of the year XIII. (25th July, 1805); the Vaudois pastors are to receive their stipend from the imperial treasurer (at Paris).† An *ordinance* of the same date, confirming them in the posts which they occupy. A *letter* of the minister of worship to the prefect of the Po, of date 19 Thermidor (5th August), to proceed to their installation. *Despatch* of the prefect of the Po, to the sub-prefect of Pignerol, announcing that these things had all been carried into effect. *Letter* of the sub-prefect to the pastors, apprising them of these things (16th August, 1805).

³ In the *Courrier de Turin*, No. of 17 Vendémiaire, of the year XIV. (9th October, 1805).—This article is signed G. A.

⁴ M. Loysel.

* Including VILLE-SECHE, Les Clots, Fast, Rioclaré, Maneille, Macel, Rodoret, and Pral. (La Périer was almost entirely Catholic.)

† According to new *Instructions* of the minister of worship, dated 1 Frimaire, of the year XIV. (23d November, 1805), and transmitted by the sub-prefect to the Vaudois pastors (31st March, 1806), their stipend was to be paid, on orders sent from Paris, at the office of the Receiver of Finances at Pignerol.

Tour, on Sunday the 15th current (7th October, 1805), in order to instal the pastors confirmed by his majesty, and to take from them the oath prescribed for ministers of all religious denominations. The inhabitants of the three valleys repaired in great numbers to La Tour. At nine o'clock precisely, the firing of salutes in the commune of St. John announced the approach of the prefect, and in a few moments he arrived, accompanied by the sub-prefect of our arrondissement, and alighted at the beautiful residence of M. Peyrot,¹ member of the general council. Before coming to the bridge of Angrogna, the prefect was met by the deputation of pastors and received their expressions of respect; and on arriving at the bridge, he found there the mayors of the valleys, the municipal council of La Tour, and almost all the officials of the neighbouring communes. M. Appia,² another member of the general council of our department, delivered an address in name of his compatriots, in which he expressed their affection for his majesty, and their gratitude to the wise magistrate, to whom we owe in great part the boon of our organization. A numerous body of the national guard was under arms, and lined both sides of the path along which the cortege defiled. More firing announced the entry of the prefect into the chief place of the commune. At half-past ten o'clock, the cortege arrived at the place of worship, where the prefect, arrayed in his official robes, was received by the pastors of La Tour, who accompanied him to the place prepared for him. The ceremony was immediately commenced by the usual prayers, followed by a sermon, which demonstrated at once the excellency of evangelical doctrine and the eloquence of the pastor.³ The prefect then caused the organic law of the Reformed churches to be read to those present, and likewise the imperial decrees relative to the Vaudois; after which he delivered the following address:—

"Liberty of conscience is the most sacred of the rights of man, and the violence which has so often been done to it, can only be regarded as the effect of a barbaric ignorance. Religion will always be respected by enlightened governments. This means of communication between God and men, should unite men in common sentiments of gratitude to their Creator—give them new strength for the practice of the social virtues which it demands of them, and procure for them the happiness of a peaceful life. True Christians should never depart from those principles of gentleness which are enjoined in the gospel. Happy inhabitants of the

¹ Known by the name of M. Peyrot of Holland.

² The author of the memoirs which I have so often quoted.

This sermon was preached by M. Bert, pastor at La Tour.

valleys! these are the principles which you profess. May your hearts ever remain true to them! Ministers of the gospel! his majesty the emperor and king confides to you the honourable duty of cherishing by your instructions and your example, the purity of morals subsisting amongst this good people! I shall now receive your oath to this effect, and that of fidelity to his majesty."

The following were the words of this oath:—"I swear and promise to God, upon the holy gospels, that I will be always obedient to the laws of the empire, and faithful to the emperor. I promise also that I will be a member of no council, and will be a party to no league, either at home or abroad, contrary to the public tranquillity; and if in my church or elsewhere I become aware of any conspiracy to the prejudice of the state, I will make it known to the government."¹

The ceremony was then concluded like the ordinary worship of Protestants. It awakened in us, adds the writer from whom this account of it is taken, feelings not easily expressed. "Victims of a long persecution, we were accustomed to regard governments with respect, because our doctrine lays it upon us as a duty; but we could not have the same sympathy for oppressors, as for magistrates of known impartiality." The Vaudois had heretofore, in fact, known little but the severity of the laws of their country—they now began to know their justice.

Before returning to the principal town of his department, the prefect spent part of a day in the house where he had alighted on his arrival, in the company of the pastors whom he had just installed; and amongst the ministers with whom he particularly conversed, says the writer from whom we have borrowed this narrative, "distinguished attention was shown to M. Emmanuel Rostan, pastor of Bobi; for it was to his care and generosity, and the care and generosity of his worthy spouse, that 300 wounded Frenchmen owed their safety in the unfortunate retreat of the year VII. This fact is well known; and is of itself sufficient to justify all that the government has done in favour of the Vaudois."

Nothing of particular interest in a historic point of view, presents itself during the remainder of the time that the Vaudois were under the dominion of France. The regular course of government

¹ Extracted from the minute of this ceremony, drawn up by the prefect and signed by all the pastors.—It commences thus: "This fourteenth day of the month of Vendémiaire, in the year XIV." (6th October, 1805)—a day before the date given in the narration above quoted.—According to the *Art de vérifier les dates*, the 6th of October, 1805, or 14 of Vendémiaire, of the year XIV., was in reality a Sabbath. The error is therefore in the *Courrier de Turin*.

and impartial administration of the laws afford no remarkable incident to the historian.

The pastors of the valleys were entitled, and even bound, to meet together once every year;¹ and although this meeting did not bear the name of a synod, they were able to discuss to good purpose the affairs of their church; for the management of the national domains with which they had been endowed, which was the legal object of their meeting, implied a consideration of these affairs. It was in the first of these meetings that the resolution was adopted of building at St. John the place of worship which is now to be seen there. Its erection took place from 1806 to 1808, and the government itself took part in it. Down to the end of the eighteenth century, the Vaudois had been prohibited from the exercise of their religion in this commune, and it was to them a subject of enthusiastic feeling and a point of general interest to be able to commence it there. They seemed thus to take a protest against the past, and to assure themselves of their own emancipation.

At the same period, an awful phenomenon, which had already been witnessed in the Vaudois valleys in 1611 and in 1755, recurred to fill them with alarm. "I was at my desk," writes a merchant of Pignerol, "when my little boy, who was beside me, suddenly rose, saying that he was afraid; my dog howled with all his might; at the same moment I felt as if there were something cold under my feet, and the whole house began to shake."² This was upon the 2d of April, 1808, at a quarter before six o'clock in the evening.³ It was the commencement of an earthquake, very remarkable, especially for its duration. This first shock, of which the valley of Lucerna was the centre, was felt at Turin, Genoa, Lyons, Grenoble, and Geneva. "But as the weather was very serene, although cold, the greater part of the inhabitants and of the cattle were out of doors; and by a special—I might almost say a miraculous—favour of Divine providence, no one lost his life. If this shock had taken place half-an-hour sooner, more than 100 persons would have been crushed in the church of Lucerna alone, the arched roof of which fell in. It became necessary to prop all the houses of La Tour, the walls of many of which were rent; and the inhabitants constructed sheds as hastily as possible in the fields

¹ Decree of the prefect of the Po, 26th January, 1806, § viii.

² Vaudois Correspondence or collection of letters from some of the inhabitants of the valleys of Pignerol, on the earthquake of 1808.—New edition, corrected and enlarged.—8vo, Paris, 1808; of viii. and 70 pages.

³ Report of M. Vassali-Eandi to the Academy of Sciences of Turin.—Sitting of 2d May, 1808. Turin, 8vo, 133 pages.

and gardens, into which they retired,¹ and in which they were compelled to spend many weeks. The whole people lived in tents; some individuals in old wine casks or under other slight coverings hastily converted into dwellings upon the emergency. These localities, where all was lately so peaceful, presented the resemblance of a camp, and confusion everywhere prevailed. There was no agriculture, no commerce, no industry of any kind. Fear had so seized upon the hearts of all, that they thought only of the means of saving their lives."²

This shock was the most severe; but it was followed by a multitude of others, almost without interruption, to the 15th of April. "For some days at first, the earth was not for a moment still. In the course of one single night we counted thirty-two shocks. That which was experienced on the 2d of April, at nine o'clock in the evening, almost equalled the first. Every body was in the utmost consternation."³ "Other shocks took place on the same day at a quarter past nine o'clock, at ten o'clock, at eleven o'clock, and at midnight, and then again at two o'clock and at three o'clock in the morning."⁴ "Within the space of two years, we felt from 15,000 to 16,000 shocks, of greater or less severity. Some of them, it is true, were very slight and might be compared to the rumbling of waggons heavily loaded, or to discharges of large cannons."⁵

Three professors were sent by the Academy of Sciences of Turin,⁶ to make observations on this event. "M. Vassali, professor of natural philosophy, fitted up an electrical apparatus in a gallery. A golden thread of fifty feet in length, was fastened to a pole planted in a field, and terminated in a crystal bottle, which contained the electrometer. We saw at the moment of a slight shock that the electrometer was affected, so that its diverging threads touched both the sides of the bottle."⁷ In the interval which elapsed between two shocks, the electricity of the ground was not very observable and always positive. At the moment of the shock, it became so strong, that it could not be measured by the electrometer. Twenty minutes afterwards, the threads of that instrument, placed in contact with the permanent electrical apparatus, still remained divergent 30°. The hygrometer always indicated 20° to 28° of dryness, on a scale which contained 30°. The barometer underwent all sorts of variations between one shock and another. The thermometer often fell after a smart shock, and

¹ Report of M. Appia, who was employed by M. Vassali-Eandi, to take a note of all the phases of the phenomenon.

² Monastier, II., 197.

³ *Mémoire* by M. Appia, appended to his Report.

⁴ Vaudois Correspondence, p. 36.

⁵ Unpublished letter of M. Appia.

⁶ Messrs. Vassali-Eandi, Bason, and Carena.

⁷ Letter above quoted.

afterwards rose again gradually to its former temperature."¹ "It was very singular that the most violent shocks were ordinarily announced, a few seconds before, by the disquiet of animals. Dogs barked, horses neighed, and horned cattle exhibited the most unwonted agitation in their stalls."² "The cocks crowed incessantly, at all hours, from the time of the first shocks."³

Persons in the open air could trace the direction of the shocks, by the movements which they caused in the tops of the trees. In general, the motion was propagated from north-east to south-west.⁴ "The shocks were preceded by a cold wind, which sometimes came from the mountain and sometimes from the plain. A sudden increase of the Pélis, which issues from two lakes lying deep among the mountains, preceded the first shock. Elsewhere, in a dry piece of ground, a spring all at once broke out. The earth was rent in the vicinity of Pompara, and there issued from it a prodigious quantity of gas. The water in the wells was generally muddy and whitish. Even the wines in the cellars underwent alteration; some were spoiled and some became acid. Healthy and robust persons suffered more than children and old men. A paralytic recovered the use of his limbs, and a person afflicted with the gout suffered much less after the earthquake."⁵ Some persons remarked that they ate with more appetite.⁶ Others were attacked by paralysis, of which there was a renewal at each shock.⁷ There were also a number of persons who found relief from rheumatic affections; which was probably an effect of the electricity circulating around.⁸

"Our worthy prefect came up in person from Turin to visit us amidst our calamities. He expressed the liveliest interest in all the sufferers, visited without fear the most shattered houses, and gave much in alms. On his return to Turin, he instituted a subscription, which brought in 50,000 francs. He then addressed himself to the emperor, who granted half a million for the mitigation of these great misfortunes."⁹

"One evening," adds the same writer, "we were much terrified,

¹ Extracted from the *Report* of M. Vassali-Eandi, and from the Vaudois Correspondence.

² *Mémoire* of Appia.

³ Vaudois Correspondence, p. 21.

⁴ In the valley of Lucerna, the order of propagation was—Lucerna, La Tour, St. John, Rora, Lucernette, Briqueras, and St. Segont. The shocks were almost insensible at Villar and Bobi. In the valley of the Cluson, the centre of the disturbance seems to have been St. Germain, from which it spread to Pramol, Pomaret, Pérouse, and Pignerol.

⁵ Extracted from the Vaudois Correspondence, pp. 36, 16, 17, 18, 59, 61.

⁶ Report of M. Appia.

⁷ Vaudois Correspondence, p. 18.

⁸ Report above quoted.

⁹ *Mémoire* of M. Appia.

and thought our last hour was come. The weather was cloudy. Suddenly a great globe of fire rising above the summit of the mountain of Vandalin, made us suppose that some sudden volcanic eruption had taken place. Happily this globe of fire, after having risen to a great height, was dissipated without noise. It is the only meteor which has been remarked for two years."¹

It thus appears that Napoleon opened his hand generously to accord to the Vaudois valleys assistance proportioned to their wants and worthy at once of his glory and his power. His empire had indeed acquired gigantic magnitude. A third coalition formed against France had been broken at Austerlitz.² England, indefatigable in a contest in which others fought for her, prepared new triumphs for this new Cæsar, by fomenting new coalitions.³ Victorious in all these wars, in which all the kings of Europe were leagued against him, he might at last almost be said to have all sceptres in his hand.⁴ The extreme elevation to which he had attained, removed him above vulgar considerations, which perhaps would have been of more use to him. He thought to confine within the polar circle, that giant of the North, who alone could be a counterpoise to his vast power. But repulsed by the burning of Moscow, and pursued in his turn, as it were, by rebel frosts, he saw his armies vanquished without having fought.⁵

¹ The Vaudois Correspondence, on the contrary, says (p. 38), "A number of meteors have been remarked. On the 4th of April, some travellers coming from Lamure, saw, towards the north, a mass of fire of a globular form which descended without detonation. On the 12th, the lightning broke at Carmagnole, about eight o'clock in the evening, and having overturned a carriage, joined another mass of fire which issued from the earth, at the distance of thirty or forty paces. Then proceeded from it such a flood of light, that for some seconds, its brightness could not be endured by the eye. During the night of the 15th of April, four men who were on patrol near La Tour, suddenly saw a very bright light which issued from the peak of Vandalin; and in the time of the various storms which took place during that same month, sheets of fire often issued from the earth, whilst the lightnings ploughed the heavens." I have not thought it right to suppress these details, although foreign to the history, (1) because of their precision and rarity—(2) because the event to which they relate was limited to the valleys, and (3) because of the very interest which they may excite.

² 2d December, 1805.

³ This was the period when Napoleon thought of making a descent upon England; in a battle upon land, the strife could not have been doubtful.—The Academy of Sciences perhaps deprived him of this victory (which would have changed the balance of the world) in rejecting, as impossible, the invention of Fulton, now so triumphantly successful.—Steam was applied to the propelling of vessels in 1807. [The British reader has here before him, unmodified, the expressions of opinion and sentiment contained in the original.]

⁴ The third coalition took place from 1805 to 1806; the fourth from 1806 to 1807; the fifth from 1809 to 1810.—Almost all the states of Europe, except Russia and England, were then under the power of Napoleon.

⁵ From September to December, 1812.

In consequence of this disaster, the allies entered Paris on 31st March, 1814. On 4th April, Napoleon abdicated in favour of his son; on the 11th, he abdicated unconditionally, and on the 20th, he set out for the island of Elba. On the 3d of May, Louis XVIII. arrived in the capital of France; and on the 16th, Victor Emmanuel IV. took possession of Piedmont.¹ The Congress of Vienna was opened, and the Genoese dominions were annexed to those of the King of Sardinia.

We shall see in the following chapter how this monarch treated the Vaudois, but we may here premise, that instead of seeking to restore the cause of legitimacy by benefactions, he only proved his descent from the ancient sovereigns of the country by his adherence to all their prejudices and all their tyrannic practices, whilst he did not exhibit their greatness and courage. But it is God who casts down and who raises up again. In a future which even then was near, he had in store new glory for the throne of Savoy and new blessings for the Vaudois of Piedmont.

CHAPTER XXIII.

STATE OF THE VAUDOIS SINCE THE RESTORATION.²

(A.D. 1814 TO A.D. 1842.)

The restoration of the house of Savoy in 1814—Victor Emmanuel IV. lands at Genoa—Deputation of the Vaudois—Their petition—Revival of old edicts unfavourable to the Vaudois—Servile subjection of the king to the priesthood—His benevolent dispositions counteracted by their influence—Deputations—Restrictions and mitigations of them—Friendly interposition of the British ambassador—The Congress of Vienna—Enforcement of observance of festivals of the Church of Rome—Napoleon leaves Elba—The loyalty of the Vaudois suspected—Friendship shown by Count Crotti—Conduct of the Piedmontese government, with regard to persons who had held office under the French government—Case of M. Geymet—The ecclesiastical domains restored to the Church of Rome—Question as to the rents for the time during which the Vaudois had enjoyed them—Poverty of the Vaudois pastors—Edict of 1816, affording some relief to the Vaudois—Social progress, increasing liberality of the government, and improvement of the condition of the Vaudois.

In a strictly historical point of view, the epoch of the restoration should extend, in the case of the Vaudois, from the time when they

¹ His brother, Charles Emmanuel IV., had abdicated in his favour in 1802.

² AUTHORITIES.—Official documents. Duplicates of Documents.—*Memoir on the fortunes of the Vaudois since the French Revolution* (in German, by Professor

were again brought under the exceptional legislation of the seventeenth century, in 1814, to the commencement of the constitutional regime, which proclaimed their civil and political emancipation in 1848; nor can this period be confidently regarded as closing even then, if some of the arbitrary laws of the past are still to be enforced for the future. There is room to hope that it will not be so when we consider the liberty that is established, the progress of enlightenment, the charity that is manifested, and the improvements already effected by the wise government which directs the affairs of the kingdom of Sardinia. We shall, therefore, confine this chapter to the last repressive measures adopted against the Vaudois by the application of the old laws; not deeming it right to extend the dishonoured name of the Restoration to the last years of the reign of Charles Albert, in which the new order of things was introduced, and which are memorable for the most important changes.

In April, 1814, Victor Emmanuel IV. recovered the sceptre of Piedmont. He had been king since 1802, but had not hitherto reigned. An English fleet went for him to Sardinia, to bring him from exile to the throne of his ancestors. The Vaudois thought it proper to send a deputation to Genoa, to receive him on his landing, and to recommend to his favourable regard the interests of their valleys. The pastors and mayors of all the Vaudois communes assembled upon this occasion at Rocheplate, on the 4th May,

VATER of Halle; included in a series of materials for modern ecclesiastical history, published in the *New Theological Annals of Halle*—No. for May, 1821, p. 316. In the same journal, No. for May, 1822, p. 216: *Sketch of the actual state of the Vaudois of Piedmont.*—Die Waidenser in unseren Tagen, von D. E. T. Mayerhoff, Berlin, 1834.—SIMS, *Memoirs relative to the Vaudois* (London, 1814; in English).—*Reports of the Labours of the Vaudois Committee*, established in London, in consequence of the great interest which was excited in England by the *Narrative of a Journey to the Valleys*, by Dr. W. GILLY.—*The Valdo and Vigilantius* of this author.—Monastier; the last two chapters of his work.—BRIDGE, *A brief Narrative of a Visit to the Vaudois*, &c.—Circulars and Reports of the Vaudois committee, established at London in 1821.—Other works in English: ACLAND, PLENDERLEATH, JACKSON, BRACEBRIDGE, &c. (See the *Bibliography*).—*Statement of the Grievances of the Vaudois*, 1843, pp. 40, 8vo. Published by the London committee.—*The complete emancipation of the Vaudois*, by Count Ferdinand de Pozzo, 1829. (In Italian).—*Testimonies in favour of the Vaudois* (in English; London, 1826).—*The Crown and the Tiara*; considerations on the present state of the Vaudois. London, 1842.—*State and Grievances of the Vaudois in 1843*.—Both in English.—Also numerous articles in journals. *Monthly Review*, June, 1814; *Quarterly Review*, 1843; *Edinburgh Review*, *British Magazine*, *Augsburg Gazette* (December, 1842); *Archives du Christianisme*; *Archives Wesleyennes*, *Le Semeur*, &c. (These various sources are more particularly indicated in the latter part of the catalogue placed at the end of this volume).—Finally, the *Memoirs of P. Appia*, 1st, Biographical; 2d, On the actual state of the Vaudois, considered in a historical and statistical point of view. (This second memoir is dated 14th February, 1815, and forms a manuscript of 13 folio pages.)

1814. They appointed M. Peyrani and M. Appia as their deputies. We are indebted to the latter for an account of the embassy:—

"We set out from Pignerol," says he, "on the 6th of May, and arrived at Genoa on the 9th. An hour after our arrival the canons of all the forts, and those of the English ships of war, announced that the king had just entered the harbour. We concluded that we must, without loss of a moment, obtain an audience of General Bentinck, the commander of the British forces. Not succeeding in getting ourselves presented to him, we intrusted our petition to his banker, and to the Rev. Mr. Wennock, the chaplain of the British troops, who displayed a warm interest in our behalf. The petition bore, in effect, that we prayed his majesty to treat us as his other subjects. We were well assured that it had been put into the hands of the general, and by him recommended to the favourable regard of Victor Emmanuel. But the latter paid so little attention to the recommendation of the representative of the great and generous nation which had restored to him his throne, that, even before his arrival at Turin, he issued an edict which revived the old intolerant and exclusive laws enacted against us."¹

By this edict the injunction to cease from all labour on the days of Catholic festivals, the prohibition to acquire lands out of the territory of the valleys, the disqualification for any civil office, the obligation to have a Catholic majority in the councils of the communes, and many other vexatious restrictions were imposed anew upon the Vaudois. The sovereign who was now called to re-organize everything in the administration of his dominions, to restore the lustre of his crown, and to cast the glory of the emperor's usurpation into the shade by the virtues of hereditary legitimacy, instead of acting as became the father of his people, showed himself to be only a menial slave of Popery. A few days after the publication of this edict, which flung the Vaudois back to the system of government practised in the time of Philibert, Victor Emmanuel IV. signed two ordinances, the one against freemasons, and the other against keepers of inns and eating-houses who should serve their customers with *flesh* on Fridays or Saturdays.²

The Vaudois, dreading, with good reason, the consequences of so strange a return to severe measures, which appeared as an anachronism amidst the enlightenment of the age, hazarded a new

¹ *Mémoires de Paul Appia, sur ce qui s'est passé dans les Vallées de 1799 à 1816.* The edict in question was dated 21st May, 1814.

² Making them incur, in that case, a fine of twelve crowns of gold. (Appia's *Memoirs*.)

attempt to obtain some amelioration of their circumstances. The laws against them, which had been restored to force, were so antiquated that not a few of them had already fallen into desuetude in the end of the previous century. They hoped, moreover, that if the king were reminded of the expressions of good-will in the letter once written by his father in favour of the Vaudois,¹ he would consent to fulfil some of the promises which it contained. A Vaudois deputation accordingly set out for Turin,² and was admitted to an audience of the king on 28th May, 1814. "I will grant to the Vaudois all that I can," replied the monarch.³ His intentions were certainly good; but the Catholic clergy, masters of the sovereign and enemies of the Vaudois, soon succeeded in rendering the latter as much the objects of suspicion to the restored government as they had proved themselves, to that which had fallen, worthy of protection and regard.

"Notwithstanding the pleasant reception which we met with," writes one of the deputies, "our petition was *depellita* (torn in pieces), which, indeed, might have been expected from the way in which things go." Let us gratefully acknowledge Victor Emmanuel's wish to grant to the Vaudois all that he could, but let us remember, for the honour of the throne, that he could do nothing at all.

Orders were speedily issued, to those who had become tenants of the national domains granted to the Vaudois by the executive committee and by Napoleon, not to remove anything more of the produce of the woods or of the vineyards, and to bear in mind that these domains must presently be restored, undiminished in value, to the government.⁴ The next step was to close the place of

¹ *Biglietto regio* of Victor Amadeus III. to the Duke of Aosta, dated 4th June, 1794.

² Composed of two pastors, Bert and Peyrani, and two laymen, Brezzi and Vertu. The petition which they presented to the king will be found in BERT, *Valdesi*, p. 455.

³ Victor Emmanuel IV. conversed familiarly with the deputies. He showed them an old patched dress which he had brought with him into Sardinia, and said to them, "See, it was my wife who put on this piece." But this simplicity of manners only indicated a corresponding simplicity of mind, which the clergy always knew how to turn to their own account. The king might be seen following processions barefooted, with a taper in his hand, and descending to the functions of an agent of police, by personally pointing out for apprehension the passers-by who did not uncover themselves before the procession. (These particulars are extracted from the Memoirs of Appia, and from divers letters written by the deputies.)

⁴ This order is dated 30th September, 1814. The accounts relative to the management of these domains were adjusted by the moderator of the valleys, in presence of the intendant of Pignerol, in July, 1815.

worship which the Vaudois had erected at St. John, and they were obliged to conduct their religious services in the old church of Le Chiabas, built within the confines of Angrogna, although it had been long abandoned, and was in a very ruinous condition.¹

The only benefit which the Vaudois derived from this second deputation, was the issue of royal letters-patent confirming the privileges which they had enjoyed before 1794, and maintaining all the restrictions which existed at that period.² But their deprivation of the resources on which the stipend of their pastors depended, and the new impediments thrown in the way of the exercise of their religion, reduced them to the absolute necessity of making another appeal to their sovereign. This third deputation had for its object to petition for leave to use the place of worship at St. John—for the right to retain the properties purchased beyond the limits, under the French government—and that a compensation might be given for the national domains, in order to the maintenance of the pastors.³ The king refused to give an immediate reply; but whilst postponing it, he manifested a favourable inclination.

"Our pastoral deputation," wrote M. Bert,⁴ "was presented on Friday last⁵ at the British embassy.⁶ Nothing could be more encouraging than the reception there. His excellency seemed to take the most lively interest in our affairs, and promised to use all his influence with the king. He also expressed his surprise at the return to the old edicts. Our deputies put into his hands a draft of a petition to his majesty, in which are contained our requests relative to the pastors, to the place of worship at St. John, and to the purchasers of lands beyond the limits. The ambassador asked for our good M. G—, who had written to him to offer his services

¹ The letter of the minister of the interior (Count Védon) to the intendant of Pignerol, on this subject, is dated 3d October, 1814. That of the intendant (Count Crotti) to the moderator, on the same subject, is dated 25th November. The minister demanded the *suppression* of all the places of worship erected without the valleys. "I think," adds Count Crotti, at the bottom of the letter, "that it will be sufficient to close the place of worship at St. John, which is the only one so situated, and that you should meet somewhere else." We shall find other subsequent examples of the same kindness and moderation, by which worthy magistrates, without being deficient in the discharge of their duties, contrived to mitigate the severity of their sovereign's procedure.

² These letters-patent are dated 30th September, 1814.

³ This deputation must have been received at Turin from the 2d to the 4th of December, 1814.

⁴ In a private letter dated from Sainte-Marguerite, 6th December, 1814.

⁵ This must have been 2d December, 1814.

⁶ At Turin.

⁷ The person here meant is M. Geymet, formerly moderator of the Vaudois churches, and afterwards sub-prefect of Pignerol. On the fall of the French empire, all the Vaudois who filled any situation under the government, received their dismissal. Before being sub-prefect, M. Geymet was pastor of La Tour; and M.

in the capacity of chaplain; we have reason to hope that he will not only be accepted but that there will be a subscription to enable him to reside in the capital. We are assured that the report is true that General the Baron de Neyperg will be the Austrian ambassador at Turin. Our gloomy sky brightens up a little. You are, of course, aware of the order intimated to us for the closing of the place of worship at St. John. This intimation has been sent to us by the intendant, with mitigations of his own. Service has already been recommenced at Le Chiabas."

But the enemies of the Vaudois ceased not to pursue them with all sorts of accusations. "We have compared at the intendance," M. Bert goes on to say,¹ "and our adversaries seem manifestly to dread the consequences of their false accusations. The reception which we have met with has contributed, in some measure, to encourage us."

Meanwhile the congress of Vienna had commenced its sittings.² "It is credibly asserted," says M. Monastier,³ "that a friend of the Vaudois had prepared a plan for having their emancipation imposed upon the King of Sardinia, as a compensation for the territorial advantages which he obtained. An application to the congress, on the part of the valleys, was to have given occasion for introducing it. A memorial was drawn up; but at the moment when it should have been sent away, the Vaudois table, trusting in the generosity of the monarch, and fearing to give him cause of displeasure, deemed it better that it should be suppressed. Victor Emmanuel, in fact, had dwelt in Pignerol; he had visited all their valleys, he had commanded their troops, and their confidence in him was so great that they declined to employ means which might possibly have displeased him."

He was less tenderly considerate as to them. A manifesto was published on 4th January, 1815, restoring to force all the ancient laws.⁴ The Vaudois renewed their representations, but in vain.⁵ The government persisted in the course which it had chosen, and

Bert, the author of this letter, was at first his assistant, and afterwards succeeded him there. He published an interesting little work on the Vaudois, entitled *Le livre de famille*. Pp. 105, 12mo. Geneva, 1830.

¹ It was upon a citation, dated 17th November, 1814.

² It was opened on 1st November, 1814, and concluded on 10th June, 1815. The acts of the congress consist of 121 articles. It established the different states of Europe as they exist at the present day.

³ Monastier, II. 203.

⁴ *Manifesto del reggio governo, della provincia di Pinerolo*. (Printed.)

⁵ *Mémoire sur l'état actuel des Vaudois* . . . (14th February, 1815), par Paul Joseph Appia. (MS. communicated to me.)

caused the principal provisions of the ancient edicts to be posted up in the valleys.¹

I. Every one was enjoined religiously to observe the Catholic festivals.

II. All work, capable of attracting the attention of others, was forbidden on these days.

III. The sale of provisions was to be tolerated on condition that the shop-fronts were kept closed, and that all traffic should be discontinued during mass, vespers, and the catechetical instructions of the prior. An exception was allowed in favour of medicinal substances.²

IV. Keepers of inns, coffee-houses, eating-houses, &c., were forbidden to serve any person during these same hours; all under penalty of fine and imprisonment. Every kind of amusement was also forbidden.³

The publication of these various enactments, which had long been forgotten, caused a certain fermentation in the district, and most of all amongst the most worldly class of the population. The ancient edicts, however, which had been in general terms restored to force, contained regulations far more vexatious still, and it was a sort of concession on the part of the government not to go beyond the requirements above-mentioned. This the vice-judge, Cerrutto, represented to those under his administration, by a letter intended to be read in public, in order better to inform the people of the spirit of the preceding proclamation.⁴ "I am accused," says he, "of an undue severity; however, the edicts to which I have referred having been restored to force by that of 21st May, 1814, I have thought it my duty to publish their provisions anew, in order to prevent the numerous contraventions of them, against which I would every day have been called to proceed if I had allowed them to remain forgotten, as they have been. I have

¹ *Aviso al publico*, dated from Lucerna, 4th March, 1815, and signed Cerrutto, substitute for the vice-judge Perrotti.

² There were discussions on the point, whether sugar, bought in the shop of an apothecary, during these privileged hours, should be considered as a medicine or an article of food.

³ This document contains nine articles. The last reiterates the provisions of the edicts of 25th June, 1626, and 20th June, 1730, which make the Protestants responsible for the presence of a Catholic in their places of worship, &c. . . . *Speriamo che dipendentemente a quanto sovra, tutti gli abitanti sudetti e chiunque altro, si faranno un dovere di mettersi in regola, per così evitare il dispiacere che proverisimo di procedere contro i contraventori*. (Dato Torre, Valle di Luserna, li 4 marzo 1815).

⁴ This letter is dated from Torre, val Luserna, li 9 marzo 1815, and signed Cerrutto, vice-giudice del mandamento.

therefore republished their terms only out of a regard for the interests of those under my administration, and not from any voluntary severity." He proceeds to say that the observance of them will not only be productive of respect for the Catholic festivals, but also of a more becoming sanctification of the Sundays which Protestants themselves profess to respect.¹ He then fixes the meaning of the edict of 1626, enjoining the Vaudois to uncover at the passing of the holy sacrament, or to retire out of the way;² and of that of 1730, granting the privilege of working upon festival days to those who should obtain an authorization from the judge. This was to intimate that he would not refuse it, and so much the more plainly, as he concluded his letter by saying, "I can truly say that I am proud of the good treatment which I have upon all occasions received from the Vaudois, and I would be very ungrateful if I did not esteem myself bound to render them reciprocal offices of kindness, so far as a regard to justice will permit."³

But whilst these inferior affairs were thus going on, great events took place in the world. Napoleon quitted the island of Elba.⁴ Whilst the legitimate sovereigns were imposed upon their peoples by foreign armies, this glorious captive, coming alone and unarmed, caused royalty, although surrounded with battalions, to flee before him. This wonderful man had re-entered Paris, who had shed, more than any one, the blood of the people, but whom they always welcomed with enthusiasm; who made himself a king when kings were falling before the revolutionary gale, and who founded, on the ruins of their thrones, the greatest empire which had existed since the fall of Rome; who forged his sword of the chains broken by the revolution, and who, in opposition to all the potentates assembled in the congress of Vienna, dared to conceive, in his place of captivity, and to carry into execution, the incredible project of re-conquering the French throne by his mere presence.

Europe was startled by this news. The congress of Vienna was

¹ The following are the more severe terms of the letter: . . . *per levare lo scandalo abuso dai protestanti che dai giorni di domenica (festa per loro da tutti i tempi sempre stata in uso d'osservarsi con molta vigore), si fanno lecito di travagliare pubblicamente . . . &c.*

² These latter words are a mitigation, introduced by the judge himself, in his interpretation of the law.

³ *Io posso con tutta verità gloriarmi ed attestare pubblicamente, d'essere sempre stato dai Protestanti trattato con ogni riguardo, e che dovrei ben essere taciato da ingrato se non fosse corrispondente, &c.*

⁴ He set out from it on 26th February, 1815, landed at the Gulf of Juan on 1st March, and entered the Tuileries on the 20th, Louis XVIII. having abandoned it the evening before.

dissolved; Napoleon, placed under the ban of the allied states, saw all the kings whom he had vanquished marching against him at the head of their armies. He himself, in two months' time, had raised more than 400,000 men. A final conflict was about to take place. All Europe was in breathless expectation; the nations were filled with alarm.

When we consider the liberties which Napoleon had granted to the Vaudois, and the oppression to which they had again been subjected by Victor Emmanuel IV., it may be thought likely that they would show themselves favourable to the return of the emperor. There was a sufficient number of courtiers eager to make the most of these suspicions. Victor Emmanuel had placed himself in a state of entire subjection to the clergy; to please the priests was the way of paying court to such kings, and the priests made no secret of the joy with which they heard accusations against the Vaudois. Nothing more was needed to change suspicions into certainty. But Count Crotti, a generous and influential man who had lived amongst them,¹ and who had recently been promoted to the rank of intendant of the king's armies, became security for them. It was in the following measured and appropriate terms that the moderator of the Vaudois churches gave intimation to the pastors of this fact, and of the course of conduct which they ought to pursue.

"His majesty, to whom we have been represented as rejoicing in the return of Napoleon, having had a private conversation on that subject with a nobleman, to whom we are already under great obligations, that nobleman disabused the king's mind, and has sent me word that he has himself been so good as to become security to his majesty for our fidelity and attachment to his service. I think it my duty, gentlemen and my much-honoured brethren, to acquaint you with these circumstances, entreating you all in general, and every one in particular, to make it appear by the wisdom of your conduct, in these difficult and dangerous times, that you are the descendants of those ancient Vaudois, who, although sometimes ill-treated, always forgot the wrongs which had been done them by their superiors, to hasten to their aid, and whom nothing could turn aside from their duty. I have a well-founded hope that, before midsummer, all will be arranged as we could wish, and that his majesty, convinced that several attempts have been made to take advantage of his religion in things relative to us, and seeing the

¹ As intendant of the province of Pignerol. He visited the Vaudois valleys several times.

wisdom of our conduct, and our attachment to his august person, . . . will give us no equivocal proofs of his attachment and his paternal regard."¹

This hope was far from being realized; but the fidelity of the Vaudois was not shaken, and their good conduct was an incessant protest against the perfidious insinuations of their adversaries. Their pastors, deprived of fixed salaries, had now no other resource than the voluntary contributions of their parishioners; for the English subsidy was not restored to them till the end of 1814, and even then not to its former amount.² All who had occupied any situation under the French government were deprived of it, however insignificant it might be. They patiently submitted to this proof of dislike, which, from the prejudices of the new regime, they might have anticipated, but which they had done nothing to deserve. "Mr. Peter Geymet," says Monastier, "had won the respect and attachment of all who were under his jurisdiction during the thirteen years that he filled the office of sub-prefect of Pignerol. In that chief place of the prefecture, a city entirely Roman Catholic, he left an unimpeached reputation for probity at a time when the high functionaries in general had so little of it. At the restoration, Geymet retired to La Tour, at once so poor and so humble that, although a few days before he had been the first magistrate of the valleys, he did not disdain to accept the humble place of master of the Latin school, the salary of which did not exceed 700 francs, and to which he devoted his last remains of strength until the approach of his death, which took place in 1822."³

The government had announced its intention⁴ of withdrawing from the Vaudois the lands of which they had been put in possession by the French administration,⁵ in order to restore them to the Catholic parishes, which had been suppressed at the same period, but which were now re-established. But the priests demanded also that the Vaudois should be made to pay a sum equivalent to the revenues of these lands for all the time that they had enjoyed them.

¹ This letter is signed by John Rodolph Peyrani, and dated from Le Pomaret, 12th April, 1815.

² This diminution continued till 1827, when the venerable Dr. Gilly obtained the re-establishment of the subsidies on their old footing, and the payment of the arrears. These arrears were formed into a capital fund, to provide for the maintenance of two new pastors, those of Macel and Rodoret.

³ Monastier, II. 199. The author of the *Israel of the Alps* was himself one of the pupils of M. Geymet.

⁴ By an order of 30th September, 1814.

⁵ By the decrees of 28 Brumaire, 13 Nivose, 11 and 22 Germinal, of the year IX., and by the imperial decree of 25 Thermidor, of the year XIII.

Count Crotti, the intendant of the province of Pignerol, assembled the parties interested,¹ and asked them to discuss the matter before him. Although conducted with outward moderation, the debate exhibited great pertinacity, each party being strong in their own views; and there appeared no likelihood of any conclusion being reached, when the youngest of the priests, who, therefore, spoke after his brethren, expressed an opinion different from theirs. "The ministers," said he, "have managed these affairs not only lawfully—for they had received these powers from the authority then recognized by all Piedmont—but also faithfully, as is proved by the accounts which they have now submitted to us; they have preserved our properties intact and in perfect condition, and we ought to exact nothing more." "This equitable priest," adds Monastier, "supported his opinion with so much freedom and truth that it prevailed, and the difference was thus terminated to the great satisfaction of the worthy intendant, who had undertaken to settle it in the name of the king."²

Shortly afterwards the Vaudois addressed a petition to their sovereign, to declare to him *the state of suffering and want to which their pastors were reduced*.³ "Our stipends," say they, "were formerly derived from two subsidies from England, the one called *royal*, the other *national*. They amounted annually to almost 400 Piedmontese livres for each pastor. The royal subsidy having been interrupted in 1793 and 1794, the pastors obtained from the synod of 1795 an act, appointing that this deficiency should be made up by the communes, to be repaid to them if the said subsidy should be restored. In this manner our stipends were kept up to their full amount till 1800. At this period the executive commission, having taken our case into consideration without our having requested it, assigned us an annual payment from the rents of the national domains, under the name of compensation for the subsidies which we had lost. Since the return of our legitimate sovereign we have been obliged to give up all this, and the accounts were audited, in presence of the regent of the intendancy at Pignerol, in July, 1815." They accordingly requested that the communes in which they ministered should be taxed for their support, or that his majesty would provide for it by some other means.

The report of the minister was not favourable to the request of

¹ In July, 1815.

² Monastier, II. 205.

³ These are the words of the petition. According to the deplorable custom of the old Vaudois chancery, this petition is not dated, but its date is determined by that of the *parere* of the minister, which is of 17th February, 1816. This *parere* consists of six folio pages. (Archives of the Court.)

the Vaudois. The British ambassador made representations on their behalf, which at first seemed not to have been attended to,¹ but which, at last, brought the government to wiser and more humane views. These views were brought forward in a council of the ministers, held on 23d February, 1816,² when the provisions were agreed upon of the edict which was published four days after. By this edict Victor Emmanuel appointed—

(1.) That provision should be made for the maintenance of the Vaudois pastors in a manner to be afterwards determined.³

(2.) That the lands which had been purchased by the Vaudois, beyond their ancient limits, should be retained by their proprietors.

(3.) That the Protestants should be permitted to exercise civil professions, such as those of engineer, architect, surgeon, &c.⁴

¹ It is said, in a note addressed by the minister of the interior to the minister of foreign affairs (no doubt in order to be communicated to the British ambassador), "that the Vaudois wished to make a merit of the loss of the English subsidies, *per il loro attaccamento alla causa della libertà; il che vuol dire per la ribellione al loro legittimo sovrano*," &c. . . . (Archives of the Court, No. 665.) But I have seen nothing resembling this in the petition of the Vaudois; and these words must have been ventured upon mere hear-say. Thus, it was attempted not only to do the Vaudois injury in their own country, but even to hurt them in the opinion of strangers.

² At the end of the decision of the council, which was submitted to the king for his approval, we read: *S. M. approva le determinazioni del congresso, con che l'assegno per la sussistenza de' pastori de' Valdesi, non ricada in nessuna parte a peso de' cattolici domiciliati in quelle valli*. (Archives of the Court, No. 666.)

³ There was assigned to them a sum of about 500 francs, which was at first paid by the royal treasurer of Pignerol. A royal ordinance, of 14th December, 1818 (BERT, *Valdesi*, p. 261), decided that this sum should be taken from the produce of the additional centimes, gathered at the rate of a marc per franc on the land-tax of the valleys. Thence resulted fluctuations. In 1839, for example, the diminution was one-tenth; and it was at this time that the subsidies were fixed at 6432 francs for all the valleys; to wit, 248 francs 55 cents. half-yearly to each pastor, except those of Macel and Rodoret, parishes established after 1816. The following table, borrowed from the budget of 1841, will give some idea of the general resources of the Vaudois church at this period:—

Source of the Funds.	Destination of the Funds.				Total of funds received.
	Worship.	Instruction.	Relief of the Poor.	Hospital.	
	France. Cents.	France. Cents.	France. Cents.	France. Cents.	France. Cents.
England.....	14,256 76	6,610 34	—	3,765 13	24,632 23
Holland.....	1,756 80	5,795 00	1,603 00	3,000 00	12,159 80
Prussia.....	(Proceeds of collection placed in Bank)			3,777 53	3,777 53
Valleys.....	—	5,800 00*	2,400 00†	2,318 00‡	16,950 00
Government	6,432 00	Derived from the taxes paid by the Vaudois,			
	22,445 56	18,205 34	4,008 00	12,860 71	57,519 61

⁴ Edict of 27th February, 1816, registered in office of the controller-general of the senate, and at the court of accounts, 1st March, 1816.

* For the schools.

† Collections made in the places of worship.

‡ Rents belonging to the hospital itself. These three sums are mere approximations.

Shortly afterwards, Victor Emmanuel, being now completely disabused of the prejudices which their enemies had sought to excite in his mind against the inhabitants of the valleys, consented to their resuming religious services in the place of worship at St. John, constructed in 1807, and closed in 1814.¹ At this period also a general census was taken of the Vaudois population.² Europe was tranquillized; Napoleon, having been vanquished at Waterloo,³ had died in St. Helena,⁴ after having added to the glory of his active life the austere dignity of exile. Social progress, which for a little while had been interrupted by these great commotions, had resumed its course, slow but steadily onward. Acts of oppression became more rare, the laws more regular: the hitherto unequal reign of a civilization which seemed to tremble for its existence became more tranquil as it widened its sphere. Perhaps, also, enlightenment as it became more diffused, lost something of its power. At all events, the surface of society became more level and uniform.

The Vaudois took no part in the political events of 1821, which led to the abdication of Victor Emmanuel IV. in favour of his brother, Charles Felix; but they appointed a deputation of courtesy to the new king, which was not received. He thought proper to acquaint them with the cause of this unkindness. "Tell them," he exclaimed, "that they only need to be Catholics."⁵ It was to acknowledge them as possessing many good qualities.

But the popular movement of 1821 had placed more power again in the hands of those who were inclined to use it for repression. The Protestants resident in Pignerol, received orders to remove from it within twenty-four hours,⁶ and it was only as a favour that they were permitted to remain.⁷ Opposition was made to their having a school in Turin;⁸ and if one of them happened to die beyond the limits of the valleys, his heirs had to pay

¹ This permission was granted, on condition that a wall should be built before the church, to conceal it from view. Instead of the wall, an inclosure of boards was allowed; and this having fallen into ruins, a simple porch was accepted as a substitute for it, hiding the entrance door of the building.

² On 6th Feb., 1816.—The following are the results:—Catholics, 4075; Protestants, 16,975; whole population, 21,050. According to a table published in the *Echo of the Valleys*, on 3d May, 1849, the Protestant population was at that period 20,650.

³ 18th June, 1815.

⁴ He died on 4th May, 1821.

⁵ Monastier, II., 209. These words recall a saying of Louis XIV. to Lesdiguières: "If you were not a Huguenot, I would make you a marshal of France." "Sire," was the reply, "it is enough that you deem me worthy of it." The noble delicacy of this reply needs no commentary, and could nowhere be called to remembrance in fitter connection than here.

⁶ BERT, *Valdesi*, p. 265.

⁷ On the representations of the ambassadors of Prussia and England.

⁸ BERT, *Valdesi*, p. 324.

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500 francs to save his remains from the indignity of being thrown into a waste place for burial, and to obtain the right of removing them to an inclosed cemetery.¹

In 1828, a confidential circular was addressed to the notaries of the provinces of Saluces and Pignerol, to prevent them from receiving any deed which had for its object to convey into the hands of a Vaudois any lands situated beyond the ancient limits.² Mixed marriages were also interdicted with more severity than before,³ and marriages contracted within too near degrees.⁴ The canons of Popery were again in the ascendant; reaction had for the moment triumphed over progress, the past over the future.

In 1833, it was prohibited, under pain of five or six years' imprisonment, to introduce into Piedmont, books, engravings, or any thing whatever, contrary to the principles of the Catholic religion, to morality, or to monarchy.⁵ After this, the governor of Pignerol received secret instructions, to keep watch over the too liberal tendencies of certain inhabitants of the valleys.⁶ But the governor at that time was a distinguished author,⁷ whose generosity of mind served the cause of the government better than excessive severity would have done. Having called before him the persons who had been particularly pointed out to him, he endeavoured, in the first place, to convince them of his sincere desire for their welfare, and in this character alone he gave them those counsels which had been suggested to him by a less benevolent solicitude.

¹ BERT, *Valdesi*, p. 326.

² This circular is dated 26th Nov., 1828. A decision of the Chamber of Accounts, 26th July, 1837, repeated this prohibition. The circular of 16th August, 1837, communicated it to the notaries.

³ Letters of the commandant of Pignerol of 6th February, and of 20th March, 1833. Report of the governor of Pignerol on this subject in 1843, &c.

⁴ Circular of the prefect of Pignerol to the moderator and ministers of the Vaudois church, to prohibit them from celebrating marriages between cousins-german. (The latter term is not precise.) The document is dated 15th July, 1835.

⁵ This prohibition is of date 20th May, 1833.

⁶ These instructions are of date, 12th November, 1834. In other instructions, dated 17th January, 1835, the following words occur:—"I ought to speak to you on this occasion of a historic work concerning the Vaudois, which has lately been published in Paris. . . . There may be observed in it, amongst other things, a very marked tendency to make Christianity serve as an instrument for promoting the chimera of the political perfectibility of men," &c. . . . This work was put into the Index, and its author obliged to leave his native country. By a royal ordinance of 16th August, 1840, he was enabled to return for three months; afterwards the proscription which had been pronounced against him was entirely removed; and at last permission to search the state archives in order to prepare the history which he had undertaken was granted to him, as if to compensate him in some sort for the severity of his previous treatment.

⁷ *Albert Notta*, a distinguished dramatic author. The King of Prussia bestowed on him the order of the Eagle, for the humane and impartial character of his administration in regard to the Vaudois.—(BERT, *Valdesi*, p. 269, note 2.)

The danger of an extension of the influence of the Vaudois, or even of their possessions, seemed especially to occupy the thoughts of their adversaries.¹ Numerous attempts at proselytism were also made at this period.² In 1841, a special intimation was addressed to the Protestants who possessed lands beyond the old limits, that they would have to dispose of them within a fixed time.³ The persons affected by this intimation addressed a petition to the government: and by a decision of the senate of Turin, they were authorized to retain those properties which had been acquired before the 17th of April, 1831, the period when Charles Albert had ascended the throne. A new petition was presented, in name of the proprietors whom the edict of dispossession still affected. They represented that the ancient limits were become too narrow for the increase of the population, and asked to be permitted to retain the lands which they had purchased beyond them. But no regard was paid to this petition, and the minister of the interior held by the decision of the senate.⁴

¹ It was, above all things, the influence of the Bible, which the Vaudois carried with them, which was feared. In 1826, a quantity of Bibles having been sent from Geneva to the Vaudois valleys, the Piedmontese government did not permit them to reach the hands of the pastors except on condition that these words should be written on each volume—*Forbidden to be given, sold, or lent to Catholics.*—(*Methodist Magazine* for the year 1833, p. 23.—See also BERT, *Valdesi*, p. 280.)

² Amongst the persons carried off from their friends, or induced to leave them in order to retire into Catholic establishments, was, in the year 1841, a young blind girl, the last descendant of the great Arnaud. "The greatest advantages are offered to a Vaudois who changes his religion; and if a Roman Catholic becomes a Protestant, he is condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Every religious journal, sent from abroad and addressed to a Vaudois, is retained at the post-office. Any Vaudois who may be convicted of lending his Bible to a Roman Catholic, is to be punished with imprisonment."—(*Archives du Christianisme*, second series, t. IX., p. 45.—See also BERT, *Valdesi*, pp. 235 and 293.)

At the same period, a pontifical bull, approved by a royal ordinance, authorized the establishment of a permanent mission in the valleys. "The bull bears that this establishment shall be composed at least of eight monks, having a superior and a steward, with a prebend of 16,000 francs a-year. Their vocation is to be that of missionary preachers, wherever they shall be required by the bishops, and especially amongst the Protestants of the valleys."—(Letters from the Vaudois valleys, of 18th November, 1848.) This establishment was placed under the patronage of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus. It took the name of the *Priory of the Sacred Religion*, and was erected at the gates of La Tour. "During the building of this convent and of its great church, the people of the valleys, full of uneasiness and anxiety, could not think without emotion of the intentions which it indicated." (Monastier, II., p. 215.) Hitherto, however, the monks resident there have shown much reserve and moderation. The dedication of this building took place on 23d September, 1844. I will speak of it farther on, because of some circumstances which then took place, reassuring for the Vaudois, and of the very different character which this ceremony thence received.

³ Two years for lands of two journals, and four for larger properties.

⁴ The petition is of date, 10th January, 1842, and the reply of 23d February.

The Vaudois Table presented another petition, and was in consequence permitted to draw up a special statistical report on the population of the valleys, to show that it was confined within insufficient limits. On its representations, supported by proofs and reasons, the proprietors of the lands purchased beyond the limits, since 1831, were individually authorized to retain them, but upon a special petition and permission in the case of each.¹

Since that time, the wise and liberal courses which the government of Charles Albert has pursued, always keeping pace with the progress of civilization and of the wants of his people, have caused the quiet disappearance of the vestiges of an antiquated system. To the generous views and perseverance of this illustrious monarch it is to be ascribed, that his reign afterwards became capable of being quoted as an example confirmatory of the great truth that reforms prevent revolutions.

At this period, proposals of emigration were made to the Vaudois, which they did not accept.—(BERT, *Valdesi*, 296, 297.) And the government itself gave secret instructions to its agents, on the subject of the mixed marriages and purchases of the Vaudois, that they should be left in peace, in spite of the solicitations of the Catholic party to the contrary effect.—(*Echo des Vallées*, second year, p. 142, quotation of M. Bert's work.)

¹ These various instigations were in great part owing to representations made by the British government to the court of Turin. Lord Aberdeen, amongst others, took a warm interest in the Vaudois.—(See *Report of the Vaudois Committee*, for the year 1843, published by Murray in 1845, p. 16, paragraph 3.) Mr. Allen also exerted himself much in their favour.—(BERT, *Valdesi*, p. 261.)

CHAPTER XXIV.

RELIGIOUS REVIVAL, AND FOUNDATION OF VARIOUS INSTITUTIONS IN THE VAUDOIS VALLEYS.¹

(A.D. 1824 TO A.D. 1847.)

FELIX NEFF—THE HOSPITAL—THE COLLEGE—THE DISCIPLINE
—THE SCHOOLS—BECKWITH.

Circumstances providentially conspiring to preserve the unity of the Vaudois body—Felix Neff—Temporary separation of some zealous Christians from the general body of the Vaudois church—Revival of religion throughout the whole of that church—New and valuable institutions—Kindness of Christian friends—Vaudois hospital—Count de Waldburg Truchsess—General Beckwith—Schools founded by his exertions—Dr. Gilly—Code of Discipline—Confession of Faith—The Protestant congregation at Turin formally admitted as a Vaudois parish—Establishment of two new parishes, Macel and Rodoret—Other ecclesiastical arrangements—Collections for religious and charitable purposes—Bianqui's legacy.

WHEN society, in any country, undergoes a process of regeneration, it rarely happens but that all the elements of social existence are involved in it. Life cannot be transformed without a reaction on the sources of life, whence the religious sentiment proceeds; and

¹ AUTHORITIES.—Acts of Synods of the Vaudois church, and Reports of the Table to these meetings.—Labours of the Vaudois Committee formed in London.—*Sketch of the History and Present Situation of the Vaudois*, by HUGH AGLAND: London, 1825 (in English).—JACKSON, *Remarks on the Vaudois of Piedmont* (same language): London, 1826.—*On the Church Government of the Vaudois Churches of Piedmont*, in German, by WEISS, Secretary to the Synod of Zurich, 1844 (of viii. and 76 pages).—*A Tale of the Vaudois, &c.* . . . by S. WEBB: London, 1842, 251 pages.—HENDERSON, *The Vaudois, comprising Observations . . . in the Summer of 1844*: London, 1845; viii. and 262 pages.—BAIRD, *Sketch of Protestantism in Italy*; Boston, 1845. (Treats of the Vaudois in the third part, Chaps. II.—VII.)—MAITLAND, *Facts and Documents*, . . . concerning the Waldenses and Albigenses; London, 1832.—WILLIAM SIME, *History of the Waldenses from the Earliest Period . . . till the Present Time*; Edinburgh, 1839, 3 vols. See vol. III.—TH. MAYERHOFF, *Die Waldenser in unseren Tagen* . . . with the Statistics of their Churches; Berlin, 1834.—SANTA ROSA, *Histoire de la Révolution Piémontaise* (of 1821); Paris, 1822.—PELLEGRIN, *Exposé Historique de l'état des Vaudois dans les vallées du Piémont*; Haarlem, 1824.—*Notice sur l'état actuel des Eglises Vaudoises Protestantes des vallées du Piémont, suivie des ordonnances intolérantes rendues contre ces Chrétiens réformés, de leur pétition au roi de Sardaigne, et du tableau statistique des communes Vaudoises*; Paris, 1822. Without author's name. Attributed to Charles Coquerel.—*Mémoire Historico-Statistique sur les Vaudois* . . . by Paul Appia. A manuscript communicated to me.—*A Proposal to Establish Schools for the Education of the Female Children of the Waldenses, &c.* A manuscript communicated to me. (It was proposed in this paper to found in the valleys

this again cannot be elevated or lowered without a modification of everything that belongs to humanity. The corrupting breath of the eighteenth century had withered and dried up, so to speak, all the developments and manifestations of religion which it could reach: but religion was therefore only to start forth in new life, more independent, more spontaneous, and more evangelical.

The unity of the Vaudois church had been providentially maintained by the very trials to which it had been subjected. Faith had been strengthened by persecutions; the spirit of a few martyrs had become that of a whole people. The orders issued in 1698 and in 1730, that all persons of foreign birth who had settled as inhabitants of the valleys should quit them, whilst they grievously afflicted the hearts of many, preserved more pure the Vaudois nationality: and the prohibition of mixed marriages prevented that small people from being absorbed or invaded by the greater numbers who surrounded them on all sides. Were not alliances with strangers very nearly the destruction of the people of Israel?

By the narrow limits within which the Vaudois were confined, they were preserved from the danger of being scattered far from the abodes of their religion, and perhaps of becoming infidel when they had forgotten it. The time approached when these barriers were to be removed. It could no longer be by mere external agencies that the unity of the body should be maintained in the Vaudois church. It was necessary that they should be succeeded by a living internal force: and God provided it.

A young officer of artillery exclaimed in a moment of distress, "O God! grant me the knowledge of thy truth, and be pleased to manifest thyself to my heart!" and thereafter, he resumed his studies and devoted himself to the ministry of the gospel. This youth was Felix Neff. Conducted by Providence to the midst of those deep retreats in which the Vaudois church had dwelt in the French Alps, he consecrated all his energies to the evangelization of their rude inhabitants, and gave his very life in this cause.

118 girls' schools, viz.—15 large schools, with salary of 250 francs; and 103 small ones, with salary of 75 francs. They were to have been maintained by voluntary contributions of five shillings. The project was not carried into effect, but the paper is interesting.)—*I Valdesi, ossia i Christiani Cattolici seconda la chiesa primitiva . . . cenni storici, da A. Bert*: Torino, 1849. This is one of the most important works which have hitherto been written on the modern history of the Vaudois.—Very interesting details on this subject will also be found in the *Echo des Vallées*. (This journal, ably conducted by Professor Meille, was established at La Tour in 1848. It is the first periodical publication which has appeared in the Vaudois valleys).—The foreign journals, which have treated of the affairs of the Vaudois at this period, may also be consulted with advantage. Likewise contemporary notes and letters.

"The dreadful and sublime aspect of this wilderness," he wrote from Dormilhouse,¹ "which served as a retreat for the truth, when almost all the world lay in darkness—the thought of all the martyrs who watered it with their blood—the deep caverns into which they went to read the holy Scriptures in secret, and to worship God in spirit and in truth—everything elevates the soul and inspires sentiments which it is difficult to express. But the inhabitants, morally and physically degenerate, remind the Christian that sin and death are the only things truly hereditary amongst the children of Adam."—"The work of an evangelist in the Alps," he says at another time,² "much resembles that of a missionary amongst savages; for the little civilization which he finds, is rather an obstacle to him than an assistance. Of all the valleys which I visit, that of Freyssinières is, in this respect, in the most backward state. Here everything is to be originated—education, house-building, agriculture."

But the generous pastor did not allow himself to be discouraged. At Dormilhouse the inhabitants were not accustomed to water their meadows; Neff said to them, "You do with these waters as you do with the waters of salvation: God sends you both the one and the other in abundance, and your meadows like your hearts, languish in drought." He taught them how to make their lands more productive: but his great desire was the quickening of their souls. "During these eight days," he writes, after the Passion week of 1825, "I have not had thirty hours of repose: no distinction has been made of day and night: before, after, and between the public services, there have been nothing but prayers and pious conversations."

In the following year, he visited the Vaudois valleys of Piedmont. "I shall not attempt," he says, "to describe the impression made upon me by the magnificent scene which presented itself to my view. The beauty of the vegetation in these valleys, strikingly contrasts with the aridity of the French Alps. The admiration excited by the rocks and glaciers which surround you, by these rich valleys which extend beneath your feet, and by the vast plains of Italy in the distance, raises the heart to the Lord. But the Vaudois have greatly degenerated, and many of them, without having made an outward change of religion, have departed farther from the faith of their fathers, than if they had become Catholics."³

This severe judgment did not prevent the most fervent charity.

¹ In January, 1824.

² March, 1825.

³ These last words are from a letter written from Geneva, 15th May, 1823, to the brethren of the Vaudois valleys of Piedmont.

Meetings for prayer were formed without the official circle of the church. Religious life thus began to separate itself from the habitual forms, under which the want of it is too often disguised. But the worldly raised an outcry: and these private meetings were denounced to the intendant of Pignerol, who addressed himself on this subject to the moderator. The moderator replied that they were according to evangelical right, and this reply put an end to the prosecutions which had been commenced: the intendant, however, recommended the members of these meetings to conduct them as quietly as possible, because they were contrary to the law of September, 1821.¹

Along with religious life, revived the zeal for good works which it produces. The Vaudois (those chiefly who attended the new meetings) sent the offering of their sympathies and their poverty to the missionaries who hazarded their lives for the propagation of the gospel. But human weakness always shows itself somehow in all things which take place among men. Upright in their hearts and rejoicing in the change of life to which Providence had called them—feeling also very strongly what a void was sometimes covered by the official forms of worship in the case of those who attended with indifference—a number of these Vaudois brethren did not hesitate to say that they had changed their religion. The Catholic party were delighted to hear it, supposing that they beheld a symptom of dissolution and of death in a phenomenon which was entirely one of regeneration and of life. The Vaudois, on the contrary, attached to the worship of their fathers, were grieved by these intestine divisions, embittered by ignorance and often fomented by pride. The special pastor of the little flock, which had withdrawn itself from the general fold, wrote a pamphlet entitled *The Vaudois convicted of Heresy*.² On both sides, charity had much need to vindicate her forgotten rights. But by the very commotion which arose from this want of moderation, many hidden chords were moved, a profound impression was produced, and a religious revival more durable and more general was the result. At the present day, the clergy of the Vaudois church are themselves to be found at the head of this movement: and the sectaries,³ if they still exist, appear as friends and not as dissenters.

¹ *Methodist Magazine* for the year 1833, p. 24.

² Published at Pignerol in 1836. With permission of the Episcopal grand-vicar. An 8vo pamphlet of fifty-eight pages. It was on 22d May, 1831, that the author of this work was elected as pastor of the Free church, and on the 15th May, that that body detached itself from the ancient Vaudois church.

³ There were, after this date, some who, without ceasing to take part in the religious meetings of their countrymen, and fully recognizing the integrity of the morals and doctrine of the pastors, withdrew themselves from the Vaudois communion for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and awaited the uncertain visit

The solicitude of Christian souls, having thus been awakened for the spiritual welfare of the Vaudois, was at the same time more strongly drawn to their temporal wants. They were entitled to have physicians of their own religion, but the greater part of their sick had not the means necessary to follow out a course of medical treatment. The idea of erecting an hospital in the valleys, entered the minds of some generous persons.¹ "When its establishment," says M. Bert,² "was proposed to the synod,³ the execution of the project was regarded as almost impossible. Very soon after, everything concurred in the most wonderful manner to its success, although it required means far above our ability. His majesty, our august sovereign, was pleased to authorize the foundation of the hospital,⁴ and their excellencies, the representatives of the Protestant powers at Turin, opened up to us everywhere, by their recommendations, advantageous methods of attaining this object. We are, in particular, under the greatest obligations to his excellency the Count de Waldburg Truchsess.⁵ As soon as he knew that we were authorized to purchase the site designed for this institution, he sent us the sum necessary for that purpose; this being only part of a gift of 12,000 francs, which was made to the Vaudois, and placed at his disposal for our behoof by his majesty Alexander I., Emperor of Russia. This imperial gift was also an effect of the kind intercession of M. de Truchsess. We afterwards thought it necessary to appoint a deputy, to gather in the collections which were announced to us from abroad.⁶ . . . He set out in May, 1824;

of some passing separatist pastor, of whom they often knew neither the morals, nor the living doctrine, to receive the communion from his hand, in a little chamber of their own. I know not how long this continued to be the case. But such details are too minute and inconsiderable to find a place amongst the great facts of history.

¹ The first manifest germ of it which I know of, appears in a correspondence, carried on at this period, between Madame Geymet and a Genevese professor (M. Chenevières).

² Report read to the synod held at La Tour, 16-18th September, 1828, by M. Bert, moderator (who was then succeeded by M. Rostaing, after having received the thanks of the meeting for his singularly able discharge of the duties of his office, as well as for his report).

³ Held at St. Germain, 26-28th August, 1823.

⁴ By royal letters-patent of 6th January, 1824.

⁵ Ambassador of Prussia, and the constant protector of the Vaudois. His remains repose amongst them, in the burying ground of La Tour, where they were deposited on 18th August, 1844, according to a wish which he had expressed. M. Amadeus Bert, son of the moderator whose report I have here quoted, delivered a funeral discourse of much talent, over the worthy ambassador. He has published the epitaph engraved on the tomb of Count de Truchsess, in *I Valdesi*, p. 482.

⁶ This deputy bore with him, besides his commission:—

I. A copy of the *plan of the hospital* (adopted by the synod of 1823), authentic. VOL. II.

and went to Switzerland, Berlin, Paris, and England, from which he returned in 1826.¹ The Protestant colonies of Genoa, Turin, and Rome, likewise gave us proofs of their charity and their Christian sympathies.² But these partial succours would not have sufficed without the assistance of the governments to which it became the duty of our collector-deputy to address himself. Before his going to Switzerland the evangelical cantons of that country had already transmitted to his excellency the Count de Truchsess a very considerable sum, which was handed over as from them to our banker at Turin,³ as well as the amount of a collection made in Geneva; and after the departure of our deputy, these same governments permitted committees, voluntarily organized in each canton, to gather in the offerings which might be brought to them on our behalf. Similar committees were successively formed in a number of other countries.⁴ Our excellent compatriot, M. Paul Appia, pastor of the French church at Frankfort-on-the-Maine,⁵ travelled into the Low Countries,⁶ where his pious discourses inflamed still more a charity already ardent and well known. He produced the same effect in Paris, where the most eminent pastors of the church interested themselves in the cause which he advocated.⁷

cated by the ministers plenipotentiary of Prussia, England, and the Netherlands, at the court of Turin, on the 16th, 20th, and 22d of May, 1824.

II. A copy of the decree of the intendant of Pignerol (*caccia*) dated, 10th January, 1824, and authorizing the projected institution, in virtue of the *lettres-patent* of 6th January. This document was also authenticated.

III. Three letters of recommendation addressed by the ambassadors of Prussia, England, and the Netherlands, to all the legations of these powers in the different capitals of Europe; dated 22d, 24th, and 29th April, 1824.

IV. Similar letters from various bankers of Turin, Geneva, and Basle, addressed to their correspondents in the principal commercial towns of Europe.

This deputy everywhere met with a warm and generous reception.—I abstain from entering into further particulars concerning the manner in which he executed his commission.

¹ Holland, Sweden, and Denmark, contributed also much to this institution.

² Two collections were set on foot in Rome, in favour of the Vaudois hospital, one by the Rev. Mr. Hobard, an American bishop of the Anglican communion, and the other by Mr. Plenderleath, of Bristol, who had been present at the synod of 1823, in which the establishment of the hospital was proposed. Mr. Plenderleath published an English translation of the Romance poem *La Nobla Leyczon*, with a remarkable preface, on the state of the Vaudois (Bristol, 1825).

³ Joseph Malan, the present proprietor of the manufactory of Pra-la-Fera, at the entrance of the valley of La Tour. This is the most considerable manufacturing establishment in the valleys.

⁴ In Würtemberg, Prussia, Holland, England, &c. The lists of their members would have been given here, if space had permitted.

⁵ It is to him that I am indebted for the various communications, so often quoted with his name, in the pages of the *Israel of the Alps*. He himself published a *Notice sur les Vaudois*.
⁶ In the autumn of 1825.

⁷ M. Ch. Coquerel had already published a *Notice sur les Vaudois du Piémont*,

At last, at the end of two years, we had the satisfaction of seeing our hospital founded, thanks to the charity of great and small, who vied with each other in contributing to this institution according to their ability. The kings of Great Britain, Prussia, and the Netherlands, did not disdain to place their august names on the list of subscribers. So many multiplied favours make us say with admiration and gratitude, 'This is the Lord's doing: it is marvellous in our eyes' (Ps. cxviii. 23). How much reason have we to bless the Lord? How much reason also to redouble our efforts to show ourselves worthy of such kindness? O, may we never give cause to think that we are undeserving of it!"¹

The accounts connected with this institution were afterwards submitted to the synod.² The regulations of the hospital were also approved.³ This institution was erected in the valley of Lu-an 8vo pamphlet of thirty-two pages, Paris, 1822.—Numerous publications in prose and verse appeared from 1824 to 1825, on the subject of the hospital. Some of them are noticed in the *Bibliography*.

¹ I ought to mention also a Vaudois, M. Pellegrin, then in Holland, who wrote an *Abrégé de l'histoire des Vaudois*, the sale of which, along with some gifts collected by the author, produced the sum of 2750 francs, 70 cents., in favour of the hospital.

² The following is an abstract of them:—

Sums received:—	Francs.	Cents.
From the Emperor of Russia	12,000	00
From various collections	69,670	92
Donations by individuals	1,397	10
Interest of these sums added to the capital (from 1823 to 1827) ..	21,207	21
Donations subsequently received	8,245	65
Collections in Sweden	29,812	00
	142,332	88

Outlay.—Purchase of the site; purchase of the furniture; expenses of the collector; building. (The exact sums are not set down under these heads; but the accounts having been presented to the synod, were found correct, within a trifle.)

Sums placed at interest, arising chiefly from collections made in the following countries, and from the gifts of their respective sovereigns:—

	Francs.	Francs.
In Prussia; capital	80,660	Interest 4083
In England.....	72,620	" 3731
In Holland.....	57,000	" 2950
	213,280	10,764

To this revenue of nearly 11,000 francs, destined to the support of the hospital at La Tour and the dispensary of Le Pomaret, must be added the rents of a very considerable estate, purchased in the valleys themselves, with the amount of the first sums indicated in this note, and serving for the endowment of the institution. (The revenues of the hospital in 1845 amounted to 14,070 francs.)

³ The following are the principal regulations:—

1. The institution to be governed by a committee of seven members, all serving gratuitously.
2. The treasurer to give security.
5. The committee to meet for business every three months.

cerna,¹ and a few years after, means were found for adding a supplementary one in that of St. Martin.²

At the same period, the Rev. Dr. Gilly, having drawn the attention of the English public to the Vaudois valleys, by his narrative of his journey thither in 1823,³ may be said to have become the founder of the college of the Holy Trinity, which was soon afterwards established at La Tour.⁴ A branch of this institution was

6. The committee to nominate all the officials of the hospital, and to manage its affairs, under the superintendence of the Table.

8. The Table, as representing the synod, to have the principal management and inspection of the hospital. The examination of the accounts submitted by the committee, to take place every two years at least.

9. The hospital to receive patients, in proportion to its means.

10. Not to admit those who are declared incurable, or those afflicted with shameful diseases.

11. If any patient, whilst in the hospital, shall be declared incurable, he cannot remain more than one year from the date of that declaration.

15. The papers demanded in order to the admission of a patient, shall be transmitted to the committee by the consistory of the parish in which he resides; these being, (1) a certificate of poverty, (2) one of good life and behaviour, (3) one by the medical attendant, stating the disease, (4) an extract of baptism.

16. When one or more vacant places shall be asked for at the same time by a greater number of patients, the most necessitous shall be preferred; and in case of the claims seeming equal, the most aged shall be admitted first.

(These regulations consist in all of nineteen articles. Experience has caused some of them to be slightly modified.)

¹ Between St. Marguerite and Les Copiers, above La Tour, in a healthy, airy, and quiet situation.

² At Le Pomaret.—In 1845, the hospital of La Tour had fourteen beds and that of Pomaret nine.

³ *Narrative of an excursion to the mountains of Piedmont, and researches among the Vaudois or Waldenses, Protestant inhabitants of the Cottian Alps.* London, 1824-25.—Dr. Gilly is one of the most copious and interesting of all the modern authors, who have taken up the subject of the Vaudois.—He himself owes his reputation and part of his fortune, as well as of his domestic happiness, to the works by which he directed to the Vaudois an attention and sympathies which ere long turned to himself. Having soon afterwards returned to the valleys, accompanied with his family, in 1828 or 1829, he published his new work, *Waldensian Researches, during a second visit to the Waldenses of the Valleys of Piedmont.* London, 1830.

⁴ The immediate possibility of this institution was owing to a single and anonymous donation of £5000 sterling, intrusted to the care and management of Dr. Gilly, and no doubt a result of the interest which the works of that eminent writer had excited in favour of the Vaudois.—The college of La Tour has four professors and a rector, who also acts as a professor; a sixth professor conducts the Latin school of Le Pomaret. "The salary of the masters in both institutions is 1500 francs annually. But two only of these salaries are perfectly secured; three others are only partially so, and one not at all. One gift of 2500 francs granted by the last minister, is all the assistance that public instruction amongst the Vaudois has ever received from the government." (*Echo des Vallées*, t. I., No. of 3d May, 1849, p. 175, note.)

The permission to erect the college, granted by the minister of the interior, on 29th May, 1831, is coupled with this condition that not more than fifteen students

ere long founded in the valley of St. Martin,¹ and General Beckwith was one of those who took part in its establishment.²

To General Beckwith, in particular, the valleys are indebted for the erection or enlargement of 100 schools, as well as for the means of maintaining in them a system of education in harmony with all this advancement.³ Perseveringly surmounting all local obstacles,

shall be admitted into it.—(BERT, *I Valdesi*, p. 277.) But this limit was passed, without any opposition being made to the extension. To the friendship of General Beckwith, the college owes its lecture hall and part of the books of its library. The library has also been enriched by the Vaudois committee of London and by gifts from private individuals.

¹ At Le Pomaret, where the branch hospital was already erected.—There is also the tomb of Peyrani, the erection of which has been ascribed to M. Sims, but must be regarded as ultimately owing to Dr. Gilly.

² Major General Beckwith is an Englishman. He was born on 2d October, 1789. He entered the army in June 1804, and obtained the rank of a major, for his services in Spain, in August, 1814. He was appointed a lieutenant-colonel at the battle of Waterloo, where he lost a limb (18th June, 1815). He has been present in twenty battles. He came to the valleys for the first time, in September, 1827. Since that period he has returned to them every year, and for the last ten years has scarcely ever left them.

³ The ameliorations which have been introduced into public instruction strike those, especially, who have not had opportunity of marking their progress from day to day. "If a Vaudois, long absent," says a recent writer, "were to return now to his native country, he would be filled with admiration at these improvements. 'Who,' he would say, 'is the magician, who, in so short a time, has contrived to effect so great a change?' And then he would be told of one of the finest instances of self-devotion which our times have seen; of a man who, leaving his country, his family, his friends, and all that is delightful in a life of opulence and an honourable position in society, came to spend his days in the obscure retirement of our mountains; and there, amidst difficulties of every kind, created on the one hand by the jealousy of a despotic and suspicious government, and on the other hand by the apathy of a people who had long been crushed by oppression, and were at first rather hostile than favourable to his views, has succeeded by his prudence, his talents, and his sacrifices, in accomplishing a work which was deemed impossible, and even in interesting in it the Vaudois people themselves, who now tax themselves to a considerable amount in order to carry it on." (*Echo des Vallées*, t. I., No. xi. p. 175.)—General Beckwith has caused 100 schools to be built or enlarged, almost entirely at his own expense. To this work, his countrymen say he has devoted £10,000 of his own fortune. (Report of the Vaudois Committee of London, in 1845.)—There are now (1848) in the valleys, fifteen parochial schools, to six of which there is attached a salary of 600 francs; one with a salary of 540 francs; four with 500; two with 400; and two with 300. The greater part of these schools are open during ten months of the year.—There are 129 district schools.—One commune alone has fifteen of them (Ville Sèche); two have twelve (Pral and Prarusting); one has eleven (Pomaret); and two have ten (Angrogna and Villar). That which has fewest is Rora, which has only four. These schools are only open in winter, and only for three or four months.—Their teachers receive a payment of 35 francs, which raises the cost of these two classes of schools to more than 12,000 francs annually.—Of these 12,000 francs, 9500 at least are borne by the Vaudois themselves; the rest comes from the Walloon committee, whose zeal for the good of our church continually increases. The total number of scholars, in the end of 1848, was 4517.

this eminent man has succeeded, within the space of a few years, in giving an entirely new impulse to the cause of primary education in this region. His opinion is, that the future effects of a Christian work will be proportionate to the influence which in the present time it exercises over the young. The future, he says with the feeling of a father, is all in the hands of the young. And devoting himself entirely to the reformation undertaken by his mighty charity, this resolute benefactor of the valleys has, with rare disinterestedness and tenderness, adopted the Vaudois family. He receives in return a tribute of much gratitude.

But even the interest which he takes in the Vaudois is to be gratefully referred to the works of Dr. Gilly, which did so much to make them known; and to him, in like manner, is to be ascribed the origin of the committee formed in London in 1825, on their sole behalf. This committee has constantly taken part in all the improvements which, since that time, have been effected in the valleys.¹

There are, moreover, six schools for girls and six infant schools, open during ten months of the year. The salary of the schoolmistresses varies from 300 to 400 francs.—Four out of six of these girls' schools are maintained at the expense of the London Committee; the other two by voluntary subscriptions. General Beckwith has also founded at La Tour (by permission of the minister, granted, 4th September, 1827) a special establishment for giving a higher education to young females.—He has also provided means for the greater part of the Vaudois teachers going to prepare themselves for their office, in the best normal schools of Switzerland.—(BERT, *Valdesi*, p. 308, 309, &c.) In December, 1848, he received from the Sardinian government the decoration of the order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus (*Ibid.*, p. 313.)

¹ The first meeting of this committee took place at London, 26th May, 1825, in the house of Sir Henry Rose. The Bishop of London, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Winchester were present.—Amongst the authors who were members of it were Messrs. Gilly, Acland, Inglis, Hamilton, Sims, Harrison, Bridge, and Lowther. Most of these authors had devoted their pens to the maintenance of the interests of the Vaudois. The following is a sketch of the labours of the committee:—

(1.) The restitution of the royal English subsidies, amounting to £277 sterling annually. The origin of this fund is to be traced to a residue of the collections made in 1655.—After the departure of seven pastors from the valleys, who went to serve the Vaudois colonies in Germany, in 1689, and with the addition of a part of the funds of the Savoy Hospital in London, the annual proceeds amounted, in 1703, to 1250 francs. Several vicissitudes took place with regard to the sending of it. From 1804 to 1807 the interest of these funds accumulated in the Exchequer. In 1807, the British minister ordered the payment of them to be relinquished, because the valleys were then in the power of France. In 1814, the money began to be sent again, but much reduced in amount. The Vaudois committee presented a petition to the Earl of Liverpool, on 11th March, 1826, having for its object the complete restitution of these funds; and this was obtained, except the interest from 1797 to 1804, which had been otherwise disposed of.

(2.) It contributed to the establishment of the hospital and its dispensary, to which it annually gives assistance to the amount of £150 sterling.

(3.) It contributed to the foundation of the college of La Tour, to which it gives

More complete provision being thus gradually made for the public services of religion and for education, it became the duty of the ecclesiastical body of the valleys to give greater efficacy both to the system of discipline and to the confession of faith. The articles of the *Discipline* were scattered throughout a great number of synodal acts. One of the members of the Table¹ undertook to collect and classify them. He devoted two years to this work, the results of which were afterwards reviewed by all the members of the Table, and finally by the whole synod. In the acts of the synod of 1833,² we read that "The meeting, in terms of the eleventh article of the synod of 1828, having discussed *seriatim* all the articles of the draft of the code of Regulations or *Ecclesiastical Discipline* for the

£20 per annum. The library of this college has also been enriched through the care of the committee. Ten bursaries, of 100 francs each, have been founded there for students. The committee also charged itself with the maintenance of three young Vaudois, who studied in England, in order to become professors at La Tour.

(4.) It allows 1000 francs to the Latin school of Le Pomaret.

(5.) The committee has contributed to the establishment of five girls' schools in the valleys, to which it allows an annual sum of £52 sterling.

(6.) The stipends of the two new parishes established at Macel and Rodoret, on the restitution of £15,000 sterling, obtained by the committee. The sum of £277 sterling (6983 francs, 17 cents, reduced by discount to 6800 francs), which the valleys have regularly received every year since 1827, is thus divided (Report of 1845, p. 8):—

	francs.
For the widows of pastors.....	400
For pastors <i>emeriti</i> (retired from active duty).....	200
Expenses of moderatorship.....	300
For Macel and Rodoret (pastors' stipends).....	2000
For the other pastors (supplement of stipends).....	3900

being 300 francs to each.

(7.) The building of a place of worship and pastor's house at Rodoret. The former pastor's house was destroyed (in 1842) by an avalanche, which buried under the ruins the pastor (M. Buffa), with his wife and child.

(8.) The committee has contributed to the establishment of a place of shelter for the Protestants of Turin.

(9.) It has also contributed to the publication of the *Vaudois Liturgy* (a large and beautiful 4to of 211 pages, from the press of Andrew Shortrede, Edinburgh, 1837), of the *Gospel according to St. John*, translated into the vernacular dialect of the valleys (London, 1832) by M. Bert, with the assistance of some of his colleagues; and of the New Testament in the Piedmontese idiom (London, 1833). The latter work has been placed in the Index. The author of this translation was, I believe, M. Cæsar Geymet, and General Beckwith bore the principal part of the expense of the impression. The Bible Society of London, likewise, contributed to some of these publications.

¹ This was my venerable father, the late Mr. George Muston, then pastor at Bobi, and moderator-adjoint of the Vaudois churches. "More than any one else," says M. Bert, in his report to the synod of 1828, "he has contributed to the accomplishment of this work, by his zeal and activity." It was he also who proposed this draft, as appears from the eleventh article of the synod of 1828.

² Held at St. Germain, 3d to 5th December; article XXI.

valleys, adopts that code, and declares it to be in force from this day."¹

According to this official document, "the evangelical Vaudois church of the valleys of Piedmont is ONE; and it receives and professes for the only rule of its faith the doctrines contained in the Old and New Testaments. (§ i.)

"It regards the *Confession of Faith* published in these valleys in 1655² . . . as a true compendium and pure interpretation of the fundamental doctrines of the Bible." (§ ii.)

¹ It is divided into seven chapters, containing in all 269 articles, which received some modifications in the synod of 1839. The following is an outline of its contents:—Chap. I. OF THE CHURCH (23 articles).—II. OF SYNODS (containing articles 29–63).—III. OF THE TABLE (articles 68–89).—IV. OF THE PASTORS (articles 90–123). This chapter contains also the following sections:—*B. Of Emeritation.* "Emeritation is the power which the pastors have of retiring from the service of the Vaudois church with a retiring pension, which they enjoy during the rest of their life" (art. 124). "This pension is made up of contributions from the communes, contributions from the pastors, those of the Walloon committee (Holland), and funds taken before other distribution from the Royal English subsidy" (art. 123). *C. Widowhood.* Of the wives of pastors (article 134–138). *D. Of the chaplain and professors or ecclesiastical rectors* (art. 132–144). By the chaplain is meant the pastor supplying the Protestant chapel at Turin, in the service and under the protection of the Dutch, Prussian, and English legations.—V. OF THE CONSISTORIES (art. 145–170).—VI. OF THE CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH. *A. Of the Sacraments* (art. 173–183). *B. Confirmation of the Baptismal Vow* (art. 186–189). *C. Of Marriages* (art. 190–209). *D. Of Public Fasts* (art. 210–12). *E. Sanctification of the Sabbath* (art. 213–215). *F. Excommunication* (art. 216–220).—VII. OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION (art. 221–252). *Students* (art. 253–269). This relates to those who propose to devote themselves to the holy ministry.—I regret that want of space prevents me from quoting a greater number of the excellent regulations of this book of discipline.

² This article was added by the synod of 1839. But these words are not sufficient to determine the text of the *Confession of Faith* intended; for in 1655, there was no *Confession of Faith* published, neither official nor private, in the Vaudois valleys. I have reason to believe, however, that the *Confession* intended was that published by Léger in 1669. (Part I. chap. xvii. pp. 112–114.) It was adopted by the synod of 1839, upon these words of the moderator, "Pastors and deputies, are you resolved to be faithful to the faith of your fathers as expressed in this *Confession*?" (Private letter of the editor of the *Echo des Vallées*, dated from La Tour, 15th March, 1850.) The affirmative response cannot be doubted. A critical examination of history has since brought out the fact that this *Confession of Faith* did not emanate from the Vaudois church. (See in the *Bibliography of the Israel of the Alps*, Part I. § ii. No. 2), and that it did not accord with the ancient doctrine of the Vaudois (same *Bibliography*, Part III. chap. i. No. 12).

The synod of 1839 is not responsible for these errors, for the laws then in force prohibited the consideration of questions of doctrine in such meetings, and so the *Confession of 1655* was neither made the subject of debate nor of examination. Each pastor might, no doubt, have previously made it known to his congregation, and might have devoted himself to serious study beforehand on a question of such importance, that it might never be suspected that, in the vote approving of this *Confession of Faith*, the synod was taken by surprise; but all this the Vaudois pastors were not even put in a condition to do. The committee, which was looked

"The Vaudois church ordains its own ministers." (§ iv.)

Its parishes are divided into two classes. (§ vii.)

The translations of pastors take place according to a fixed order. (§§ viii.–xvi.)

"Any appointment of a pastor, made" (by a parish) "in accordance with the established rules, cannot be annulled either by the Table or by the synod."¹ (§ xviii.)

"The deputies to the synod are taken either from the parish which deposes them, or not, but they must be Vaudois." (§ xxiv.)—The election of these deputies is by ballot, and by universal suffrage. (§ xxv.)—This has always been the mode of election in the Vaudois church.

"The synods are held alternately in the valley of Lucerna and in that of Saint Martin. The place of meeting is always appointed by the previous synod." (§§ xli., xlii.)

The sitting is opened with prayer; provision is made for vacant parishes; the Table reads a report of its proceedings; the meeting names a committee to examine the accounts, after which it pro-

upon as having performed this examination, had not even the right to take that first step, for it had been appointed to occupy itself with the subject of a system of discipline, and not with that of a *Confession of Faith*. Finally, its examination was ill performed; for the opinions which it advanced as to the origin and doctrines of this *Confession* are completely erroneous. The doctrine established by this disputed formulary is that of Predestination. It is followed by a protestation against fifteen heads of heterodoxy, which the confessionists are accused of establishing by this doctrine (Léger, Part I. ch. xvii. pp. 115, 116), such, for example, as "that in virtue of Predestination it matters little whether a man does good or ill" (art. 6), and that the salvation or damnation of each man being determined before his birth, "he contributes nothing more to it, do what he may, than a piece of wood or a stone" (art. 5). "We hold," say they, "all these heads of doctrine to be heretical and damnable, and, with all our heart, we pronounce an ANATHEMA against any who may maintain them" (Léger, Part I. ch. xvii. p. 116).—This is the way in which Rome has been accustomed to reply to arguments, but it is not the language of the ancient Vaudois. "To know the Vaudois church aright," said the late venerable pastor Appia, "we must look upon it as it was before the Reformation. Its aspect then was not yet deformed by Calvinistic professions of faith. It was not a happy day for it, when the colossal but dialectic genius of Calvin drew it into its vortex, and when he imprinted upon it the marks of his vigorous but harsh chisel. I love rather to think of our Barbas, reciting their passages of the Bible in caverns or in the open air. . . . O! why could not the evangelical Christians of our valleys be left to remain in their humility the same that they were before the deluge of controversies, men of the Bible, of sacred songs, of prayer, and of self-sacrifice, poor in spirit! for to such belongs the kingdom of God." (Letter of M. Paul Appia, pastor at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, dated from that city, 4th March, 1842.)—See, on the same subject, in the *Bibliography* at the end of this volume, Part III. chap. i. No. 12.

¹ The passages in inverted commas, are exactly copied from the *Discipline*; those which are not in inverted commas have been subjected to changes of expression, so that they only give in an abridged form the meaning of the articles cited, as much as seemed appropriate to the purpose of this Work.

ceeds to the appointment of a new Table; and the new moderator takes the chair in the synod.¹ (§§ xliii-xlix.)

"The meeting cannot reconsider a resolution deliberately adopted in the synod, except upon the demand of two-thirds of the voters." (§ lvii.)

An authenticated copy of the Acts of the Synod is transmitted to each pastor, and it is his duty to read it in public, and to preserve it in the archives of his parish. (§ lxviii.)

"The Table, appointed by the synod, is the administrative and permanent authority of the Vaudois church from one synod to another; it is composed of five members, of whom three are ecclesiastics² and two are laymen." (§ lxix.)—"It keeps a record of all its proceedings." (§ lxxxviii.)

"The members of the Table meet not at fixed times, but whenever the general interests of the church, or the particular interests of parishes, require it." (§ lxxiii.)

It takes part, by one of its members deputed for the purpose, in the annual examinations of the students of the college and pupils of the Latin school; also in the meetings for competition for academic bursaries. (§ lxxxii, lxxxiii.)—It makes pastoral visitations. "The object of the pastoral visitation is the examination of the accounts, registers, and records of each parish. Cognizance is taken of its religious and moral condition. If any disputes exist, an attempt is made to effect a reconciliation. This visitation is preceded by Divine service. The result of the inspection is engrossed in the records of the parish, and in those of the Table." (§ lxxxvii.)

"When a pastor is sick, his parish is supplied, once a fortnight, by the other pastors in turn." (§ ex.)

The flock in any parish, as well as its pastor, can appeal to the synod from any decision of the Table, which, however, in the meantime takes effect. (§ cxvii.)

"Each parish has a consistory, which is composed of the pastor, as many elders as there are districts [*quartiers*] in the parish, the deacon or treasurer, and the procurator of the poor."³ (§ cxlv.)

"No one may fill the office of elder, who has not completed twenty-five years of age,—who is not known as a man of good morals,—who cannot deliver in person the written documents connected with his office,—who partakes in the assistance granted by the consistory to the poor of the commune,—who keeps a public-house,—

¹ The synods are to be held, as of course, once every five years, and more frequently if there is need.

² The moderator, the moderator-adjoint, and the secretary.

³ This latter office has not been established in all the parishes.

who does not reside within his district,—or who stands in the relationship of father, son, or brother, to any member of the consistory." (§ cl.)

The election of an elder takes place by ballot, by the heads of families in the vacant district. Each voter's paper bears three names. If from all these papers three names are obtained, having the absolute majority of votes, these three names form what is called the *rose* of the district [*la rose du quartier*]. "Next Sabbath, the pastor presents to the consistory the minute of these proceedings, and from amongst the three candidates who form the *rose*, the consistory appoint the one whom they deem most fit to fill the office of elder." (§ cli.)

"Each elder is required to watch over his district, to make known to the consistory the necessitous poor,—to visit and console the sick,—to reconcile persons who are at variance,—to repress scandals,—to assist the pastor in the distribution of the Lord's Supper,—to take part in the deliberations of the consistory, and to vote in it," &c. (§ cliv.)

"The money allotted for the support of the poor can only be distributed by the deacon, on the written request of the pastor, founded upon a resolution of the consistory." (§ clxi.) "The consistory shall annually inform the congregation, by a report with explanations, concerning the receipt and expenditure of the poor's money." (§ clxx.)

There is a parochial school in each parish, called the *great school*, and there are also district schools. (§ ccxxi.)

"No one shall be appointed regent or teacher of the great school, who is not furnished with a certificate from the Table of his ability and moral character, and such certificate shall be available only for one year." (§ ccxxiii.)

"The regent of a great school is required, besides his duties in the school, to perform the church service in the reading of the Holy Scriptures, and in conducting the singing; also in conducting the evening and morning prayers daily throughout the week, and to read the funeral service when the pastor shall be prevented from so doing." (§ ccxxxiii.)

"The teacher of a district school is required, besides his duties in the school, to conduct prayer in his district every Sabbath about two o'clock in the afternoon, during the period of his teaching." (§ ccxxxii.)

"Each consistory is required to draw up an annual report of the state of the schools of the parish, and to transmit it to the Table, in course of the month of March." (§ ccxliii.)

"The choice of the academies in which a Vaudois student proposes to study for the holy ministry, in the service of his native country, must be approved by the Table." (§ ccliv.)¹

The little Protestant congregation of Turin, which was founded as a ministerial charge in 1827,² under the name of the *Chapel of the Protestant Legations*, was annexed twenty-two years after, to the ecclesiastical body of the valleys. "The Vaudois residing in Turin, along with the great majority of the Swiss settled there, addressed to the administrative authority of the Vaudois church a petition for incorporation,³ to which that authority most gladly gave a favourable reply, the rights of the synod being reserved. In consequence of this resolution, a deputation of the Table proceeded to the capital, where, on Sabbath, 29th July (1849), after a fervent sermon by the moderator, from the words, *Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty*,⁴ the congregation of Turin was declared to be a *parish* of the Vaudois church, and was asked to constitute itself a parish accordingly, in terms of the regulations of that church, which was immediately done."⁵

The number of parishes in the valleys was also augmented. From 1686 to 1829 there had been only thirteen. At that period, the interest of the arrears of the English royal subsidy, the payment of which to the Vaudois church was obtained by the London committee, and in particular by Dr. Gilly, enabled the church to provide stipends for two new pastors. But the rescripts of 1730 and 1740,⁶ which had been brought into force again by the Restoration, prohibited the Vaudois from increasing the number of their places of worship, and implicitly also from increasing that of their pastors. However, advantage was taken of the circumstance that there were no express words limiting the number of the latter; and as there were two places of worship in many parishes, a colleague, with the title of substitute, was given to the pastor who supplied them. Macel was thus detached from the parish of Maneille, and

¹ At the end of this *Discipline* are the words "Done and concluded at St. John, in the synodal assembly held there on 20th April, 1839."

² On 27th June, 1827, the Prussian ambassador, the Count De Waldbourg Truchsess, wrote to the Table, to request the services of a Vaudois pastor as chaplain; and by a resolution of 6th July, 1827, M. Bonjour was appointed to that office, in which he was succeeded by M. A. Bert, in 1834.

³ 1st July, 1849.

⁴ Extracted from the *ECHO OF THE VALLEYS*, a monthly paper, specially devoted to the interests of the Vaudois family. Second year, No. for 6th Sept., 1849, p. 44.—This paper, established and ably conducted by the Rev. M. Meille, is the first journal ever published in the valleys.

⁵ The documents here referred to were mere instructions founded upon anterior edicts, which are quoted in them.

Rodoret from that of Pral. These two districts, each shut in by high mountains, were in reality too extensive to be adequately served by one pastor.

The introduction of lay members into the administrative body of the Vaudois church dates only from 1823. "Until that date," says M. Bert,¹ "the laity not being permitted to take any part in the affairs of the valleys, viewed with some measure of distrust the way in which they were conducted by a Table entirely ecclesiastical. On the other hand, the pastors, whom the very suspicions of the laity made to regard them with an unfavourable eye, thought it their duty and their interest to cherish amongst themselves an exclusive feeling, keeping the laity at a distance, in order to be independent of them. Thus, unhappily, from the want of a good understanding between them, they inflicted mutual injury upon one another." Since each valley has had its lay representative admitted to the deliberations of the Table, by the unanimous decision of the synod of 1823, the union has become more intimate between the pastors and their flocks; and the mutual confidence between those in whose hands the administrative power is vested and those amongst whom it is exercised, has become more firm, more thoroughly based upon grounds of knowledge, and therefore more powerful for the promotion of their common interests. The right management of affairs, instead of being impeded, has been much promoted; the records of the Table have been much more regularly kept; the wants of the valleys have been better known; benefactions have been more felt, and benefactors more appreciated.

Fraternal conferences of all the Vaudois pastors take place every year; in spring, in one of the two valleys; in autumn, in the other. The pastors of the same valley also hold meetings by themselves [*colloques*] in each other's houses. A school has been established for the special purpose of training young teachers for the work of teaching;² and the schoolmasters in actual employment have recently been called upon to attend a course of the Italian language, in preparation for which three professors of the college of the Trinity have been sent to Tuscany.³ The library of that college has been rapidly enriched, and the records of the valleys are henceforth to

¹ Report to the synod of 1828.

² Report of M. Bert to the synod of 1828. (Near the end.)

³ Before 1630, the national language of the Vaudois was the Italian. In this language Gilles commenced the writing of his history. The plague, which visited the valleys in 1630, having deprived the Vaudois church of fifteen pastors out of seventeen, it was found necessary to bring pastors from Geneva; and these making use of the French language in their preaching, it came gradually to predominate. Since 1843, an endeavour has been made to restore in the valleys the use of Italian.

be deposited in it. Thus, everything concurs to give greater completeness to the measures of organization and improvement, which seem to secure the future prosperity of the Vaudois church.

Constantly receiving the most generous assistance from their brethren in religion in foreign countries, the Vaudois have in their turn acknowledged the obligation of contributing their mite out of their poverty, along with the riches of their prayers, to their benefactors in times of necessity. "Gentlemen," said the commissioners of the Walloon churches to those by whom they were appointed,¹ "when the news of the inundations which afflicted some of our provinces last winter came to the knowledge of our Vaudois brethren, it caused amongst them a general consternation and affliction, inasmuch that the directors of their churches immediately appointed a day to be observed as a day of humiliation and prayer, which was kept with remarkable devotion on the 27th of March last. Shortly after, on the request of M. Van der Hoeven, the minister of his majesty our king at the court of Turin, a general collection was made in the valleys for the behoof of our countrymen who were ruined by the calamity. This collection, recommended by the thirteen Vaudois pastors, has amounted to the sum of 4301 francs and some sous—a prodigious sum for a people so poor, and this after a season by no means favourable, and an imperfect harvest. And since that time, our Vaudois correspondents, notwithstanding their wants, have had the delicacy of feeling to ask nothing from us. Touched by this considerateness, we recommend their interests all the more earnestly to your regard," &c. Collections and contributions at the same time multiplied in the valleys in favour of Bible societies, missions, and benevolent institutions of various kinds.²

But whilst the Vaudois in their own country remembered the foreigners who manifested so much interest in them, those of them also who were in foreign countries did not forget their native land. A Vaudois, named Bianquis, who died in London, where he had filled the situation of a domestic servant, left his little fortune to the parish of La Tour, to be employed in the education of a few poor children.³ He had been poor himself, and he knew the value of education. Now that its blessings are so abundantly offered to

¹ In a report presented to the meeting of pastors at Leyden, 13th August, 1825.

² The collection in favour of *evangelical missions*, which is annually made in the Vaudois church, yielded, for employment in 1848-49, a sum of 1203 francs 90 cents. (Note extracted from the *Echo of the Valleys*. T. i., p. 162.)

³ With the produce of what M. Bianquis left, a property at Les Braïdes was purchased. This small estate yields about 450 francs annually, a sum sufficient for six poor children, who thus receive from 75 to 80 francs annually to facilitate their education.

his countrymen, may the Vaudois youth have grace to profit by them, for "he that refuseth instruction," the Bible says, "despiseth his own soul."¹ Many generous strangers have provided, in different instances, for the education of young persons in our valleys, whom lively sympathies have led them to take under their charge. The silence in which such noble actions are concealed is the purest halo of glory around them. To betray the modesty in which they are performed would be to take away the bloom and freshness of their beauty.

It now remains to show, in the following chapter, the wisely progressive course, directed by a constant increase of favourable feeling towards the Vaudois, which the Piedmontese government has pursued in order to their emancipation.

CHAPTER XXV.

CIVIL AND POLITICAL EMANCIPATION OF THE VAUDOIS DURING THE REIGN OF CHARLES ALBERT.²

(A.D. 1847 TO A.D. 1850.)

The political changes in the kingdom of Sardinia were begun before the revolutionary explosion of 1848—Change of tactics on the part of the Popish clergy, upon the change of policy by the government—Polemical pastorals and other controversial publications—Charles Albert visits the valleys in 1844.—His generous confidence in the Vaudois, and enthusiastic reception by them—Demonstrations of the gratitude of the Vaudois to General Beekwith—Amelioration of their political condition—The Marquis d'Azeglio—*The Statute*, or Constitutional Charter of the kingdom of Sardinia, 8th February, 1848—Admission of the Vaudois to all the civil privileges of their countrymen, 17th February, 1848—Great rejoicings—French Revolution of 1848—Consequent revolutions and wars in Italy—Defeat, abdication, and death of Charles Albert—Charles Emmanuel V. succeeds to the crown—Present state of the Vaudois.

AFTER the great political movements of 1848, it is not wonderful that from the shaken thrones there have at length fallen on the people of more than one country a few blessings of liberty; and, in this point of view, the civil and political emancipation of the Vaudois, of which we are now to speak, might have been regarded

¹ Prov. xv. 32.

² AUTHORITIES.—*I Valdesi . . . cenni storici . . . da A. Bert*, Chapters XIII. and XIV.—Monastier, t. II., chap. xxvii.—*L'Echo des Vallées Vaudoises*.—Private Letters.—Official Documents.

as merely an ordinary event, had it not been for the remarkable circumstance that the King of Sardinia had of his own accord engaged in the liberal course, now to be described, long before the revolutionary explosion of 1848. He had even emancipated the Vaudois, and given a constitution to his people, before the republic was proclaimed in France; and consequently without constraint, without external pressure, but under the influence solely of a generous heart and an exalted mind.

We have already seen, in the end of the chapter which treats of the *State of the Vaudois under the Restoration*, that the rigour of the ancient edicts was softened by the personal acts of the sovereign. These edicts, formally maintained, fell into practical disuse—an indication of the growing strength of the government and the progress of new institutions.

"The Romish clergy," says M. Monastier, "also changed their tactics in the prosecution of their old contest with the Vaudois church. Violence or oppression being no longer in accordance with the spirit of the age, they had recourse to a kind of means already often employed in previous times—viz., discussion; but giving it a milder form, that of pastoral letters. The Bishop of Pignerol, Monseigneur Bigex, was intrusted with the conduct of it. His mandatories, which were very well written, combined all the qualities requisite for success, if the number and arrangement of the arguments, and skilfulness in the presentation of them, could have compensated for the essential weakness of the cause. The appearance of the first of these pastorals¹ caused a general excitement among the Vaudois, whether by reason of the novelty of the thing, or through fear of its consequences. However, they were soon satisfied that, where the Spirit of God breathes, the spirit of Rome is not able to lead men's minds astray. A number of pastors thought it their duty to reply to these mandatories. They did so by manuscript refutations of them, which, being often copied, circulated from family to family.² The seriousness of some of these, and the excellent selection of their arguments, was a contrast to the rather too flippant tone of some others. This war of the pen, briskly carried on for a time, came to an end without any other result than the noise which it made. It has been attempted anew, but without success, by the bishops who have succeeded Monseigneur Bigex—especially by Monseigneur Charvaz, in a considerable number of pastorals and other writings, ably composed, and in which erudition is with much ingenuity devoted to the advocacy

¹ In 1818.

² Those of MM. Geymet, Peyrani, and Mondon, attracted particular attention.

of error. By these publications, printed and circulated in Piedmont and elsewhere, it was attempted to change the current of opinion."¹

But public opinion, on the contrary, seemed more and more to incline to the side of the Vaudois. Charles Albert himself felt its influence. "In his capacity of grand-master of the order of Saint Maurice and Saint Lazarus, he consented, in 1844, to attend at the dedication of the place of worship of the new congregation established in La Tour, under the patronage of the saints above named. Orders had already been given to prepare lodgings at La Tour for the troops of the line, which were to serve as the guard of his majesty. Gloomy apprehensions quickly arose in many hearts; but all at once it was intimated that the king had caused his troops to return, saying, 'I have no need of a guard amongst the Vaudois.' And, in fact, the squadrons of royal carabineers, which had been destined to serve as an escort for the sovereign, turned back again to Pignerol. The Marquises of Lucerna and Angrogna had suggested to Charles Albert that he should be received by the Vaudois troops themselves, and, although he came for a perfectly Catholic ceremony, this offer was agreed to.

"All the able-bodied men of the valley of Lucerna, of Angrogna, and of Prarusting, under arms, lined the path for the passage of the king, who, amidst solemn silence, went to the new Romish erection to worship. Meanwhile the Vaudois troops proceeded to the Lucerna road, and greeted Charles Albert on his return with enthusiastic shouts of joy. The king, touched by so cordial a reception, stationed himself in the entrance of the gate of the palace of Lucerna, and caused the Vaudois companies to defile before him in parade, according to their communes, and with their banners. He saluted each standard, and all could see the pleasant smile which played upon his lips when some ensign, not contented with inclining his banner before his sovereign, saluted him also afterwards with his hat. The officers of the Vaudois Table presented themselves before his majesty in their turn, and were highly gratified by the very favourable manner in which they were received. Charles Albert, devoting himself for the time entirely

¹ Monastier, II., 207, 208. The principal publications of the bishop here referred to are—*Recherches historiques sur l'origine des Vaudois* . . . one vol. 8vo; Paris, 1836; and *Guide du Catéchumène Vaudois* . . . 3 vols. 18mo, 1840-1842. Some pamphlets, of which I refrain from giving the titles, were also published during his prelacy. "I believe they are more injurious," says a letter from the valleys, "to the dignity of the episcopate by which they have been sanctioned, than to the reputation of the Vaudois which they attempt to blacken."—(Letter of 5th September, 1846.)

to the people of the valleys, refused to receive any other deputation. Before quitting the valleys, he sent to the syndic of La Tour very liberal alms for the poor of both communions; and when he set out again on his return to Turin, he could see a circle of bonfires, like a brilliant diadem, kindled on our mountains to express the gladness to which his visit had given birth."¹ "I shall never forget," said Charles Albert, "these testimonies of affection which have exhibited to me, in the heart of the Vaudois, the same devotedness to the throne of Savoy which in former times their ancestors signally displayed."² He caused a little monumental fountain to be erected at the entry of the town of La Tour, with this inscription:—"IL RE CARLO ALBERTO, AL POPOLO CHE L'ACCOGLIEVA CON TANTO AFFETTO. MDCCCXLV."³ Thus the opening of an institution hostile to the Vaudois church, instead of verifying the apprehensions which had arisen with regard to it, brought the Vaudois new assurance of prosperity under the high protection of the head of the state.

"The decoration of the order of Saint Maurice and Saint Lazarus was afterwards bestowed upon General Beckwith, as the benefactor of the Vaudois.⁴ When we consider that it was the same man whom a bishop, in an article in a journal, had not scrupled to call the 'adventurer with the wooden leg,' and whom low intrigues had more than once almost succeeded in expelling from the country, upon account of the enlightenment which he was instrumental in producing, we feel that our institutions have indeed undergone a change."⁵ But, as he himself once said, addressing the Vaudois, "If there be but one man who knows what is right, it is enough to make it prevail over a whole nation; and if your humble ancestors, patient and persevering, preserved intact the true rule of faith, and transmitted it from age to age, they present in this an example which you have only to follow. . . . Unite yourselves again more closely together; act, as you have done from the commencement of all that has taken place, with good feeling, with moderation, forgetting past injuries, and be assured that you will be nobly recompensed. . . . Your church is well organized; public educa-

¹ Monastier, II., 215-217.

² *La universale gioia in più modi manifestata, i sensi di reverenza e di affetto, spiranti da quei volti, tutto ci manifestava che non mai vennero meno in quei petti, l'amore e la devozione al trono Sabaudi, per cui i loro Maggiori si resero, in difficili tempi, segnalati.* Extract from the royal brevet of knight of the order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, accorded to the syndic of La Tour (M. Combe, a member of the Vaudois church), by Charles Albert, 11th October, 1844.

³ *The King Charles Albert, to the people who welcomed him with so much affection,* 1845.

⁴ In December, 1848.

⁵ *L'Echo des Vallées*, January, 1849, p. 116.

tion is doing its work amongst you; direct your attention particularly to your district schools; the welfare of your children depends in great part on their efficiency. In these nurseries are sown the first seeds of those great truths unknown to Socrates and to Plato, . . . of that theology which is capable of saving a world!"¹

Colonel Beckwith² enjoyed also, in these his beloved valleys, the "rare privilege of seeing that *his works followed him*, appreciated by all, and everywhere recompensed by the most delightful tributes which public respect and affection could offer. '*Let the name of Colonel Beckwith be blessed by all who pass this way*,' says an inscription placed upon one of the numerous schools opened through his efforts and generosity. The whole country silently responds to the sentiment."³ In 1842, the schoolmasters of the two valleys, and the professors of the various important educational institutions patronized by this illustrious philanthropist, assembled to hold a festival together on the summit of La Vachère, a mountain centrally situated amongst their various stations. They began by singing hymns, and after fraternizing with one another in the expression of the Christian and patriotic hopes which were excited in their minds both by the love of the gospel and by the love of their country, they returned, each bearing a branch of the *laurel of the Alps*,⁴ in remembrance of that occasion. At the gates of La Tour, they took a flower from each branch, of which they formed a bouquet, and came in a body to present it to their venerable patron.⁵ These spontaneous expressions of affection and gratitude to their noble benefactor have been often repeated on the part of the Vaudois.⁶

Towards the end of 1847, the social and political reforms long contemplated by the Piedmontese government began to be carried

¹ Letter of Major-General Beckwith to the Moderator of the Vaudois church, dated from La Tour, 28th August, 1848. The object of this letter was, on the part of the general, to acknowledge to the representatives of the Vaudois church the public expression of gratitude to him for his numerous benefactions, which had been unanimously adopted by the synod, of 1st-4th August.—(*Echo des Vallées*, I., 60.)

² The title which is habitually given to him in the valleys.

³ *La Réformation au dix-neuvième siècle.* A journal quoted in the *Echo des Vallées*, I., 103.

⁴ *Rhododendron ferrugineum.* The Vaudois mountains produce a kind of rhododendron not described by botanists. Instead of having the leaves brown and rusty beneath, it has them smooth and olive-green. Perhaps it is only a variety, or an accidental variation. It is found on the mountain of Brouard; and was discovered by a young botanist of the valleys, M. Edward Rostan.

⁵ Letters written from the Vaudois valleys.—September, 1842.

⁶ The Agricultural Society (*Congrès Agricole*) of Piedmont expressed the public sentiment in returning thanks to General Beckwith, by a letter dated 25th August, 1847, for the interest taken by him in the valleys.—(BERT, p. 312.)

into effect. A reform in the courts of law, by the substitution of oral for written proceedings, the introduction of trial by jury, and the suppression of exceptional tribunals, afforded to all concerned new securities for impartiality. On the 22d of November, 1847, the organic law of the councils of communes and provinces was promulgated, containing no restriction on the election of the Vaudois inhabitants. The formation of national guards speedily followed this new step of progress.

The Marquis D'Azeglio, who was afterwards minister, then placed his name at the head of the signatures to a petition addressed to the sovereign for the civil emancipation of the Vaudois and the Jews.¹ In order to this, he also addressed a circular to all the bishops of the kingdom, to obtain their opinion on the measure in the first place,² and it is due to them to state that a number of them expressed themselves in favour of it.³ The generous marquis next addressed a petition in his own name to the king,⁴ which was followed in a few days by a petition from the Vaudois to the same effect.⁵

These endeavours were supported by the public feeling. At a patriotic banquet which was given at Pignerol on the 12th of December, the advocate Audifredi uttered the following words:—"At the foot of those mountains which look down upon us are 20,000 of our brethren deprived of their rights as citizens; yet are

¹ This petition bears more than 600 signatures, amongst which are those of 33 professors, 65 ecclesiastics, priests, *curés* and theologians, 80 advocates, 50 physicians, 14 notaries, besides artists, merchants, and citizens of all ranks, even former and actual ministers of state. (M. Bert has placed the list of these signatures at the commencement of his work, *I Valdesi*, &c.) The learned and excellent *Barbaroux*, the former keeper of the seals, was now no more; but if his signature was not at this petition, the Vaudois will never forget that his sympathies preceded it; and that so early as 1837, at the time of the promulgation of the *Civil Code for the Sardinian Dominions*, he had endeavoured to have it so framed as to suppress all exceptional legislation in respect to them. His representations at that time prevailed only to the extent of obtaining the law of 16th December, 1837, by which Vaudois in the army were permitted to be advanced in rank, according to their years of service and the claims which they had established.—(*Dizionario di diritto amministrativo*, vol. I., p. 56, § 29.—BERT, *Valdesi*, p. 278.)

² It is dated 16th November, 1847.—M. Bert has published it (*I Valdesi*, pp. 462-464).

³ M. Bert has published the replies of the Bishop of Biella (dated 26th November, 1847; *I Valdesi*, pp. 464-466)—of the Bishop of Pignerol (same date; same work, pp. 467-472)—of the Bishop of Ivrea (30th November, 1847; pp. 472-476)—and of the Bishop of Albenga (25th November, pp. 477-479).

⁴ Dated 23d December, 1847. Published by BERT, pp. 459-461.

⁵ Published by BERT, pp. 480, 481. This petition is not dated, according to the old but indefensible Vaudois practice—a practice which surely ought to be relinquished, as it is contrary to general usage, inconvenient, the cause of many inaccuracies in future times, and without any present advantage.

they educated, industrious, strong of arm and strong of heart, as much as any other Italians. It is for us to raise our voices in their favour; it is for us, their nearest brethren, to demand that their country shall be a mother to them, and not a stepmother; it is for us to be the first to shout aloud for the emancipation of the Vaudois!"¹ And the cry of enfranchisement and brotherhood—the *viva* for the emancipation of the Vaudois—was repeated with enthusiasm by the whole assembly. Two weeks afterwards a similar banquet took place at Turin. The pastor, chaplain to the Protestant legations, made a speech at this banquet to the same effect.² All Piedmont, and even Sardinia, was moved as by a common impulse in this direction of progress and patriotism.

But, above all, this was owing to the prospect of a representative constitution, which Charles Albert promised soon to give; and that monarch had the courage to carry his generous designs into effect in the same liberal reforms which the new pope³ had just accomplished in his own dominions. The *statute*, or constitutional charter of the Sardinian dominions, appeared at last on the 8th of February, 1848. This charter granted an elective chamber, with sufficiently liberal conditions of eligibility. The enthusiasm was general, and the Vaudois shared in it, although they were still only tolerated according to the old edicts. But the liberty of the press, which was now proclaimed, allowed public opinion to be heard in favour of their enfranchisement, and its greater unanimity to appear.⁴

A report soon spread in the capital that a decree was just about to be signed for this purpose. This was on 16th February, 1848, towards evening. Immediately a crowd of many thousands of persons assembled under the windows of the representative of the Vaudois valleys, M. Amadeus Bert, the pastor of the Vaudois congregation of Turin. They sung that patriotic hymn—

¹ This speech is given in Italian by Bert, in his *Valdesi*, p. 330.

² This speech was printed with the title, *Discours lu au banquet donné par le commerce de Turin, le 29th Décembre, 1847, par Amédée Bert, pasteur Vaudois, chapelain des Légations Protestantes près S. M. Sarde. Turin, Pomba et comp. éd. 1848.*

³ Pius IX., elected in 1846. He left Rome in 1848, after the proclamation of the republic. This republic having been destroyed by the armies of the French republic, which had given it birth, and which thought fit to restore Pius IX., this pope no longer displayed the same sentiments. An amnesty, obtained with great difficulty from his vindictive holiness, excepted so great a number of classes, that it was said of it, "The Papal amnesty excepts all the world, and pardons the rest."

⁴ See articles from the *Gazetta Piemontese*, the *Risorgimento*, and the *Concordia*, quoted by M. BERT, pp. 333, 336, 339, &c.

"Fratelli d'Italia,
L'Italia e' è desta," &c.¹

and demonstrations of the liveliest sympathy were continued till a late hour in the evening. Next day the following edict appeared:—

"Taking into consideration the fidelity and good sentiments of the Vaudois people, our royal predecessors have, of their own accord, and by successive measures, in part abrogated and mitigated the laws which anciently limited their civil privileges; and we, following in the same course, have also granted them gradual extensions of privilege. The reasons of the ancient restrictions having now ceased, and the completion of the system gradually adopted in their favour having become possible, we have, of our own free will and accord, resolved to make the Vaudois partakers of every advantage compatible with the general principles of our legislation. We, therefore, by these presents, of our certain knowledge and royal authority, and by the advice of our council, have ordained, and do ordain as follows:—

"1. The Vaudois are admitted to the enjoyment of all the civil and political rights of our other subjects, and freely to attend our schools, both within and without the university, and to obtain academic degrees.

"2. No change, however, is made as to the exercise of their worship and their own schools.

"3. We repeal, by these presents, every law to the contrary, and command the senate and the chamber of accounts to register this decree, enjoining all and sundry to observe it and cause it to be observed, and willing that it be inserted in the collection of acts of the government."²

No sooner was this decree known in the Vaudois valleys than it excited an universal enthusiasm there. "At La Tour," says a letter of that period,³ "there was a general illumination on the 24th and 25th of February. That of the 24th was principally intended to be in honour of the constitution. In the morning almost all the inhabitants of the commune were assembled by sound of drum. Each company had its banner. They proceeded to the church of Les Copiers, where Divine service was conducted by the pastor, M. Meille,⁴ who delivered an extremely affecting extem-

¹ "Brothers of Italy, Italy has awaked," &c.

² Given at Turin, 17th February, 1848. Signed, CHARLES ALBERT, and countersigned, AVET, DE REVEL, DE COLLENO, BORELLI. (This edict is also contained in the *Echo des Vallées*, t. I., No. 8.)

³ Dated from La Tour, 5th March, 1848.

⁴ Author of the work mentioned in No. VI. of the first part of the *Bibliography*,

poraneous discourse. A number of young people, who had practised the singing of hymns of thanksgiving together, now began to sing; and this music, with the religious service, the banners which filled the church, and the solemnity of all who were present, combined to deepen the emotion in every breast. During the whole day, companies of the national guard continued to defile through the town singing patriotic hymns, and especially that which begins:

'Con l'azzurra cocarda sul petto,
Con Italiani palpiti in cuore,' &c.¹

and uttering at intervals repeated cries of '*Viva l'Italia!*' '*Viva la Costituzione!*' '*Viva Carlo Alberto!*'² These enthusiastic acclamations announced the commencement of a new and happy period.

"Next day, Friday, was also a festival day, specially set apart to celebrate the emancipation of the Vaudois. Persons had been sent to the mountains to inform the inhabitants of the more elevated districts of the cause of these rejoicings, and towards evening, whilst the illumination was taking place in the town, bonfires were kindled on all the surrounding peaks. More than 100 could be counted from La Tour. At Pignerol, also, so soon as the news came of the emancipation of the Vaudois, those of them who were settled there asked leave from the commandant to illuminate their dwellings, which was granted them. The same permission was offered to the Catholics who might wish to join in those manifestations; and in the evening the whole city was illuminated, without exception of any quarter. Similar rejoicings took place in the other Vaudois communities. The Catholics almost everywhere took part in them. At St. John, the brilliant illumination of the *presbytère* was particularly remarked; and the prior even caused some of his finest *baoudettes*³ to be rung. After a fraternal repast, the national guards of the commune proceeded in a body to the house of the venerable Joshua Meille, the eldest of the Vaudois pastors, who lived in a retired spot in the country. His emotion was extreme.

at the end of this volume, and principal editor of the *Echo des Vallées*. This journal has lately ceased to appear.

¹ "With the azure cockade on our breasts,
With Italian throbbings of heart,
Charles Albert, we come to thy feet,
To deposit the tribute of our love," &c.

(The national colours of Piedmont are blue and white.)

² Cheers for Italy, for the Constitution, and for Charles Albert. Even young children, partaking in the enthusiasm of these exclamations, and wishing to join in them, cried, in their feeble voices, from the balconies, *Viva Caro Berto* (*Viva Carlo Alberto*), and *Viva Taya* (*Viva l'Italia*).

³ Joyful chimes.

The white-haired good old man passed from one to another, embracing all these youths, and exclaiming '*Viva la fratellanza!*'¹ In each commune the greater part of the citizens, without distinction of religion, assembled at a patriotic banquet, and many speeches suitable to the occasion were delivered. That of Professor Malan was particularly remarked. It was delivered in the purest Italian.

"But all this was nothing in comparison with what took place at Turin. A national festival was announced for the 28th of February, at which all the provinces of Piedmont should have their representatives, to celebrate in the capital the establishment of the constitution. On the 27th the Vaudois deputation set out. On the way they were saluted by *vivas* for '*Our Vaudois Brethren!*' and for '*Liberty of Conscience!*' At Turin, the members of this deputation, with many other persons who had joined them of their own accord, were lodged, to the number of some hundreds, in private houses. There were instances of merchants clearing out store-rooms to convert them into sleeping apartments. Next morning, this whole troop having assembled on the esplanade of Porte-Neuve, arranged amongst themselves the order of their procession. They were preceded by a group of young girls clothed in white, adorned with blue girdles, and each bearing a little banner in her hand. More than 600 persons then followed, having at their head a magnificent velvet standard, on which were the royal arms embroidered in silver, with this simple inscription:—'*A Carlo Alberto i Valdesi riconoscenti.*'²

"Acclamations of the liveliest sympathy greeted the Vaudois in the streets of Turin; handkerchiefs were waved from the windows, and flowers were showered down from the balconies upon the young girls who walked past. '*Evviva fratelli Valdesi!*' '*Evviva l'emancipazione dei Valdesi!*'³ was shouted from all sides. The Vaudois were saluted even by persons unacquainted with them, who, shaking them by the hand, expressed their delight at the new era of peace and liberty which all then anticipated for Italy. Even priests might be seen to approach the procession, and to embrace the Vaudois in its ranks, exclaiming—'*Viva la fratellanza!*' '*Viva la libertà!*'

"When the order was to be arranged of all the provincial deputations which were to defile before the palace of his majesty, the managers of the festival assigned the first place to the Vaudois.

¹ *Fratellanza*—Fraternity.

² To Charles Albert, the Vaudois grateful.—This banner was presented to his majesty, who thanked the Vaudois for it through the Marquis D'Azeglio. The marquis' letter, dated 28th February, may be seen in BERT, p. 345.

³ *Vivas* for "*Our Vaudois Brethren!*" and "*The emancipation of the Vaudois!*"

'They have long been the last,' said they, 'and it is right that to-day they should be the first.' It is impossible to give an idea of the eager affection and enthusiasm with which they were received. I have been told that in the streets it sometimes happened that those who met a new comer laid hold of him by the arm, and asked whence he came, and if he was a Vaudois they hugged him around the neck.

"Dear brother! who would have said that we would have seen all this? Who would have said that, on that very castle square where in former times the piles were raised for our martyrs, and the crowd gathered to witness their death, such a multitude would this day have welcomed the Vaudois with such acclamations of love and fraternity? Verily, it is God who has done all these things! To him be the glory and the thanksgiving! and may his blessing ever rest upon our pleasant native land!"

The great procession defiled before the king. More than 30,000 banners belonging to different corporations were lowered as they passed before his balcony.

But days of trouble were soon to succeed these festival rejoicings. An air of vague anxiety had already been remarked in the countenances of the king and his ministers. The swelling joy of the people who saluted them with their acclamations could not remove from their faces a certain look of constraint and hesitancy. In fact, they had that morning received news, still unknown to the people, that the King of France had been driven from his throne, and compelled to flee from his kingdom a homeless exile, whilst the republic, surrounded with terrible associations, had again been proclaimed by the French people. Like a peal of thunder ushering in the long convulsions of an unexpected storm, this event made all the thrones of Europe to tremble, agitated the nations, and led to marvellous things, to admirable deeds of devotedness, but also to revolting cruelties, and to terrible reprisals on the part of the defenders of the system of past times, whose love of power struggled fiercely against the love of liberty cherished by those who fixed their eyes upon a changed and happier future. At first, all was disorder and confusion: the final results of the great contest could not be discerned; blood and ruins covered the arena. Amidst the dust of combat nothing can be seen of the majesty and splendour of victory.

Italy partook of these commotions. Whilst a popular revolution broke out in Vienna, Lombardy rose in insurrection against the Austrians. Milan drove them from its walls; Venice broke their yoke; Sicily declared itself independent of the King of

Naples; Rome adopted for itself a democratic constitution; Germany attempted to restore its shattered unity from amidst the multitude of its sceptres and of the shackles by which it was bound. Hungary, later in commencing, exhibited to the world the spectacle of the most gigantic contest which was produced by that epoch of universal conflagration.

But before these things had taken place the Lombardo-Venetian states were, of their own free motion, annexed to Piedmont. Austria sought to reconquer them; Charles Albert marched to defend them. After some successes, his army was obliged to retreat, and the Austrians re-entered Milan by capitulation. Very soon after this, however, the republic was proclaimed at Rome and in Tuscany. These were the flashes of liberty in a sky still heavily laden with the emanations, which had gathered for centuries, of a power more easily broken down than rooted up. Urged by the wishes of his people, or at least by the incessant outcry of the democratic party, which was at that time very apt to be taken for public opinion, Charles Albert resumed hostilities against the Austrians. The generals, it is said, were reluctant; the soldiers were inexperienced. The Piedmontese army was defeated at Novarra, and, to escape the hard necessity of subscribing a humiliating treaty, Charles Albert abdicated the throne of his fathers in favour of his eldest son, who assumed the name of Charles Emmanuel V. He may be ranked as the last of those chivalrous monarchs who took up arms to defend their people, and fell to defend dynasties. Covered with true glory, although defeated at Novarra, he resigned his crown, after ten laborious years of a reign which will be remembered for great things, although it was embittered by many mortifications. He left his country prostrated before the enemy, and retired to Portugal, where he died at Oporto, 28th July, 1849. His remains were brought back to Turin on the 14th October following. The honoured hearse was received with universal demonstrations of mourning. Every one called to remembrance the gentleness and bravery of the king who was now no more, and spoke with poignant regret of his liberal and generous disposition; and many a trait of his benevolence or noble-mindedness was recounted. Charles Albert, they said, reigned like a sage and fought like a hero. The devoted victim of a ruined cause, he died, like Napoleon, shorn of power, but not of glory. In the Vaudois valleys, especially, which he had so lately emancipated, he was regretted with profound regret. They had highly appreciated the benefits which he conferred, and they felt a proportionate grief at his loss.

Ought I now to set forth the few particulars of secondary im-

portance which the modern history of the Vaudois valleys might still be found to present? No; their political condition is entirely changed, a new era has commenced, and its events must at some future time be narrated by other historians.¹ May their future history be as honourable as their past, and less troubled than it has been! Happy are the countries enlightened by the gospel! It alone can restore the proper dignity of human nature, at a time when institutions and habits are in process of change, in nations to which Catholicism has forbidden the liberty even of thought. May the ruins which the latter has made, yet flourish again through the immortal breath which quickens souls and gives freedom to men! The truth is the power of God! The Redeemer has said, "It shall make you free;"² and hope is one of the duties of the Christian.³

Thus, in all the countries which the Vaudois once occupied—in Bohemia, in Provence, in Calabria—they have been destroyed by persecution; the churches of Saluces, of Pragela, and of Barcelonnette, which came under the power of France, exist no longer; but only the churches of the valleys of Piedmont, which have remained under the sceptre of the house of Savoy, still subsist in our days. Nor is it to the princes of the house of Savoy that the blame should be ascribed of those cruel measures which so often drenched the Vaudois valleys in blood. Victor Amadeus II. presents the solitary exception; but even he acted under the influence of an imperious and foreign power; and when that influence had ceased to operate, he contended nobly and energetically against the court of Rome to maintain for the Vaudois the rights which they had regained for themselves by their valour and their fidelity. The church of Rome alone was in principle and always persecuting. The principle of mental thralldom could make no terms with that of liberty of thought; and this strife must continue as long as both shall

¹ There are, however, a few facts which I cannot pass over in silence. Through the generous kindness of General Beckwith, who began the subscription, a Vaudois church has been built in Turin, and seven professors' houses will be erected opposite to Trinity College, at La Tour. Through the generosity of a member of parliament (M. Malan, himself of Vaudois origin, deputed to parliament in 1849 by the college of Briqueras), two new chairs have been founded in that college—one for the natural sciences, and one for the philosophical classes. They were founded without mention of the founder's name. A new Protestant church, nearer to the principal body of the people, is about to be constructed at La Tour. The establishment of public worship for the Vaudois is projected at Pignerol. And, finally, Trinity College is in the way of being transformed into a complete faculty, and the government seems disposed to favour this extension, so favourable to the progress of enlightenment.

² John viii. 32, 36.

³ 1 Cor. xiii. 13.

exist. It is impossible to reconcile that despotism upon which the world of bygone days was founded, with the liberty which has opened up the springs of modern life.

To this modern liberty the throne, better counselled, owes the discovery, made at last, that there is more glory in preserving the Vaudois than in destroying them. Like those monuments of ancient times which attract the steps of the traveller from afar, and which the neighbourhood protects with enlightened solicitude, they are venerable even for their antiquity itself.

Here, however, are not mere ruins, but a people—a church—and industrious and devoted citizens, an honour to their country. The Vaudois valleys are, in proportion to their population, more advanced in civilization than any other part of Piedmont. By the firm and generous hand of Charles Albert, those antiquated restrictions were abolished which the spirit of the middle ages had imposed upon the Vaudois. They have their fair share in the new rights created by the constitutional government. They are no longer restrained within the limits of their valleys.

May they extend themselves without loss of their distinctive excellencies! May it not be said of them, "It was when their country was small that the people was greatest!" From the gospel they derived their greatness and their strength: may they never forsake it! And in the words of Janavel, "May the fear of the Lord be the guard of their hearts, a better protection than any sword!"

APPENDIX. No. I.

HISTORICAL AND DOCUMENTARY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

OF THE

ISRAEL OF THE ALPS:

OR, LIST OF WORKS WHICH TREAT OF THE VAUDOIS AND OF THE ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ROMANCE LANGUAGE, WHICH CONTAIN THEIR OWN STATEMENT OF THEIR DOCTRINES.

SUMMARY.

PART I.—PUBLISHED WORKS. SECTION I. *Original authors who have treated specially of the history of the Vaudois.*—§ 1. Vaudois authors.—§ 2. Anonymous Vaudois Authors.—§ 3. Original authors, not natives of the valleys, who have written in a spirit favourable to the Vaudois.—§ 4. Original authors, not natives of the valleys, who have written in a spirit unfavourable to the Vaudois. SECTION II. *Authors who have occupied themselves with inquiries on particular points connected with the history of the Vaudois.*—§ 1. Latin Treatises (mostly *contra Valdenses*, and generally relating to the disciples of Valdo, rather than to the Vaudois of Piedmont).—§ 2. Academic Theses.—§ 3. Various authors. SECTION III. *Historic works on the Vaudois, derived from original sources, and contributing to the more complete elucidation of the subject.* SECTION IV. *Polemical Works.*—§ 1. Against the Vaudois.—§ 2. In defence of the Vaudois. SECTION V. *Periodical, artistic, descriptive, scientific, and literary works, relative to the Vaudois.*—§ 1. Books of Travels.—§ 2. Descriptive works.—§ 3. Illustrated works.—§ 4. Tales and poems.—§ 5. Journals. SECTION VI. *Historical works, in which the Vaudois are only incidentally treated of, but which embody particular views or documents.* CHAPTER I. *Works on special subjects.*—§ 1. Local History.—§ 2. Memoirs and Biographies. CHAPTER II. *Works of a general character.*—§ 1. Ecclesiastical Histories.—§ 2. Profane Histories. SECTION VII. *Detached Documents.*—§ 1. Collections of Official Papers.—§ 2. Collections of Various Documents.

PART II.—MANUSCRIPT WORKS. SECTION I. *Ancient Vaudois MSS. in the Romance language.*—§ 1. Origin of these MSS.—§ 2. Biblical MSS.—§ 3. MSS. of Geneva.—§ 4. MSS. of Dublin.—§ 5. MSS. of Cambridge.—§ 6. A note of what has been published of these MSS. SECTION II. *MSS. deposited in different archives.*—§ 1. Public.—§ 2. Private.

PART III.—DETACHED PIECES, PUBLISHED AND MANUSCRIPT.—CHAPTER I. *Confessions of faith, published by the Vaudois or in their name, in different languages.* CHAPTER II. *Historic pieces, anterior to the bull of Innocent VIII. against the Vaudois (1487).* BESIDES ALL WHICH, there remain unpublished fragments of ancient Vaudois books in the Romance language, and other proof documents, mostly unpublished, of which the narrow limits of this Bibliography do not permit any particular notice.¹

PART I.—PUBLISHED WORKS.

SECTION I.—ORIGINAL AUTHORS WHO HAVE TREATED SPECIALLY OF THE HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS.

§ 1.—Vaudois authors.

MIOL, VIGNAUX, PERRIN.

PERRIN.—“*Histoire des Vaudois et des Albigeois, &c., à Genève, pour Matthieu Berjon, CIQ.IQ.IXVIII. (1618).*” Two vols., usually bound in one; of xxx, 248, iv, and 333 pages; the last 157 containing the Vaudois books, in the Romance language, with translations. The epistle dedicatory is addressed to Lesdiguières, and dated from Lyons, in Dauphiny, 1st January, 1618.

Perrin was not of Vaudois origin (he was born at Lyons); but as the documents of which he made use all came from the valleys (Gilles, p. 383; Perrin, ch. iii., and pp. 57–60), he must be ranked amongst the Vaudois historians. Amongst these historic documents were the memoirs of VIGNAUX, entitled, *De la source, ancienneté, doctrine, religion, mœurs, confessions et progrès du peuple surnommé Vaudois, habitant dans les vallées du Piémont.* These memoirs are now lost. A modern author professes to have consulted them, but must have fallen into some mistake.—(FABRE D'OLIVET, *Les Montagnards des Alpes*, i. 26.) Vignaux's *Memoirs* were, after all, only a translation of a similar work composed in Italian by JEROME MIOL, pastor of Angrogna, in 1580 (Gilles, p. 383).

Perrin had also many other documents at his command (see his chapters ii., iii., and vii.) In the *Acts of the Synods of Dauphiny* (Synod held at Grenoble in 1602) we read, that the pastors of the Embrunois and of the Val Cluson (which was then included in Dauphiny) were requested to collect “all sorts of documents bearing on the history of the life, doctrine, and persecutions of the Albigeois and the Vaudois.” At the synod of Embrun (in 1603) it was resolved to place these documents in the hands of M. Chamier, pastor at Montélimart, who had undertaken to write this history. (Léger speaks of M. Chamier, P. ii., pp. 257, 258.) M. Chamier devolved this work upon M. Crisson (Synod of Grenoble, 1605), and he again upon Perrin, pastor at Lyons. (See a note at p. 300, of vol. i. of this work.) In 1604, the Vaudois valleys still sent historic documents, which Vignaux himself conveyed to Perrin (Gilles, p. 333). The

¹ By a letter recently received from M. Hahn, I learn that there is already a pretty long list of works on the Vaudois in the *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkelijke Geschiednis. Leide* VI. 109–132. A number of these works are indicated in WINKER'S *Manual (Handbuch der theologischen Literatur . . . Third Edition, Leipzig, 1839)*, section xxii., under the head of the *Precursors of the Reformation*, and in some other Bibliographical works.

Synod of St. Marcelin, held in 1606, exhorted the latter to hasten forward his work. At the Synod of Orpières, held in 1608, Perrin demanded a sum of money to pay the expense of his researches. He presented the manuscript of his work in 1609, at the Synod of *St. Paul-trois-Châteaux*. The style of this work was retouched at Geneva, by M. Tronchin.—(*Records of the Venerable Company*, vol. E, p. 205). The Synod of Tonneins (1614, art. vi.), resolved that a copy should be sent to each pastor of Dauphiny. But it does not appear that this work was generally found to answer the expectations which had been formed of it; for the Synod of Vitré (1617, art. iv.), resolved that the work of Perrin should be submitted to the examination of the pastors and professors of Geneva. The result of this examination was not more favourable to it; for the Synod of Charenton (1623, ch. x., art. i.), resolved that the composition of a new history of the Vaudois and Albigeois should be undertaken. (M. Tilloit, of Sedan, was charged with this undertaking. The provinces of Dauphiny were exhorted to send him all the documents which they could collect; but death prevented him from carrying the design into effect.)

Besides the sum which Perrin demanded from the Synod of Orpières, he received 300 livres from that of Privas (held in 1612, art. iii.); and, moreover, he sold his manuscript to the publisher.—(*Records of the Ven. Comp. of Geneva*, vol. E, p. 203.) Never, perhaps, was the price of a historic work less merited. If Perrin had simply published the documents which had been sent to him, his work would have been of great value, for these documents came direct from the best sources. (The Synod of Mentoules, 1612, resolved that a folio Bible should be sent to a person in Pragela, in return for many manuscripts which he had furnished to Perrin.) They amounted to the number of twelve MS. volumes (Perrin, pp. 57–60). Not only did Perrin fail to make proper use of his rich materials, but he has even been accused of having employed them unfaithfully. (See in the *British Magazine*, No. CXIII., p. 397, a remarkable article by Dr. Todd, on the *Book of George Morel*, Dublin Library, class C, Tab. V. No. 18.)

As an author, Perrin's abilities are very doubtful; but his work is rendered precious by the original fragments of ancient Vaudois treatises at the end of the volume. Perrin is rarely to be met with in public libraries, but not uncommon in private collections.

GILLES (in Italian, GILLIO; in Latin, ÆGIDIUS).

“*Histoire ecclesiastique des Eglises réformées, recueillies en quelques vallées de Piedmont et circonvoisines, autrefois appelées Vaudoises; commençant dès l'an 1160 de nostre seigneur et finissant en l'an 1643; par Pierre Gilles, pasteur de l'Eglise réformée de La Tour. . . . A Genève, pour Jean de Tournes. . . . MDCXLIV.*” 1 vol. 4to, of xx, 569, and xlv pages. Reprinted, according to Winer (*Handb. der theol. lit.* sect. xx.), in 1655, in 4to, at Geneva.

The epistle dedicatory, addressed “to the pastors, elders, and deacons, and to all the faithful of the valleys of Piedmont,” is dated from La Tour, 27th June, 1643, “and in the 72d year of my age.”

The idea of this new history of the Vaudois was conceived immediately after the appearance of the unsatisfactory work of Perrin. In the *Acts of the Vaudois Synods* (Synod of Pramol, held 15th September, 1620)—“*E ordinato, che si ridurra in scritto, l'istoria delle cose avvenute in le chiese di queste tre valli, dal 1600 in qua; e è dato carrigo à M. Pietro Gillio, con l'aiuto di M. Appia, e partecipazione di M. Gaio, e altri che potranno portare in ciò, aiuto opportuno, . . .*” &c.

This history was first written in Italian. In 1627 it was almost completed in that language, and the only question discussed was how Gilles was to be remunerated for his labours. The Synod of Le Villar (held from 16th to 18th September, 1625) resolved, "che ogni chiesa darà à l'honorando Pietro Gillio, il compimenti de scudi tre, con li due già qui dananzi assignati;" from which it appears that, to bear the expense of this history, a contribution of five crowns was imposed upon each Vaudois parish. And, in the Acts of the Synod of 1627 (held at Pramol, 13th to 17th Sept.), we read, that this contribution not having been yet all paid, "e ordinato che infra un mese le chiese le più potenti, habiano da dargli (al reverendo M. Pietro Gillio, per la fatica dell' Historia), il compimento de scudi cinque, e le altre de scudi quatro, senza includerni fiorino quatro, datti nel principio da ogni chiesa." These first four florins had been given for the purchase of paper.

But, in 1630, of sixteen Vaudois pastors then living (fifteen of whom were actual pastors and one emeritus, without reckoning the pastor of Roure in Pragela), fourteen died of the plague, which carried off more than one-half of the whole population of the Vaudois valleys. Gilles was one of the two who survived (but he lost the four eldest of his sons); he was then 59 years of age, and still continued to preach two or three times on Sabbath and once on each weekday. (See his work, page 516, and in the *Israel of the Alps*, vol. i. p. 316.) At this time new pastors were brought from Geneva to supply the Vaudois churches. As they were not able to preach except in French, that language became the more prevalent, and Gilles considering that it was also more extensively diffused than the Italian, had the resolution to recommence his work, and to complete it in the form in which we now possess it.

He has excellent qualities as a writer; he is energetic and simple, natural and vigorous; his style can be found fault with only as antiquated and a little diffuse. As an historian, he must be placed in the very highest rank for correctness, impartiality, and moderation. Yet he is rather a chronicler than an historian—he relates in chronological order the events which took place in all the countries with which he has to do. Within the space assigned to each year are to be found brought together and in succession events occurring in localities between which there was no connection. Thus Gilles, although interesting in every page, produces but a confused impression on the mind of the reader. Different images which succeed one another so rapidly, efface one another to the mental as well as the bodily eye.

The history of Gilles may be regarded as an original authority for the events which took place from 1550 to 1640. It was put in the Index by the court of Rome, as were afterwards the work of Léger and the volume which I published in 1834. Gilles must be compared with Rorengo, who relates the same events as contemplated from another point of view, and who often attempts to refute him, but without success. Rorengo calls him *il professore Gillio* (Dedication, p. 2), and says, "che si vantava d'havere corsa l'Italia, l'Alemagna e diversi paesi, per cercar nuove dottrine o vecchi, . . ." &c.—(Rorengo, chap. xv. p. 73.) This proves the learning of our author, and the value which he set upon truth.

In the Acts of the Synod, held at Pinache, 1st May, 1607, we read: "E stato proposto da M. Pietro Gillio, ministro della Torre, se sarebbe bene di metter in scritto tutte le difficoltà e questione, onde sarà trattato nei sinodi, . . ." &c. This proposal of regular records, made by the first of our historians, was not carried into effect till two centuries after. Two Vaudois pastors contemporary with Gilles bore the same name with him, viz., Peter Gilles, pastor at Molines, and James Gilles, pastor at Angrogna. The latter was suspended

from his functions for six months. I mention them to prevent errors which the sameness of name might cause in reading contemporary documents.

Gilles is the author of several polemical works, of which the occasion was as follows:—Rorengo had published in 1632 a work against the Vaudois: *Breve narratione dell'introductione degli heretici nelle valli*. The minister of Le Villar, Valerius Gros, refuted this work by order of the Synod (Léger, p. 539). Rorengo speaks of his reply in *Memorie storiche* . . . , p. 252. Rorengo then associated with himself the prefect of the monks of Pignerol, by name Antonio Lazzari, but who assumed the fictitious name of Theodore Belvidere. They jointly wrote the *Lettres apologétiques*, which appeared in 1643. (They related to the tone of the *Vittoria triumphale*, published by the Cordelier Casini, in 1610). Gilles replied to the *Lettres apologétiques* by *Considerations*, which called forth a new reply from the monks, under the title of *Turris contra Damascum* (published in 1636); and, in reply to this new work, Gilles composed a Latin treatise in thirty-three chapters; but before this treatise was published a fourth publication of the monks, entitled *Lucerna della christiana verita*, compelled him to resume the pen in order to refute it likewise. His reply, entitled *Torre evangelica*, contained forty-eight chapters. Theodore Belvidere rejoined by himself in *Risposta al libro del Sr Gillio intitolato Torre evangelica*. This book was divided into eighteen sections, and dedicated to the Society *de propagandâ fide et extirpandis hereticis*. Gilles replied yet again and refuted it, in an equal number of chapters, in a work of which I know not the title. All these works have become very rare.

There exists, in the handwriting of Gilles, a manuscript of an ancient *Vaudois Discipline*, drawn from the Acts of Synod previous to 1564, by the minister Humbert Raymond, and completed by our author under this title: "Les ordonnances ecclésiastiques, faictes par nos tréshonorés Pères et Frères, ministres de la Parolle de Dieu, aux vallées de Luzerne, St. Martin, Pérouse, Cluson, et Marquizat . . . transcrits en ce present livre par moy, Pierre Gilles, secrétaire, l'an 1610, par le commandement du Synode." From 1615 to 1630 Gilles was almost always moderator of the Vaudois church. The republication of his history was recently undertaken by Mrs. Jenkinson, a benefactress of the Vaudois valleys. The first ten chapters alone have been reprinted.

LÉGER.

"Histoire générale des Eglises Evangéliques des vallées du Piémont, ou Vaudoises . . . par JEAN LÉGER, pasteur et modérateur des Eglises des vallées, et depuis la violence de la persécution, appelé à l'Eglise Wallonne de Leyde, chez Jean le Carpentier, 1669." Two volumes fol.; vol. I., of xxxviii and 212 pages, and vol. II., of xvi, 385, and vi pages.¹ These two volumes are ordinarily bound in one. The work is accompanied with a map of the valleys, pasted on cloth, and sufficiently exact, with vignettes, representing various tortures inflicted on the Vaudois martyrs; and a false title-page, a copperplate, representing two old men who each bear a medallion, between which a drapery falls down, inscribed with the title of the work. The medallion on the right exhibits a lily surrounded with thorns, with this motto, *Luctor et emergo*; that on the left a burning bush, with the words, *Quamvis uror non comburor*. The figures of the old men trample under foot the emblems of Popery; and in the

¹ This history was translated into German by Hans Frédéric von Schwenitz, with a preface by Sigismund James Baumgarten. Breslau, 1750. Two vols. 4to.

space between them, beneath the drapery which they sustain, are to be seen a bishop, a soldier, and a monk, who strike upon an anvil, under which is written, *Tritantur mallei, remanet incus*. Towards the top of the page, an escutcheon, supported by two genii, exhibits a candlestick surrounded by seven stars, with this inscription, *Antiqua convallium insignia*, and this motto, *Lux lucet in tenebris*.

The work of Léger is, in fact, only a history of the persecution of 1655, or rather a very confused collection of documents relative to that event. In the first part, he has reprinted the Vaudois treatises in the Romance language which had been published by Perrin, adding a fragment of *La Nobla Leyczon*, and a few other documents. Léger is the most diffuse, and one of the most superficial of all our historians. He owes his importance partly to the epoch in which he wrote, and to the imposing form of his work. He is often incorrect, credulous, and carried away by his feelings; but the latter fault was almost inevitable in a contemporary author, himself the victim of the events which he records. I shall not here give any particulars of his life, for he has himself taken care to include his biography in the last chapter of his work, and so much of it as concerns the history has been already given in the first volume of the *Israel of the Alps* (part ii., ch. x.) Léger published separately a *Remonstrance pour les Vallées* on occasion of divers infractions of the patents of Pignerol, and an *Apologie des Eglises du Piémont* (anonymous: Haarlem, 1662, 4to, p. 39), which has for its object only his own vindication. I know not the precise date of his death; but thirteen years after the publication of his history, he no longer survived, for, under date 27th August 1684, we meet with a royal decree, in which mention is made of the property of the late JEAN LÉGER (Turin, Archives of the Court of Accounts, Regio controrollo, Finanze: 1684, No. 179, fol. 55).

Léger's History was reprinted at Lyons, in one vol. folio, in 1799; and translated into German, Breslau, 1750, in 4to.—Antoine Léger, the uncle of the historian, wrote some sermons, which were published two years after his death, with the title, *Sermons sur divers textes de l'Ecriture Sainte, par A. Léger, pasteur et professeur en théologie*. Geneva, 1720, three vols. 8vo."

ARNAUD.

"Histoire de la glorieuse rentrée des Vaudois dans leurs vallées . . . le tout recueilli des mémoires qui ont été fidèlement faits, de tout ce qui s'est passé dans cette guerre des Vaudois, et mis au jour par Henri Arnaud, pasteur et colonel des Vaudois, MDCCX." One vol. large 12mo, of xxxiii, 65, and 407 pages. The place of publication not named. The following opinion has been expressed in a journal:—"This volume, according to all the typographical indications, was printed at Basle, by Brandmüller, or some other master." (*Etrennes nationales, faisant suite au Conservateur Suisse* . . . Lausanne 1845, chez Bridel, p. 126.) I was informed by the late pastor Mondon, who succeeded a son of Arnaud, in the Vaudois colony of Gros Villar (Würtemberg), that this volume was printed at Cassel.

The memoirs of which mention is made in the title, and of which the author made use, were—(1.) *The Journal of the Expedition*, written daily by Paul Reynaudin, who suspended his theological studies at Basle, to follow his compatriots when they went to reconquer their native valleys (Arnaud, p. 175). He resumed his studies in 1692, and published his inauguration thesis in 1694, entitled *Dissertatio de Valdensibus*. He was settled as pastor at Pral in 1695, at Rocheplate in 1702, and at Bobi in 1705. There he ended his days in 1736, having long been moderator of the Vaudois church. (2.) Personal Memoirs,

written by François Hugues (or Huc) of Vigan (Arnaud, pp. 216, 217). (3.) A Narrative (Relation) of the Attack on the Balsille by Catinat, printed at the Hague (by Olivier le Franc, MDCXC.), and reprinted word for word by Arnaud, from p. 281 to p. 297. (4.) Private letters, published at the end of the volume.

A number of authors have given particulars of the life of Arnaud; amongst others, Mr. Bracebridge, who published in English a biography of that celebrated man; and Mr. Acland, who translated his work, "*The Glorious Recovery by the Vaudois* . . ." &c., London, 1827, an 8vo of cxix, xxv, and 239 pages. (Some further particulars will be found in the second volume of the *Israel of the Alps*, in Part III. Chap. iii., and Chap. ix.)

The most circumstantial account which has come down to us of the family and youth of Arnaud, is contained in a certificate which was sent to him by the Vaudois pastors assembled at Les Clos, on the 28th of October, 1699, when he was obliged to leave the Vaudois valleys, in consequence of the decree of 1st July, 1698, banishing all persons of foreign birth. This document is as follows:—

"Certificate granted by the pastors of the valleys to H. Arnaud and his family, upon their departure from these countries.

"We, pastors of the Vaudois, elders of the evangelical church of St. John, and directors of the valleys of Piedmont, declare and testify, that Mr. Henry Arnaud is the son of the late Mr. Francis Arnaud, a native in the valley of Ambrun in Dauphiny, and of Piedmontese descent, and of the late Margaret Gros, a descendant of an illustrious and noble race formerly resident at Dronier in the Marquisate of Salusse. He was educated in his earliest years in the schools of these valleys, and there received the first elements of instruction; and he was then sent to Basle, to pursue his studies there, taking advantage of the charitable aid which the illustrious rulers of that canton are good enough to give to our students; from whence he made a visit to Holland, and returned to the university of Geneva, to complete his studies there; after which he was received as a pastor, conjointly with Mr. William Malanot, by our synod, in the year 1670. The service of the churches of Maneille and Macel was first intrusted to him, and afterwards that of the principal communes of our valleys, concluding with that of which he is now pastor, which, to our great regret, he is compelled to quit, in obedience to an order of his royal highness. It is impossible for us to say how painful to us is this separation, which deprives us of his useful and acceptable services. For this reason, whilst we express our sorrow, we must also declare that his zeal in fulfilling his duties has always, and in all places, been inexhaustible, and that, on all other occasions which presented themselves of advancing the glory of God, he and his family (consisting of four sons and two daughters, besides his wife Margaret Bastie, likewise a descendant of one of the most ancient and principal families in this country), have always set an example not common among us. And because of the love and respect which we have for them all, we ardently pray the Lord so to order things in his grace, that we may yet at some time have the consolation of seeing them again return among us here; and, therefore, hoping that the times may change, we have not bade them a final farewell, but, on the contrary, we reserve to ourselves the right to recal him amongst us again, as if he had been always a pastor of our church. Meanwhile, we pray the Most High that he may be pleased in his infinite goodness to go with them and to preserve them, wheresoever his Divine hand may conduct them.

"Given at the above-named village of St. John, in the valley of Lucerna,

the 22d of August of the year 1698. — *D. Léger, G. Malanot, L. Bertin, J. Jahier, B. Jahier, R. Reinoudin*, ministers of the Vaudois of the communes of Bobi, Angrogna, Macel, Pramol, St. Germain, and Prals, in the valley of St. Martin; *B. Belione Capine, Monsieur Bartie*, lieutenant, keeper of accounts, *D. Parissa, D. Daenna*, elders.

"We, foreign pastors from Switzerland and Geneva, serving in the communes of the valley of Lucerna, confirm with the greatest pleasure the present certificate, and all that it contains, granted in favour of M. Arnaud and his family. We have been extremely edified by the conduct of Madame Arnaud and her children, and have received a thousand evidences of their friendship since our arrival in these valleys. We earnestly pray God in his goodness to be with them during all the journey which Madame Arnaud is ready to undertake with her family.—Given at Clos, the 28th of October, in the year 1699. *J. Senebier, J. De Cappet, J. Du Bois, P. P. Du Toit, P. Bud*, pastors of the churches of La Tour, St. John, Bobi, Rocheplatte, Prarustin, and Villesèche."

M. Arnaud very soon afterwards retired to Germany, and became pastor at Dürmentz. In 1703, political events permitted him to resume the exercise of the ministry in the Vaudois valleys. We find him still pastor at St. John, in 1706. Next year he went to London, where Van Somer took his portrait. He afterwards returned to the valleys, but was again compelled to leave them in 1709. William III. then invited him to his court, and gave him a colonel's commission; but Arnaud preferred to return to Germany. Queen Anne granted him a pension of £226 sterling, and he died at Schonberg in 1721, aged eighty years.

There are several portraits of him. The best is that which was drawn and engraved on copper at London by Van Somer, an oval medallion of 116 millimetres in height, and 112 in breadth, with only this inscription—*Henry Arnaud, Vaudois pastor*.

The Glorious Return of the Vaudois, by Arnaud, has become very rare. Two copies of this work were sold in London, in 1829 and 1832, the one for £5, 9s. 10d. and the other for £3, 16s. 4d. It was reprinted in 1845, by Altinger, at Neuchâtel, with a preface by F. de Rougemont, in large 18mo, xii and 251 pages. The original autograph MS. of this work is deposited in the Royal Library of Berlin.

RECENT AUTHORS.

1. "Défense historique des Vaudois, ou lettres à Mgr l'évêque Bigex, sur l'origine, la doctrine et les mœurs des Vaudois, par PEYRAN, Modérateur des Eglises Vaudoises." Published at London by Mr. SIMS, in 1826.—These letters were written in 1818, in reply to a *pastoral* of Monseigneur Bigex, Bishop of Pignerol. They display spirit and learning.

2. "Exposé historique de l'état des Vaudois, dans les vallées du Piémont, par M. Pellegrin." 12mo; Haarlem, 1824. The profits of this pamphlet were destined to assist in the foundation of the hospital of La Tour. It produced about £80.—M. Pellegrin is also the author of an arithmetical work for the use of the Vaudois schools (Turin, Pomba and Co., 1836; two small 18mo vols.), and of a collection of Scripture narratives, entitled *Bible de la jeunesse*, two thick 12mo vols. of 540 and 640 pages. (Amsterdam, published by Delachaux, 1830.)

3. "Considérations sur les Vaudois du Piémont, par Timoléon Peyran." Geneva, 1825; 8vo, pp. 94. It is a theological thesis.

Other theses have been maintained by Vaudois on subjects borrowed from the history of their country.—BASTIE, *Dissertationis historico-theologicae de Valdenses pars prima* (on their origin and their doctrine); *pars altera, agens de afflictionibus* . . . &c. Basle, 1700; maintained against Samuel Werenfelsius, 13th and 14th March, 1700.—This Werenfelsius is the author of an elegy in Latin verse, *Ad Valles Pedemontanas*, remarkable as a literary production. Bastie had a stroke of apoplexy in February, 1727, and lived a number of years afterwards deprived of his reason.

4. "Le livre de famille, ou instructions familières sur l'histoire des Eglises Vaudoises . . . par Pierre Bert, ancien modérateur," . . . &c. 12mo, of 105 pages. Geneva, Barbezat, 1830.—M. Bert was an author and an orator more distinguished than might be supposed from this pamphlet. He is the author also of the translation of *The Gospel according to St. John into the present dialect of the Valleys*, printed at London in 1830; 8vo, pp. 231.

5. "Histoire des Vaudois des vallées du Piémont, et de leurs colonies, depuis leur origine jusqu'à nos jours, par Alexis Muston, docteur en théologie." Tom. i. 8vo, of xx and 528 pages, with map and fac-simile.—The publication was continued no farther than this first volume; but the whole work was taken up anew upon another plan, with more abundant materials more critically weighed in the ISRAEL OF THE ALPS. The following parts of this work have appeared separately:—(1.) "Siloé des Alpes; ou sources vives de la grâce, jallissantes dans l'Eglise vaudoise, depuis les premiers siècles jusqu'à la réformation." (2.) "Les parfums de l'hysope; ou la foi dans les solitudes; histoire de l'Eglise vaudoise dans les Hautes-Alpes." (Val Louise, Freyssinières, Queyras, &c.) (3.) "Les témoins du Seigneur; histoire des Vaudois persécutés en Provence." (4.) "La couronne d'épines; histoire des Vaudois persécutés en Calabre, et martyre admirable de Jean-Louis Paschal, leur pasteur." (5.) "Les martyrs Vaudois; ou les confesseurs de la vérité dans les vallées du Piémont." (6.) "Les lys d'Israël, abattus par l'orage; histoire des Eglises vaudoises dans la province de Saluces et dans la plaine du Piémont." (7.) "La foi dans les épreuves; ou la cruelle persécution et la glorieuse défense des Vaudois, en 1560." (8.) "Les Pâques Piémontaises; ou le massacre des Vaudois du Piémont, en 1655." (9.) "Le bras de Dieu dans la persécution: histoire de l'héroïque défense des vallées vaudoises, par Josué Janavel." (10.) "Les Néhémites: ou l'expulsion, l'exil, et la rentrée des Vaudois, de 1666 à 1690." (11.) "Ismaël au désert: ou les habitants des vallées vaudoises, expulsés en 1698." (12.) "La Gossen opprimée: histoire jusqu'ici inconnue, des Vaudois du Pragela: depuis les temps les plus anciens, jusqu'à leur extinction." (13.) "Religion et patrie: histoire des vicissitudes de l'Eglise vaudoise, de 1560 à 1650." (14.) "La terre de servitude et la terre promise: ou les vallées Vaudoises, depuis le séjour de Félix Neff dans les Alpes, jusqu'à l'émancipation civile et politique des Vaudois du Piémont."

6. MEILLE. "Les Vaudois en Calabre au quatorzième siècle." An interesting work, inserted in the *Révue suisse*, t. ii. pp. 647-658 and 687-709.

7. "Histoire de l'Eglise vaudoise, depuis son origine, et des Vaudois du Piémont, jusqu'à nos jours, avec un appendice, &c.; par Antoine MONASTIER, ancien pasteur du canton de Vaud et originaire des vallées Vaudoises du Piémont." Toulouse, 1847; 2 vols. 8vo (the first of 362, and the second of 385 pages).—This work, published by the Religious Tract Society of Toulouse, has been translated into English by the Religious Tract Society of London, 1848, 1 vol. 12mo, of 432 pages. The first thirteen chapters contain general observations on the origin and doctrine of the Vaudois. The last 153 pages of

the second volume contain a reprint of a number of Vaudois works in the Romance tongue already known, including, amongst others, the poetic fragments published by Raynouard (*Choix de poésies originales des Troubadours*, t. ii., *Monuments primitifs de la langue romane*). M. Monastier proposes some well considered modifications of Raynouard's translations. The variations which he suggests of the Romance text are less happy. The notes which he has appended to the treatise *On Antichrist* (pp. 323-363), and, above all, his commentary on the book *On Purgatory* (pp. 365-375), deserve the careful attention of all who study this subject. The work of M. Monastier is an authority for the facts of modern history recorded in his last two chapters.

8. BERT, "I Valdesi, ossia i cristiani secondo la chiesa primitiva, abitanti le così dette valli di Piemonte, cenni storici, da Amedeo Bert, ministro del culto valdese, e capellano dalle Legazioni protestanti a Torino." Turin, 1849; 1 vol. 8vo, of xxxv and 498 pages. This work contains a general sketch of the history of the Vaudois, derived from the works of previous historians, and with the same gaps which they had left. There would have seemed to be a disproportion between the brief notices of the first chapters and the often minute details of the latter ones, if the author's very object had not been the more particular exhibition of the events of modern times. He is the first writer whose work can be reckoned an authority in matters relative to the civil and political emancipation of the Vaudois. This interesting volume is accompanied with a happy selection of proof documents, of which a considerable number had never before been published. In particular, it contains (from page 386 to page 390) some very important passages, very skilfully arranged by the learned author, to throw light upon the ancient autonomy of the diocese of Milan, to which the Vaudois valleys at an early period belonged, and which was then so far from submitting to the supremacy of the Holy See, that it was completely independent of the Romish church properly so called. M. Amadeus Bert is the son of the author of the *Livre de famille* above-mentioned; but *I Valdesi* is a much more important work, and has unquestionably exercised a greater influence in Italy than other works of the same kind written in foreign languages. An incidental remark (in p. 310, line 12) leads me to make an observation here on the subject of language—that the patois of the Vaudois valleys has a radical structure far more regular than the Piedmontese idiom. The origin of this patois was anterior to the growth of Italian and of French—antecedent even to the Romance language, whose earliest documents exhibit still more analogy with the present language of the Vaudois mountaineers, than with that of the troubadours of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The existence of this patois is of itself a proof of the high antiquity of these mountaineers, and of their constant preservation from foreign intermixtures and changes. Their popular idiom is a precious monument.

§ 2.—Anonymous Vaudois Authors.

1. "Histoire des persécutions et guerres, faites depuis l'an 1555 jusques en l'an 1561, contre le peuple appelé Vaudois . . . &c." With this motto, "Il n'est point difficile au Seigneur de sauver un grand nombre de gens ou un petit." (1 Sam. ii. 6; 2 Chron. xiv. 11.) Printed in MDLXII. (place not given), large 8vo, pp. 173. Translated into Latin, by *Christopher Richard*, Geneva, 1581, 8vo. I do not know the name of the author, but the materials of this work had certainly been derived from the valleys. (See the authorities of Chap. i. of Part II. of the *Israel of the Alps*.)

2. "Relation véritable de ce qui s'est passé dans les persécutions et massacres

faits, cette année, aux Eglises réformées de Piémont; avec la réfutation des calomnies dont les adversaires de la vérité tachent de les noircir." Without place of publication: MDCLV, 4to of 84 pages, but divided into two parts, of which the first ends in p. 54. The second is entitled, "Suite de la Relation, contenant une succincte réfutation de l'invective du Marquis de Pianesse . . . à quoi est ajoutée une brève confession de foi, des Eglises réformées des vallées du Piémont." This confession, which concludes the work, is the same which is also published by Léger (Part I. p. 112-116), and which the Synod of 1839 declared to be the purest expression of Bible doctrine at all times maintained by the Vaudois church. (See, in regard to this, a note in this work, Part III. Chap. xxiv.) It is not known where, nor how, nor by whom this confession of faith was composed. It is probable that it was composed at Geneva; for, in the year 1655, it is impossible to find any time or circumstances which would admit of its being drawn up in the valleys. Léger, moreover, does not say that it was composed by the Vaudois, but only that it was *published by them*¹ (Part I. p. 112). But if we do not know the authors and the origin of this confession, there can be no doubt that it was composed by Calvinists. (See Part III. Chap. i. No. 12, of this Bibliography.) I place this work amongst those of anonymous Vaudois authors, because the author makes the Vaudois speak in it in their own name (see pp. 79 and 84); but it does not, therefore, certainly follow that the author was a Vaudois. Léger calls this work "the *manifesto* of the Vaudois churches" (Part I. p. 112); and in his Biography, he says, in 1655, "I wrote my first and largest *manifesto* in twice twenty-four hours . . . and sent it to Geneva to be printed . . . but this these gentlemen would not permit" . . . (Part II. p. 365). I do not know if it was printed elsewhere; but Léger adds that they did not send him back his manuscript (p. 366). He composed a *second manifesto* at Paris, which was printed in all languages (Ibid. p. 356). (See the authorities for Chap. vii. of Part II. of the *Israel of the Alps*.) The *Relation* now in question cannot be this second *manifesto*, because it was printed at Geneva, and not at Paris. It appears to me, therefore, impossible, in the present state of Vaudois bibliography, to determine the origin of this work, and of the Confession of Faith with which it concludes. The Confession, however, is a mere reproduction, often in exact words, of the Confession of Rochelle. (See Part II. Chap. i. No. 12, of this Bibliography.)

3. "Apologie des Eglises évangéliques des vallées de Piémont, faite en défense de l'innocence de Sr Jean Léger, pasteur de l'Eglise réformée de saint Jean contre les impostures de Michel Villeneuve, Jean Vertu et semblables faussaires, apostés et stipendiés," . . . &c. Translated from the Italian edition, printed at Haarlem, by Jacob Alberts, in 1662, 4to, pp. 39.

This Apology is from the pen of Léger himself (p. 371), and was signed by all the members of the Vaudois synod, held at Angrogna, in the quarter of Les Malans, 13th September, 1661. The Italian edition, printed at Haarlem, is a 4to of 16 leaves, unpagged.

4. "Apologia delle chiese Riformate del Piemonte, circa la loro confessione di fede, e la continua successione di esse, tanto ne statù del Paese, quanto ne valdesi, contra le gravillationi e calomnie del Priore Marco Aurelio Rorengo di Lucerna: in Geneva, appresso Francesco Bouvard anno 1662." Small 8vo of xxxviii and 156 pages. Rorengo had alleged that the Confession of Faith already mentioned (§ 2, No. ii.) was not agreeable to the ancient Vaudois doc-

¹ According to the usual style of Léger, and still more certainly according to the facts of the case, these words, *published by the Vaudois*, ought not to mean and could not mean more than *published in name of the Vaudois*.

trines, nor to the Bible, nor to reason, and that it was not the work of the Vaudois. His observations are intermingled with many sarcasms, in bad taste. His work is entitled, "Esame intorno alla nuova breve confessione di fede, delle chiese riformate di Piemonte, in cui si fa conoscer alli professori d'essa distrutta con la novita la pretesa antica confessione. Del Priore Marc' Aurelio Rorengo; de Conti di Luserna; in Torino par Carlo Gianelli, 1658." Small 4to pp. 48. To this work, that now in question is the Vaudois reply, but I know not the name of the author.

5. "Très humble remontrance touchant le pitoyable état où se trouvent à présent réduites les pauvres Eglises évangéliques des vallées de Piémont, à cause de l'altération et violation de leurs concessions, et particulièrement de la patente de 1655. . . A Haarlem. . . 1662." Unpaged; 4to, 12 leaves. This *Remonstrance* was composed by order of the Vaudois synod of November, 1661.

6. "Récit de ce qu'il y a de plus considérable aux affaires des Eglises réformées des vallées de Piémont, depuis les massacres de l'année 1655. . . A Haarlem, 1663." Small 4to, of iv and 60 pages.—The title of this work is much longer than what I have here given. The particulars which the work contains, and the guarded language employed with reference to the Piedmontese authorities, are my sole reasons for ascribing this work to a Vaudois author. But it does not seem probable that a stranger could have been acquainted with such details, and still less is it probable that a stranger would have thought it requisite to express himself in such guarded terms. The same observation applies to the work following.

7. "Histoire de la persécution des vallées de Piémont, contenant ce qui s'est passé dans la dissipation des Eglises et des habitants de ces vallées, arrivé en l'an 1686." Rotterdam, MDCLXXXIX.; 4to, pp. 36.—This work was translated into German, and published in that language in 1690, in an 18mo vol. of 155 pages. See the authorities of Chap. xiv. of Part II. of the *Israel of the Alps*.

8. "Cinq lettres, par un Vaudois des Gaules Cisalpines, sur quelques pages d'un livre intitulé: HISTOIRE GEOGRAPHIQUE, NATURELLE, &c." . . . For (the title of this latter work, see Sect. vi. § 1, No. 14, of this Bibliography).

An 8vo pamphlet of 74 pages, printed in 1784, but the place not named.—It is an excellent dissertation on the origin, manners, doctrine, and antiquity of the Vaudois. It has been ascribed to Maraudo, the author of the *Tableau du Piémont sous le régime des rois*; but it is really from the pen of PAUL APPIA, whose unpublished memoirs have frequently been quoted in the *Israel of the Alps*, Part III. Chaps. xxi. and xxii. (Maraudo is also a Vaudois writer; but as he has produced no work specially devoted to the subject of the Vaudois, his writings do not fall to be included in the present category. See Sect. vi. § 1, No. 15.)

9. "Histoire des Vaudois ou des habitants des vallées occidentales du Piémont, qui ont conservé le christianisme dans toute sa pureté et à travers plus de trente persécutions, depuis les premiers siècles de son existence jusqu'à nos jours, sans avoir participé à aucune réforme." Two vols. 8vo; without date or place of publication—the first volume consisting of xxv and 132 pages, and the second of 268—commonly bound in one. (The second volume bears on its title-page *seconde partie*, and not *tome 2*.) This work was printed at Lausanne, by Luquiens, and was sold at Paris by Marandan, in 1796. In p. xxiv, line 24, are the words—"The celebrated martyr of the same name with myself, Guido Brez." . . . And it has therefore been supposed that the name of the author was Guido Brez; but this is a mistake. His name was James Brez. Barbier, in his *Dictionnaire des anonymes*, No. 7979, says that he died in 1800.

Guénard, in *La France littéraire*, i. 508, says, 1810: The exact date was 1809, and the place Middleburgh, in Holland. His work treats of the history of the Vaudois only to the year 1655. He had composed the sequel to 1688. This unpublished part, which I possess in MS., consists of seven chapters in 104 folio pages. Neither the manuscript nor the printed work contains any new fact. Brez published also *La Flore des insectophiles précédée d'un discours sur l'utilité des insectes et de l'étude de l'insectologie*, par Jaques Brez. Utrecht, 1791; 1 vol. 8vo, pp. 524. His *History of the Vaudois* was translated into German. 8vo; Leipsic, 1798.

§ 3.—Original authors not natives of the valleys, who have written in a spirit favourable to the Vaudois.

1. CAMERARIUS, "De excidio reliquiarum Valdesium . . . lugubris narratio." Heidelberg, 1606. Composed by Joachim; published thirty years after the death of the author by his nephew Louis.—This work relates to the Vaudois of Provence, and is to be found in the *Historica narratio . . . Joachimi Camejarii . . . de fratribus orthodoxis Ecclesiis in Bohemia*, p. 303.

2. RICHARD, "Memorabilis historia persecutionum bellorumque in populum vulgo Valdenses appellatum," &c. Geneva, 1631. One volume, printed in italics; small 8vo, pp. 151.—With a few additional details, this work is merely a translation of the *Histoire mémorable de la guerre faite par le duc de Savoie, Emmanuel Philibert, contre ses subjects des vallées d'Angrogne*, . . . &c. MDLXII.; without place of publication; small 8vo, pp. 30.—And this latter work is itself only an amplified translation of the *Storia dell' ultima guerra*, &c., published in 1561. (See the authorities of Chaps. i. and ii. of the Second Part of the *Israel of the Alps*, and No. 2 of § 2 of this section.)

3. MORLAND, "The History of the Evangelical Churches of the valleys of Piémont, containing . . . and punctual relation of the late bloody massacres." London, 1658. One vol., small folio, pp. lx and 709.—This work is analogous to that of Léger, but it appeared before his. It relates especially to the persecution of 1655. Morland was a very young man when he composed this work. He had been sent by Cromwell to the court of Turin, as ambassador extraordinary, on the subject of the Vaudois.

4. "Brief discours des persécutions advenues aux Eglises du Marquisat de Saluces." Geneva (chez Paul Marceau), MDCXX. One vol. 32mo, pp. 132. Followed by an account of the massacres in the Valteline.—A work composed by order of the synod of Dauphiny, held at Briançon, 30th June, 1620. (See the Archives of the Venerable Company of Pastors of Geneva. Register F, folio 8, left-hand page.)

5. "History of the Vaudois persecution in Piedmont," in German, published in 1690; 12mo (library of Berne).—With a few additional details, it is a translation of the work noticed in this section, § 2, No. 8. The same may be said of another German work, entitled, *The Palm Tree of Christian Truth*; or, the Persecutions of the Protestants and the Vaudois; 12mo, Nürnberg, MDCXC.

6. "Histoire de la négociation des ambassadeurs envoyés au duc de Savoie, par les Cantons Evangeliques, l'année 1686." Basle, MDCXC.; 1 vol. 32mo, pp. 172.

7. "Histoire d'une ambassade des Cantons Evangeliques de la Suisse, au duc de Savoie, en 1655," inserted in the *Revue suisse*, t. iii. p. 260. (Concerning the events of the year 1655, see the authorities of Chaps. vi.—ix. of Part II. of this work.)

8. "Le banissement des gens de la religion prétendue réformée, hors des estats du duc de Savoye, le tout selon l'ordonnance et arrest de l'inquisition et sénat de Piedmont." Paris, 1619. Small 12mo.—It relates to the Vaudois of Saluces.

9. "Lettres des fidèles du marquisat de Saluces . . . et des deux martyrs . . ." &c. Geneva, 1619. (See the authorities of Chap ix. of Part I.)

10. "Lettre des fidèles des Vallées de Piémont à MM. les Etats Généraux des Provinces-Unies des Pays-Bas." 1655. (For other original works relating to the same period see the authorities of Chap vi. of Part II.)

11. "Rélation en abrégé de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable dans le retour des Vaudois au Piémont . . ." &c. The Hague, 1690. (See authorities of Chap. iii. of Part III.)

12. "Sommaire de l'état de la religion dans la vallée de Pragela, . . ." &c. Small 4to, without date or place of publication. (I place this work amongst those favourable to the Vaudois, because it is impartial in its statements of facts, and free from bitterness and passion in its style, although the author was a Catholic and personally hostile to the Vaudois doctrines.)

13. "Notice sur l'état actuel des Eglises vaudoises Protestantes des vallées du Piémont, suivie des ordonnances intolérantes, rendues contre ces chrétiens," &c. Paris, 1822, 8vo. (See mention made of a number of similar works in Chaps. xxiii. and xxiv. of Part III. of the *Israel of the Alps*.)

14. MOSER, "History of the Vaudois and of their admission into the Duchy of Würtemberg, derived from the most authentic documents." (In German.) Zürich, 1798, one vol. small 8vo. pp. 558; containing proof documents to the number of xix.—Moser was far advanced in years when he composed this work; he promised a continuation of it, but did not publish it. His book is therefore far from being a complete storehouse of materials relative to the Vaudois colonies in Würtemberg.

15. DIETERICI, "History of the Introduction of the Vaudois into Brandenburg." (In German.) Berlin, 1831; 1 vol. 8vo, of xx and 414 pages.—Contains a general sketch of the history of the Vaudois, and an analysis of a great number of letters relative to their introduction into Brandenburg.

16. "Memoires sur l'arrivée des Vaudois à Stendal," contained in the sixth volume of ERMAN and RECLAM. "Memoires pour servir à l'histoire des réfugiés français dans les états du roi" (the King of Prussia).—The most interesting part of the preceding work is borrowed from this. The memoirs of an exile (*Memorie di me Bartolomeo Salvajot*), a manuscript which extends from 1686 to 1688, complete this narrative.

N.B.—For completion of this paragraph, see part of the authorities of Chaps. v. and vi. of Part I. of the *Israel of the Alps*, and also those of Chap. viii. of Part III.

§ 4.—Original Authors, not natives of the Valleys, who have written in a spirit unfavourable to the Vaudois.

1. ALBERT CATTANÉE (called *De Capitaneis*), "De ortu et deletionem Valdensium."—On the events of 1487–1489. Memoirs inserted in the *Hist. . . . chap. viii. par Guill. de Saligny. . . . Le tout recueilli par feu M. Godefroy. . . . MDCLXXXIV.* Paris, *imprimerie royale*, folio, of xiv and 759 pages. (See at page 277.)—Cattanée had been specially delegated by Pope Innocent VIII. to exterminate the Vaudois. (See the bull in Léger, Part II. pp. 8–20; Hahn, p. 744; and abridged in Bert, p. 438.) This bull is of date

27th April, 1488. Cattanée is styled, *Albertus Cattaneus Placentinus, prolegatus apostolicus, archidiaconus Cremonensis, juris doctor.* These memoirs themselves formed part of a *History of the Kings of France* which he composed, but which has not been preserved.

2. RORENGO (called *Rorenco*), "Memorie storiche dell' introduzione dell' heresie nelle valli di Lucerna, Marchesato di Saluzzo e altre di Piemonte, editti, provisioni, diligenze delle Altezze di Savoia, per estisparle, col breve compendio d' esse e modo facile di confutarle; del Prior Marc' Aurelio Rorengo, dé conti di Lucerna." (The armorial bearings of the family are inserted in the title-page.) Turin, 1649, 4to of xx and 350 pages. The name of this author is variously written *Rorengo*, *Rorenchus*, and *Rorenco*, and this even in his book itself (fol. iv, fol. vi. and fol. vii.) The last spelling occurs in the title-page of the following work: "Breve narratione dell' introduzione de gl' heretici nelle valli de Piemonte, con gl' ordini fatti dalle Altezze di Savoia; di Marc' Aurelio Rorenco, priore e de conti di Luserna e valle." Turin, 1632, small 4to, pp. 114. This work was merely a study and rough draught of that above-named. Rorengo was a contemporary of Gilles. His work is very valuable upon account of the great number of documents which it contains; but his style wants dignity; and the spirit which he exhibits is not that of impartiality.

3. THEODORE BELVEDERE (his true name was *Anthony Lazari*): "Relatione all' eminentissima congregazione de propaganda fide dei luoghi di alature valli di Piemonte all' A. R. di Savoia soggette." . . . Turin (without date, but of the year 1636), small 18mo, pp. 323. "William of Vuitiberg came," says he, "with an army of Lutherans to the assistance of the French king, and confiscated the possessions of the lords of Lucerna, who were exiled during three years. Then, the government of the country was given to the Prince de Meffi." Not having been able to satisfy myself regarding these events, I have not mentioned them in the *Israel of the Alps*, and now point them out for the investigations of historians who may come after me.

4. "Relazione de successi nelle valli di Luserna e Piemonte, l' anno 1559–1634." Without date or place of publication.

5. "Relation des événements qui se sont passés entre les Vaudois et le duc de Savoie, faite par ordre de S. M." . . . Turin, 1655. Published also in Italian: "Somma delle ragione e fondamenti, con quali S. A. R. s'e mossa a prohibiri alli heretici della valle di Luserna l' habitatione fuori de limiti tollerati;" and in Latin—"Summa rationum quibus regia celsitudo adducta est," &c. . . . Another similar relation was printed at Villefranche, and a number of others without place of publication. (See in the *Israel of the Alps*, the authorities of Chap. vi. of Part II.)

6. "Les assemblées sur les affaires des protestants des vallées de Piedmont." Without date, paging, or place of publication. This pamphlet relates to the years 1662–1664.

7. "Relation de la guerre contre les religionnaires nommés Barbets." (A work referred to in p. 15 of the work mentioned in this section, § 2, No. 7.) I presume it must be the same with "Relation de la guerre de 1686 contre ceux des vallées." . . . 4to, pp. 8. Without date or place of publication. At the end of this pamphlet are the words, "Suite de la relation de la défaite des sujets rebelles de S. A. R." . . . &c.

8. "Le feu de la reconnaissance et de la joye pour la glorieuse victoire remportée sur les hérétiques Vaudois, dans les vallées de Luzerna, par S. A. R. Victor Amé II." . . . Chambéry, 1686. Not paged.

9. "Recherches historiques sur l' origin des Vaudois, et sur le caractère de

leurs doctrines primitives." Paris, 1836 (chez Perisse), 8vo. This work, published anonymously, is acknowledged by M. Charvaz, Bishop of Pignerol (from 1832 to 1847), on the cover of the book entitled, "Guide du Catéchumène Vaudois." . . . (Paris, chez Perisse, 1840; 3 vols. 18mo.)—The *Recherches historiques* are designed to prove that the Vaudois were not anterior to Valdo. This work has been translated into Italian. With it may be named, as having been conceived under the same influence, a historic work (very far from being accurate), published at Pignerol in 1846, under the title of *Soirées Vaudoises*. The talents of M. Charvaz have been rated very high by a number of writers. The motives which induced this prelate to demit his office in 1847, are noticed in a pamphlet entitled, "Un mot au Messagiere Torinese et à la Concordia, sur la demission de Monseigneur Charvaz, évêque de Pignerol, par un défenseur officieux, qui n'est ni un obscurantiste, ni un rétrograde." (Pignerol, printed by Paul Ghighetti, 1848; 8vo, pp. 31.)—The prelate's secretary, the Abbé Jorioz, D.D., wrote upon the same subject, "Réponse à un article du journal la Presse. . . ." (Pignerol, 8th February, 1848; printed by Lobetti-Bodoni; 8vo, pp. 8.) See also Sect. iv. § 2, No. 19, of this Bibliography.

SECTION II.—AUTHORS WHO HAVE OCCUPIED THEMSELVES WITH INQUIRIES ON PARTICULAR POINTS CONNECTED WITH THE HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS.

§ 1.—Latin Treatises.

(Mostly *contra Valdenses*, and generally relating to the disciples of Valdo of Lyons, and to other Protestants of the middle ages, rather than to the Vaudois of Piedmont.)

1. REYNERUS. "Contra Valdenses." Such is the abridged title by which his work, written in 1250, is generally known. (HERZOG, *De origine et pristino statu Waldensium*, p. 3.) The exact title is: *Summa de Catharis et Leonistis, seu pauperibus de Lugduno*. It is sometimes quoted as follows: "Fratris REYNERI SACHONI, ordinis Predicatorum, Summa contra hæreticos; or, "Summa de Cath. et Leon." GRETSEUS, in inserting this treatise into his collection (*Opera*, t. xii.), has added to this title: "Liber contra Waldenses hæreticos, nunc primum integre ex manuscripto codice editus." This treatise was published by MARTÈNE (*Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, t. v., p. 1762.) "Ipsius auctoris ætate exaratus." Is this the original text? It is derived from a Rouen manuscript. D'AR-GENTRÉ (*Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*. . . . t. i., p. 48) published it from a Caën manuscript; and ECHARD (*Scriptores ordinis Prædicatorum*, t. i., p. 154) from a Dublin manuscript. It is also to be found in the *Bibliotheca mediæ et infimæ latinitatis*, t. vi., p. 47 (edition of Passau), and in the following works: *Biblioth. maxima P. P.* t. xxv., p. 264; VON-DER-HARDT, *Rerum concilii Const.* t. iii.; USSER, *de gravissima questione*, &c. FLACIUS ILLYRICUS published the first six chapters of it (*Catal. test. veritatis*, No. 267). Reynerus is sometimes designated by the name of Saccho or Sacchonus. He says of himself: "Ego Rinherus olim hæresiarcha, nunc Dei gratia sacerdos . . . annis xvii. conversatus sum cum eis." (Note of GIESELER, *Hist. Eccles.*, t. iii., p. 598.) He is the most interesting of the authors mentioned in this §. In the third chapter of his work, entitled, "*De causis hæreseorum*," he enumerates the churches belonging to the heretics of whom he speaks, and he names forty-one, all bearing German or Wallach names. Farther on, he points out, in a general way, the churches of the Cathari, to the number of sixteen (caput xvi.) He bestows high praise upon the Leonists and Vaudois,

even in contending against them, speaking especially of their attachment to the Bible, and the purity of their lives. He says of them: "Nullum sanctum credunt nisi Apostolos; nullum invocant nisi Deum solum . . . Legendas sanctorum non credunt; miracula eorum subsannant; reliquias contemnunt . . . dicunt quod omne peccatum sit mortale et nullum veniale . . . et ita, Lombardiam intrantes, visitant episcopos suos." (cap. v.) Concerning a PSEUDO-REINERUS, an interpolator of this work, see GIESELER, *De Rainerii Sacchoni summa de Catharis et Leonistis, commentatio critica* (Goettingæ, 1834); and the *Hist. Eccles.* of the same author, 4th ed., ii., 613. Léger supposed that there were two authors of the name of Reynerus. (*Histoire gén.* p. 170, note 2.) His error, no doubt, arose from the circumstance that our author has been placed by FRÉHÉRUS amongst the *Scriptores rerum Bohemicarum*. It appears to me that he ought to be quoted with great caution as an authority in matters of history concerning the Vaudois of Piedmont; and I have abstained from quoting him in this latter work. The same observation applies with still greater force to most of the following authors. See also, concerning the interpolations to which the work of Reynerus has been subjected, and concerning other particulars, the work of M. SCHMIDT on the Cathari (vol. ii., note xvi.)

2. PILICHDORF. "Contra hæresin Waldensium." (Published by Gretserus, t. xii. second part; and in the *Bibl. Max. Patrum*, t. xxv., p. 278.) This treatise contains thirty-six chapters. It acknowledges that the origin of the Vaudois may be traced back to the time of Pope Sylvester (§ i.) In a subsequent place the author says, "Dixit Christus: Vos estis lux mundi" (§ x.); and he reproaches the Vaudois for concealing themselves (§ xi.) and afterwards he mentions the reply of one of them, "Non possum esse talis *Lucerna publica, propter instantes persecutiones, quia vocant me hæreticum*." (§ xiii.) This author must belong to the end of the fourteenth century. His style is in general bad, and he abounds in injurious epithets.

3. EBERHARD DE BÉTHUNE. (Eberhardus Bethunniensis.) "Liber anti hæresis;" published under the title of "*Contra Valdenses*," by Gretserus, tom. xii.; *Bibl. Max. Patrum*, t. xxiv. "ERMENGARD, Opusculum contra hæreticos qui dicunt et credunt mundum istum et omnia visibilia, non esse a Deo facta sed a Diabolo." (It may be seen in Gretserus, t. xii.) The mention made of the Vaudois is merely incidental. The editor himself says, "Nec scio an itaque contra Valdenses." (*Præloquia*.) For further particulars concerning these authors, see Schmidt, *Hist. of the Cathari*, vol. ii. note xvi.

4. GRETSEUS, who published the works of the three preceding authors under the title of *Trias contra Valdensem sectam*, prefixed to them a treatise of which he was himself the author: "Prolegomena in Scriptores contra Valdenses;" and after the work of Pilichdorf, he gives a "Refutatio errorum quibus Waldenses distinentur, INCERTO AUCTORE." (*Gretzeri Opera*, edition of Ingolstadt, t. xii., and *Max. Bibl. Patrum*, t. xxiv.)

5. ALAIN DE L'ISLE (Alanus de Insulis), or simply *Alain*. "Adversus hæreticos et Waldenses qui postea Albigenenses dicti sunt." More frequently cited thus—"Contra hæreticos sui temporis," and by different authors under various other titles. It is to be found in "*Alani Theologi insignis opus*." . . . Antwerp, 1654, fol., p. 199. The first two books of this treatise were published separately at Paris in 1612, in 8vo, under this title, "Contra Valdenses, Judeos, et Paganos;" the last two appear under another title in the *Bibl. Script. Cistercensium*, Cologne, 1656. For more particulars concerning this author, his homonym and his works, see Schmidt's *History of the Cathari*, vol. ii., note xvi.

6. BERNARD DE FONTCAUD (Bernardus de Fonte Calido). "Contra Valdenses et Arianos." The Vaudois are very little spoken of in this work. However, the author says in his preface, "Valdenses dicti sunt nimirum a valle densa." Valdo is not even named in the work. See also *Histoire littéraire de France*, t. xv., p. 35. The author belongs to the twelfth century.

7. MONETA. "Adversus Catharos et Valdenses." A thick folio volume, edited by Richinius, at Rome, in 1743. The editor has prefixed to the work an introduction concerning the life and writings of the author, who lived in the beginning of the thirteenth century; and two dissertations—the first, "De Catharis," and the second, "De Valdensibus." In § i., he says, "Valdensium nomen non peculiare alicujus sectae, aut hæreseos, sed commune omnium a seculo 12mo . . . nec desunt qui sic doctos (Valdenses) velint, a voce Italica, *Valdesi*."

8. STEPHEN DE BORBONNE (Stephanus de Bella Villa). "De septem donis spiritus sancti." Published in D'ARGENTRÉ, *Collectio judic. de novis erroribus*, t. i., pp. 85–91. See also ECHARD, t. i., pp. 184–196. There is a MS. of the *Septem dona* at Paris, in the library of the Sorbonne, No. 938.—Herzog says, "Haec narratio majoris momenti esse videtur, cum quod Stephanus ipse vidit virum cum Waldo societate conjunctum . . . denique quod multorum Waldensium confessiones, ut inquisitor ipse audiit." (Cap. i., p. 3.)

9. YVONETUS. "Tractatus de hæresi pauperum de Lugduno;" cited thus, "Contra hæreses Valdenses, libri quatuor." It is to be seen in MARTÈNE, *Thes. Anecd.*, t. v., fol., 1778.

10. GUIDO DE PERPINIACO. "Summa de hæresibus et earum confutationibus;" Paris, published by Josse Badius, 1528, fol. The author of this work was Guido of Perpignan, a Carmelite, who was Bishop of Elne about 1342. He speaks of the Vaudois, beginning on the first page of fol. 79, but confines himself to stating and refuting their doctrines. (For this note I am indebted to M. Schmidt.)

11. GUALTERUS MAPES, Archdeacon of Oxford, who saw and heard the disciples of Valdo at the Council of Lateran in 1179, wrote a short dissertation *De Sectâ Valdesiorum*, inserted in USSER, "De Christianae Ecclesiae successione et statu, Historica Explanatio." London, 1687.

12. CLAUDE COUSSORD. "Valdensium et quorundam aliorum errores, præcipuas ac pene omnes, quae nunc vigent, hæreses continentes." Paris, published by Thomas Richard, 1548, 8vo. This book is directed against the Lutherans. The refutation of the Vaudois doctrines commences in fol. 41. These doctrines are taken word for word from the catalogue drawn up by Yvonetus (No. 9 above). This catalogue is inserted in fol. 126, *et seq.*, under the erroneous title of *Valdensium errorum catalogus, sive summa Fratris Reinertii*. Coussord says that he derived it from an old manuscript, which probably contained the *Summa* of Reynerus, and after it the *catalogue* of Yvonetus, and hence the error. (For this note I am indebted to M. Schmidt.)

13. In this work of Coussord (or Coussart) is to be found also a "Disputatio inter Catholicum et Paterinum hæreticum," a production of the thirteenth century. It has been inserted by Martène and Durand, in the *Thes. nov. Anecd.* t. v., fol., 1755, *et seq.* Concerning it, see Schmidt's *History of the Cathari*, vol. ii., p. 311.

14. CLAUDE SEYSSSEL. "Adversus Valdenses disputationes," 8vo, 1547—a thick volume in black letter. This work has served as the basis for a great number of dissertations; amongst others, "La doctrine des Vaudois, dressée par Claude Seyssel et Claude Coussart, théologiens de Paris, avec notes dressées par Jean Cappel;" Sedan, 1618, 8vo. Seyssel was Archbishop of Turin.

§ 2.—Academic Theses.

1. DANHAUERUS (John Conrad). "Ecclesia Waldensium, orthodoxiae Lutheranae testis et socia." Argent. (Strasburg) 4to, 1668. Since published also by HESTERBERG, with a preface.

2. HAEVER (John Christopher). "Oratio de Waldensium ortu, progressu, et persecutionibus." 4to, Aldorf, 1686.

3. GILLES STRAUCH (Algidii Strauchii). "Disquisitio historico-theologica de Valdensibus." Witebergæ, 4to. The first part appeared in 1659, the second in 1663.

4. WERENFELSIUS (Peter Verenfels). "De Valdensibus." He chiefly treats of their origin and their doctrines. The first part of his thesis was published at Basle in 1695, the second in 1700, in 4to.

5. HOUERT (Van der). "De Valdensium, Bohemorum, et Moravorum, fide et religione;" 4to. (I do not know the date nor the place of publication.)

6. KIESLING (Kieslingus). "Dissertatio historico-theologica, de variis Waldensium veritatis testium nominibus et sectis." 4to, Jena, 1739.

7. JAS. "Disputatio Academica, de Valdensium secta, ab Albigensibus recte distinguenda." Lyons, 1834, 4to, of about 150 pages. An excellent work. Amongst the moderns, I have elsewhere cited REYNAUDIN, PEYRANI, BASTIE, ROMAN, &c.

8. MAYERHOFF, "Kritische Beleuchtung des Ursprungs und der namen der Waldenser;" 8vo, 1834.

9. WEIHNMAYER (Elias). "Dissertatio historica, de vicissitudinibus et fatibus Waldensium." Witebergæ, 1690, 4to.

10. MARTINETUS. "Apologia veræ doctrinæ eorum qui vulgo appellantur Valdenses." Lugduni Batavorum, 1738.

11. HESTERBERG. "De ecclesia Waldensium." Argentorati, 1768.

12. PLARESIUS. "Dissertatio de Valdensibus." Groningæ, 1660, cited by Martinetus.

13. A pamphlet, without the name of the author, on the antiquity of the Vaudois Churches in the Valleys of Piedmont; 4to, Utrecht, 1662.

14. FRISCHIUS. "Disquisitio historico-theologica de Valdensibus." Viëtembergæ, 1650.

15. WESEMBECIUS (Peter). "Oratio de Valdensibus et Albigensibus Christianis, ab anno 1585." Jena, 1603; reprinted at Leipzig by Menger, in 1610, and inserted by Camerarius at the end of his work. (*Historica narratio*, &c.; Heidelberg, without date on the title page, but bearing that of 1605 at the end of the preface.)

16. HERZOG. "De origine et pristino statu Waldensium, secundum antiquissima eorum scripta, cum libris Catholicorum ejusdem aevi collata." Halle, 1849; 4to, pp. 44. A work of merit and of erudition, interesting especially on account of the parallel which it exhibits between the doctrines of the Cathari and those of the Vaudois. (Cap. iii. p. 7.) The fundamental idea of this work is an excellent one—the comparison of Vaudois books with Catholic contemporary writings; but it has not been developed as much as it is capable of being, in consequence of the small number of the original works hitherto published. The work of M. Herzog is divided into eight chapters, treating—I. Of Catholic and Vaudois books in general, pp. 2–5. II. Whether the Vaudois books were known to the Catholic authors, pp. 5–7. III. The Christian Faith of the Vaudois, pp. 7–13. IV. Their Catholic Faith, pp. 13–16. Chapters V. VI. and VII. contain an examination of different points of Vaudois doctrine.

VIII. Of the period to which the *Nobla Leyczon* is to be referred, and of the other Vaudois books and the name of Valdo. The very distinguished author of this thesis, thinks that the Vaudois derive their origin only from Valdo.

The same author has since published at Halle, a work on the Vaudois, "Die romanischen Waldenser," which I regret that I have not been able to procure. [Some notice of this important work will be given in a subsequent appendix by the translator.]

§ 3.—Various Authors.

1. LYDIUS. "Waldensia: id est conservatio veræ Ecclesiæ demonstrata ex confessionibus, cum Taboritarum, ante ducentos ferme annos, tum Bohemorum, &c." Rotterdam, 1616, 2 vols. 8vo. (The second volume is entitled, *Waldensium, Tomus Secundus*, &c.) Concerning the relation between the Vaudois church and the church of Bohemia, see also EHWALT, "Doctrine ancienne et moderne des Frères Bohémiens et Moraves"—(at p. 660, he inserts the Vaudois catechism, entitled *Interrogations menors*); LUZITIUS, "De disciplina ecclesiastica, moribus et institutionibus Fratrum Bohemicorum," Amst., 1660; COMMENIUS, "Hist. Ecclesiæ Fratrum Bohem."—(may be seen in STRUVIUS: *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*); ESROM RUDIGER, "Narratiuncula de Ecclesiis Frat. in Bohemia;" CAMERARIUS, "Historica narratio de fratrum orthodox. ecclesiis in Bohemia," Heidelberg, 1606. A rarer work is "Historica persecutionum Ecclesiæ Bohemicæ. . . ab anno 894 ad an. 1632," 12mo, printed in 1648. It mentions the Vaudois in Chap. xx. § 5. Besides these may be named ÆNEAS SYLVIVS (afterwards Pope, under the name of Pius II., from 1458 to 1464), DUBRAVIUS (Bishop of Olmutz); STRANSKY, SCHULZE, TITTLE, HENSEL, ANDREA, &c., who have written works on the church of Bohemia. Amongst modern authors, M. BOST deserves to be named. "Histoire ancienne et moderne des frères de Bohême et de Moravie." Geneva, 1831; 2 vols. 8vo. He speaks of the Vaudois, t. ii., liv. 3. (He has composed for them the music of a number of national songs, intended to recal the principal events of their history.)

2. FUESSELIN (John Conrad). "De gemina Albigensium et Valdensium distinctione." Inserted in the *Nova Miscellanea* of Leipzig, t. x., p. 3. FUESSELIN is the author of a History of the sects and heresies of the middle ages (in German), Frankfort and Leipzig, 1770; 3 vols. 8vo. He speaks at great length of the Vaudois.

3. For the history of the Albigeois: WILLIAM DE PUY LAURENS (de Podio Laurentii). "Historia negotii Francorum adversus Albigenses," inserted in *Duchesne, Scriptores Historiæ Francorum*, t. v., p. 666, and in several more recent collections. The author was chaplain to the Count of Toulouse, and secretary to the bishop of that city.—PETER DE VAUCERNAY. "Historia Albigensium." This work has been translated into French.—Extracts in prose, from the Languedoc poem published by M. Fauriel, are to be seen in the *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, t. iii., Preuves No. I., and in the collection of French MSS., t. xix.—*Chaufepié*, in his *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, quotes a MS., entitled, "Ce qui fut fait par les Inquisiteurs contre les Albigeois, depuis le 21 Janvier, 1311, jusqu'au 24 Octobre, 1319. (Lettre J, pp. 80, 81)." This MS. has been published by Limborch, at the end of his *Historia Inquisitionis*.—Finally, and principally, SCHMIDT. *History of the Albigenses or Cathari* (see No. 26 of this §). The question of the connection between the Vaudois and Albigeois is far from being cleared up. The connection itself is very hypothetical. (See, on this subject, other works cited in No. 21 of this §, and in Nos. 15 and 16 of Section III. of this Bibliography.) With this branch of study may be united that of the Petro-

brusians, with whom the Vaudois more probably had some connection, as Peter de Bruys was a native of the Val Louise. See Father ALBERT, *Histoire ecclésiastique d'Embrun*, t. i., p. 56; HECKER, *Disputationes de Petrobrusianis*, Leypzig, 1721; HARENBERG, *Otia sacra*. (The tenth thesis is entitled, *Valdenses Petro de Valdo antiquiores*); NEANDER, *Life of Saint Bernard* (in German), &c.

4. ALLIX. "Some remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the ancient churches of Piémont." London, 1690; 4to. Winer mentions a second edition, published in 1692. This work has not, properly speaking, any historic value. Its object is to prove the apostolic descent of the Vaudois. It derives a particular value, however, from the publication of three ancient Vaudois MSS. at the end of the volume. These MSS. were once at Cambridge, and have recently been rediscovered in Dublin. (Library of Trinity College, class C, shelf 4, No. XVIII., vols. viii. and ix.) Léger gives a translation of one of them (t. ii., p. 21); Basnage (t. ii. p. 1440) and Perrin (pp. 133 and 135) speak of the other two.—See also *The Barque of the Church for the Friends of Religion* (a German work). Zürich, 1764 (p. 210).

5. DU PLESSIS MORNAY, "Mysterium iniquitatis seu historia Papatus," speaks of the Vaudois at pp. 304, 406, 458, &c. Of this book there are many editions; that which I quote is the edition of Goricheim, 1662. With this may be noticed the *Historia Papatus*, by HEIDEGGER, which speaks of the Vaudois at p. 415. FLACIUS ILLYRICUS also wrote a *Historia de primatu Papæ*, in which he speaks of the Vaudois, § 267, pp. 630–660. His *Catalogus testium veritatis*—Strasburg, 1562, and Frankfort, 1666, with notes and supplements, at the end of which the preceding work is printed—also contains many things relative to the Vaudois.

6. KOECHER. A Catechetical History of the Vaudois, the Bohemian Brethren, &c. (In German), Jena, 1768. All that concerns the Vaudois in this work is their own excellent little catechism in the Romance tongue, entitled *Interrogations menors*, which is inserted in it, and which had been already published by Perrin, p. 157, and Léger, p. 58; and which is also given by Monastier, ii. 297, Hahn, pp. 673–679, and was separately published at Edinburgh in 1836. The original is amongst the Vaudois MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, class C, shelf 5, No. XXII., fol. 284–292.—Along with this work may be named the *Duplex confessio Valdensium*, folio, 1512 (a work which I have never seen).

7. VAN BREENN. "Apologetic Memoirs concerning the Vaudois, with an appendix, from 1642 to 1655. (In Dutch), Amsterdam, 1663." With this may be compared a modern German work, entitled, "The Ecclesiastical Government of the Vaudois Communities of Piedmont, by Weiss, pastor and clerk of the Synod of Zürich. (Die Kirchenverfassung der Piemontessichen, . . . &c.)" Zürich, 1834; 8vo of viii and 76 pages.

8. DU CLERCQ (Jacques). "Mémoires sur la Vaudoiserie d'Arras." Printed in BUCHON's *Collection des Chroniques*. Paris (Verdière), 1826, 8vo; t. xxxix. The title of these memoirs is much longer than I have given above. The first part commences thus:—"Of a woman named Demiselle, who was taken as a Vaudois in the town of Douay, and brought a prisoner to the city of Arras . . ." &c. DU CLERCQ is the continuator of MONSTRELET. There are some curious particulars in his chronicle. The style is characterized by an interesting simplicity; but the subject of which he treats is very remote from the history of the Vaudois of Piedmont. In this respect his work may be ranked

¹ The spelling of the French words is antiquated.—TRANSL.

along with the memoir of M. BOURQUELOT, entitled, *Notice sur les sorciers Vaudois*, inserted in vol. viii. of the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Chartes*.

9. PRATEOLUS. "De ritibus, sectis, et dogmatibus omnium hæreticorum." Cologne, 1569, fol. Of little value.—ENGELHARDT. "Dissertation on various points of Ecclesiastical History" (in German). The subject of the Vaudois is incidentally treated of.—A German work, entitled, *Universal Chronicles*, contains more details. See the fifth part, p. 179; t. iv., p. 47; t. viii., p. 611; t. xi., pp. 7, 12, 338; t. xix., p. 695.—See also the *Magdeburg Centuries* (a Latin work), century x. and century xii., ch. 18, &c.

10. DE PARAMO. "De origine, officio, et progressu sanctæ Inquisitionis," fol. Madrid, 1598; Antwerp, 1619.—With which may be classed, EYMERICUS, *Directorium Inquisitorum*, Rome, 1570, (he speaks of the Vaudois at p. 282), and *Doctrina de modo procedendi contra hæreticos*, inserted in MARTÈNE, *Theat. Anecdotorum*, t. v., p. 1795; also, *Forma qualiter hæretici hæreticant hæreticos*, inserted in the *Thesaurus novorum Anecdotorum*, t. v., p. 1776, and *Liber sententiarum Inquisitionis Tolosanae*, published by LIMBOECH. See also chap. i. of book ii. of Perrin (p. 106), and chap. iii. (p. 132).

11. BENOIT (Elie). "Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes;" 5 vols. 4to, Delft, 1693–95. Translated into Dutch; Amsterdam, 1696, fol.—RULHIÈRES, "Eclaircissements historiques sur les causes de la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes, et sur l'état du protestantisme en France, depuis Louis XIV. jusqu'à nos jours." Without place of publication; 2 vols. 8vo, 1788.—BERNARD, *Explication de l'Edit de Nantes*, and *La politique du clergé de France*, 1 vol. 32mo; Amsterdam, 1682. He speaks of the Vaudois at p. 152.—*Les soupirs de la France esclave* (a work which has become rare); also, *Les derniers efforts de l'innocence opprimée*; Ville-Franche, 1682, 2 vols. 32mo, of 236 and 212 pages.

12. "Voix de pleurs et de lamentations." Printed at Ville-Franche, in MDCLX.; small 4to, pp. 402. The first chapter of the second part (p. 178) relates to the Vaudois. See, in the *Israel of the Alps*, the authorities for Part II., chap. vii. (For this rare little work I am indebted to Dr. Long of Die, the author of a *Memoire sur les Allobroges*, which obtained the prize of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, and I take this opportunity of publicly expressing my obligation to him.)

13. Along with this work may be mentioned the Lamentation or Elegy on the Massacres of 1655 (in German, in the library of Berne); and a piece in verse, entitled, "Le cantique des Vallées du Piémont, sur les actes funestes de leurs massacres et de leur paix," relating also to the events of 1655, and printed at the end of a "Lettre des protestants du Piémont, à Mylord, Protecteur d'Angleterre," without date or place of publication. Also, "L'huile décollant du rocher, ou consolations adressées à nos frères des Vallées, exilés." Printed in 1688. Also, *Lamentations de Sion, ou précis et véritable récit de la triste position des églises de Piémont*, . . . &c. Middlesburgh, 1662.

14. RAYNOUARD. "Choix de poésies originales des Troubadours;" Paris, 1816, 6 vols. 8vo. In vol. ii., he places amongst the *Primitive Monuments of the Romance language*, or rather he names as the sole monuments of the Romance language, the *Nobla Leyczon*, which he gives entire, and the ancient Vaudois poems, of which he only quotes fragments. HAHN has published them entire in pp. 560–604 of his *History of the Vaudois and collateral sects* (in German); Stuttgart, 1847, an 8vo vol. of 822 pages, with a map. MILLOT, in his *Hist. littéraire des Troubadours* also speaks of the Vaudois (t. ii., p. 42). See also PARANDIN, *Annales de Bourgogne*, book ii., p. 247, &c.

15. BOSSUET, in his "Histoire des variations des Eglises Protestantes . . ."

(Numerous editions), book xi., § c, et seq., treats of the Vaudois. He expresses doubt of the existence of their ancient manuscripts, which had then disappeared, but which have since been discovered again in Dublin and elsewhere. This work is full of erudition, and is, in general, very correct in its details; but this does not prevent its author from giving a very false idea of the Protestant churches, and particularly of the Reformers; for details selected from one quarter and from another, displaced and arranged in a new order, can no more represent the whole from which they were taken than a piece of oak furniture can give an idea of the tree. Bossuet sets out from the principle that *truth is one*, and does not prove it; Celsus started from the same principle to combat Christianity. There are many refutations of this work. One of the most worthy of notice is, "Introductio in memorabilia Ecclesiasticæ historiæ sacra." (Weisman, Halle, 1745.)

16. HERING. "Contributions to the History of the Reformed." (In German); pp. 19–26 relate to the Vaudois. "General History of the Jesuits, from the origin of that order to the present day" (in the same language), Zürich, 1789. See vol. i., p. 226, et seq.—Another History of the Jesuits, by WOLF (also in German), speaks of the Vaudois in vol. i., p. 223. See also MÉNARD, *Hist. de la ville de Nîmes* . . . 4to, 1750; proof documents, vol. i., p. 73.

17. MARNIX DE SAINTE ALDEGONDE. "Tableau des différends de la religion;" 2 vols. 8vo, La Rochelle, 1601. This work is frequently quoted by Perrin. It is of little importance in a historical point of view, but it is written with much energy, sometimes mingled with a sort of bitter pleasantry, which gives it an originality of character entirely its own. The author was not contented with writing, he also went out to battle in the cause of Protestantism. His work has become rare.

18. RUCHAT. "Histoire de la Réformation en Suisse, où l'on voit tout ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable, depuis l'an 1516 jusqu'à l'an 1556 . . ." 6 vols. 8vo.; Geneva, 1728. The continuation of this work, which existed in manuscript, was published in 1835–1838. Mention is made in it, and particulars given of the embassy sent by the Vaudois to the Reformers in 1530. See vol. ii., p. 330, and vol. iii., p. 175. In the new edition, see Appendix, p. 556. See also the History of the Swiss Confederation, by JOHN DE MULLER, continued by HOTTINGER, VUILLIEMIN, and MONNARD. See also FLATHE, "Geschichte der Vorläufer der Reformation" (Leipzig), vol. i.

19. CALVOER (Gaspard). "Fissura (or Fissuræ) Sionis; hoc est, de schismatibus ac controversiis quæ ecclesiam agitarunt;" Leipzig, 1690. A work of learning, but little known. The Vaudois are spoken of, p. 354.

20. The Abbé MARTIN DE CLAUSONNE wrote a book against Vulçon, councillor of the parliament of Grenoble. (I do not know the exact title.) This Vulçon is the same who communicated to Perrin the "Enquêtes juridiques, poursuivies contre les Vaudois par les évêques d'Embrun," which had fallen into the hands of a soldier at the time of the sack of that city by Lesdiguières. (Perrin, pp. 114, 127, 131, 137, 141, and the preface.) The Abbé de Clausonne repeats against the Vaudois all the accusations of their most unworthy adversaries. His twentieth chapter is entitled, *A Reply on those points which the Minister Perrin stigmatizes as calumnious*. See also FLORIMOND DE REMOND, "De l'antéchrist," ch. vii., No. 7; and the MS. of FOURNIER, "Histoire des Alpes maritimes ou Cottiniennes, particulièrement d'Embrun leur métropolitaine," p. 71. (In folio, in the libraries of Gap and Lyons.)

21. DE SAINT MICHEL (Jacques). "L'histoire et le cours des hérésies des

Vaudois et des Albigeois;" 8vo, Toulouse, 1676.—PANTALÉON, "De rebus in ecclesia gestis," lib. v.—Gulielmus MERPBURGENSIS, *De rebus Angliæ*, lib. iii., and in the *Scriptores Anglici*, published at London in 1652, in folio; the *Chronicon ad annum MCLXXVII.*, folio, 1441.—Likewise the *Annales* of MALVENDA, ch. iv., *ad ann.* MCCXX., and the *Fasciculus* of Orthuinus GRATIUS; fol., Cologne, 1535, pp. 81-95; also the "Fasciculus rerum expectandarum et fugiendarum," in which the epistle of the Vaudois to King Ladislas is given.—Also, SERRARIUS, *Trihaeresium*, lib. i., ch. v.; and DE VINEIS, *Constitutiones*, lib. i., ep. 25-27.

22. SISMONDI. "Histoire des répub. d'Italie," vol. xvii., &c.—"Histoire des ducs de Savoie," by FRAIZET and others.—CHIESA, "Corona vale di Savoia," &c.—SCLOPIS, "Storia dell' antiche legge del Piemonte."—(In sect. VI. I will notice the works of MM. Cibraria, De Saluces, and De Beauregard.)—Amongst works restricted to more particular subjects, may be named the *Histoire d'Emm. Philibert, duc de Savoie*. . . . Amsterdam, 1693; and in Latin, "De vita Emmanuelis Philiberti, Allobrogum Ducis, et Subalpinorum principis, libri duo JOHANNIS TONSI, patricii Mediolanensis," fol., *Aug. Taur.*, 1596.

23. FABER (George Stanley), B.D. "An Inquiry into the history and theology of the ancient Vallenses and Albigenses;" London, 1838; 8vo, of 596 pages.—"History of the Christian Church, from the birth of Christ to the eighteenth century, containing interesting particulars relative to the Waldenses and Albigenses, by William JONES;" third edition, 8vo; London, 1818. The second volume and the fourth chapter of the first volume relate to the Vaudois. This author connects them with the Paulicians, as Faber does. A fourth edition of this work appeared at London in 1820. In this edition, the particulars relative to the Vaudois announced in the title are to be found in the eighth volume.

24. GILLY (William Stephen), D.D. "Waldensian Researches during a second visit to the Waldenses," &c. . . . 8vo; London, 1830. Also, under another title, *Researches among the Waldenses*. A work of learning. Also, by the same author, *The Vaudois, Valdo, and Vigilantius*; London, 1841, an 8vo of 69 pages, consisting of three articles, originally published in the seventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. This study led to a new work, *Vigilantius and his Times*, by W. S. Gilly, D.D.; London, 1844; 8vo, pp. xvi and 488. Other works by the same author will be mentioned in section V. § 1.

25. ELLIOT. "Horæ Apocalypticæ" (a critical and historical commentary upon the Apocalypse, in English), 3 vols. 8vo; London, 1844. In vol. ii., the Vaudois are spoken of at much length as being the two witnesses (Rev. xi.) who appear as dead for three days and a half (ver. 9, 11), which this author explains by the three years and a half of exile endured by the inhabitants of the valleys, whom he considers as the depositaries of the Old and New Testaments, applying to this vers. 5, 6, and 7.

26. SCHMIDT. "Histoire et doctrine de la secte des Cathares ou Albigeois." Paris, 1849, 2 vols. 8vo, the first of xii and 392 pages, the second of 320 pages. This work is full of great learning, but acknowledges that for the exposition of the doctrinal system of the Cathari, we are reduced to the sole testimony of the adversaries of that sect (vol. i., p. 4). These words awaken a desire for the discovery of some original doctrinal writings, which might enable us to separate the Albigeois from the Dualists, with whom they are identified in this work. M. Schmidt devotes the tenth note of his second volume to the examination of the origin of the Vaudois (p. 287). He thinks that they were not anterior to Valdo, and that we cannot connect them with Claude of Turin, because the latter was not separated from the Roman church (p. 288). But

neither did the Vaudois ever separate themselves from it, otherwise than as remaining attached to the gospel, they found themselves isolated, when the Church of Rome had separated itself from the sacred code (see chap. i. of the *Israel of the Alps*). M. Schmidt rests also upon the fact, that no mention is made of the Vaudois from the time of Claude to that of Valdo (p. 288). But are there not peoples of whom history makes no mention for centuries, because nothing remarkable has occurred, or because chroniclers have been wanting, or because the chronicles have been lost? And does this prove that these peoples did not exist? In the third place, he says (p. 290), the *Nobla Leyczon* makes mention of the Vaudois, and bears date the 1100th year. This date is not disputed; but, according to the literal sense of the text, the *one thousand and one hundred years* completed at the period when this poem was composed (l. 6), ought to be reckoned only from the time when the prophecy was written which is contained in the 24th chapter of Matthew's gospel, or in Rev. xix.-xxi., which will bring the date from the year 1139 to the year 1196 or thereby, i.e., to the very time of Valdo. This is true; but (1), it is difficult to ascribe to the author of a poem an exegesis so minutely accurate, when the theologians of his time committed so many anachronisms, and as even in our own day, the date of the composition of the above-mentioned books of Scripture is not perfectly known. (2.) It seems to me more difficult, considering the circumstances of the times, to ascribe the *Nobla Leyczon* to the disciples of Valdo, and to place its composition at the end of the twelfth century, than to maintain the opinion that it emanated from the Vaudois of the eleventh. (See in this *Bibliography*, part II., sect. I., § 3, MS. 207, article 5.) (3.) Finally, there is not more reason for taking as a point of departure the composition of the Apocalypse, than that of the gospel according to Matthew, which was half a century earlier, and which consequently would still place the composition of the *Nobla Leyczon* a generation before Valdo. M. Schmidt also says that the name *Vaudois* cannot come from *vaud* or *vaur*, or the Latin *vallis*, or it would be *Vallenses* and not *Valdenses* (p. 289). But we have in reality the name which he thus demands; De Thou calls the Vaudois *Convallenses* (Hist., lib. xxvii.); and if he be set aside as a modern author, I will adduce Eberhard or Evrard de Béthune, who belongs to the thirteenth century, and who says: "Vallenses se appellant, eo quod in valle lachrymarum maneat" (*Liber antiheresis*, chap. xxv.) Finally, I will remark, that many words are formed in a manner contrary to the grammatical rules of etymology, and that the irregularity of their formation proves nothing against its reality. M. Schmidt himself quotes (p. 289) a few lines of a Strasbourg MS., which was unknown to me, and which belongs to the thirteenth century, in which it is said, "*Valdenses dicuntur . . . a valle . . . quia in valle orti sunt.*" The opinion, therefore, that the name of the Vaudois is derived from the valleys which they inhabit, is not of recent origin—nay, it was shared by Bernard de Fontcaud, a contemporary of Valdo himself. "Valdenses dicuntur a valle densa, eo quod profundis et densis errorum tenebris involvantur" (Gretzeri opera, t. xii., part ii., p. 196).

"Finally," adds M. Schmidt (pp. 291, 292), "the *Nobla Leyczon* speaks of the Vaudois as being already persecuted (l. 368, *et seq.*) But history makes mention of no persecution of the Vaudois before the end of the twelfth century." (There are many things of which history makes no mention. Of how many things concerning the Cathari was history silent, until the publication of the work of M. Schmidt! Does it follow that there was no reality in these things?) "The name of the Vaudois heretics, becoming an object of hatred to the Catholics, was employed by them to designate detestable crimes; the terms *Cathari*,

. . . &c., have had the same fate. This employment of the word in another than its primary sense, refers us to a period when that primary sense was generally familiar to people's minds, and when the sect which bore this name was generally hated and persecuted. This could not be the period of the origin of the Vaudois church" (*Hist. des Cathares*, ii., 292). Thus M. Schmidt writes; and from this I think it a fair inference that the origin of the Vaudois church was much anterior to the writings which it has left.

According to M. Schmidt, in fact, the *Nobla Leyczon* must have been composed at a period when the name of the Vaudois was already well known; and this period could not have been that of their origin. According to him, again, the *Nobla Leyczon* must have been composed, at the latest, in 1196; and in that case, it cannot be attributed to the disciples of Valdo, because this was precisely the period of their origin. But it could not have been composed at a later date, because 1196 is the last limit of which the context will admit. It must, therefore, have been composed before that time, that is to say, before the origin of the Vaudois of Lyons. There must then have been other Vaudois, because the name of *Vaudois* occurs in this poem (l. 372). And it is natural to think that these Vaudois were those of the Vaudois valleys, because the idiom in which the poem is written, is not that of the Lyonnais, but rather that of the valleys. (See part II, sect. I., § 1, art. 7, of this *Bibliography*.)

Why should we not admit that the *Nobla Leyczon* was composed at the date which itself indicates (l. 6), viz., about the year 1100? I will add, on the authority of M. Schmidt, that at this very period the name of the Vaudois was already familiar to people's minds, which proves that they had already existed for a long time, and establishes the fact of their existence at least from the eleventh century. It seems to me, therefore, that the learned author to whose arguments I reply, and to whom I am indebted for valuable corrections in this *Bibliography*, has no good ground for asserting that the Vaudois of Piedmont owe their origin to Valdo.

SECTION III.—HISTORIC WORKS ON THE VAUDOIS, DERIVED FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES, AND CONTRIBUTING TO THE MORE COMPLETE ELUCIDATION OF THE SUBJECT.

1. MARTINET (J. Florent). "Événements relatifs aux Eglises des Vaudois des vallées du Piémont, jusqu'à ce jour." Amst., 1775; 1 vol. 8vo. (The original of this work is in Dutch: "Kerkelyke Geschiednis der Waldenzen," &c.)

2. "Histoire des chrétiens, communément nommés Vaudois, pendant les douze premiers siècles." Haarlem, 1765. The first edition had appeared at Amsterdam in 1732, with the title: "Historie der Christenen, die men gemeenlyk Waldensen noemt." 1 vol. 8vo.

3. "Chronique des Vaudois, depuis 1160 à 1655," par D. S., professeur à Zürich. Of this work there were several editions. The first was in German, at Zürich, in 1655. It was reprinted that same year at Schaffhausen—translated into Dutch, and published at Amsterdam in 1656—translated into French, and printed at Geneva, also in 1656.

4. GRASSERN (John James). *Waldensian Chronicle*, 8vo; Basle, 1623. The original title is: "Waldenser Chronik, von den Verfolgungen. . . . Jetzt erst in's Teutsch gebracht durch Johann Jacob Grassern." Quoted by Hahn, p. 13.

5. CAPPEL. "Vallium Alpinafum trajecta portenta." . . . Sedan, 1621. James Cappel, seigneur of Le Tilloy, was first a Protestant minister at Rennes,

afterwards Professor of Hebrew and of Theology. He died in 1624. He wrote also a treatise on the doctrine of the Vaudois, published at Sedan in 1618.

6. "Histoire véritable de l'état des pauvres églises évangéliques et vaudoises des vallées du Piedmont depuis les horribles massacres et incomparables désolations qu'elles ont souffertes l'an 1655, jusqu'au 17 Février, 1662." 4to; Middleburgh, 1662.

7. BOYER. "Abrégé de l'Histoire des Vaudois, où l'on voit," &c. La Haye, MDCXCI.; 1 vol. 32mo, of xxviii and 336 pages. This is a little work of great interest. It was written at the very time of the return of the Vaudois to their own country, in 1690; but contains so few particulars relative to that event, as may show us what history would have lost, if Arnaud had not published his narrative.

8. "Histoire des persécutions des vallées du Piémont." 12mo, Rotterdam, 1688; chiefly relating to the expulsion of 1686.

9. "An account of the late persecution of the Waldenses, by the Duke of Savoy and the French king, in the year 1686." 4to, Oxford, 1688.

10. "Der bedrückte Palmbaum, oder die verfolgte protestantischen Waldenser." 4to, Nuremberg, 1690.

11. "Histoire des chrétiens que l'on nomme communément Vaudois." Amsterdam, 1732. Anonymous; but the author was Martin SCHAZEN, tutor of the Mennonites at Utrecht.

12. "Geschichte der unter d. name Waldenser berühmten u. noch bestehenden rel. secte im ihrer mehr als 30 erdulden verfolgungen." 2 vols. 8vo; Leipzig, 1793. Mostly a translation of Brez.

13. "Abrégé de l'Histoire des Eglises esclavonnes et Vaudoises, depuis les premiers siècles du christian . . . jusqu'à celui de la réformation." Basle, 1785; 1 vol. 12mo, of xiv, 596, and 59 pages (usually annexed to the *Histoire de la réformation*, by SEKENDORF; and to that of Roos, which is merely an abridgment of Sekendorf), printed at Basle, MDCCLXXXV. The author of this anonymous work is M. DUVERNOY de Montbelliard.

14. BENOIST. "Histoire des Albigeois et des Vaudois, ou Barbets, avec une carte géographique des vallées." Paris, 1691; 2 vols. 8vo; the first of viii, 327, and xxii pages; the second, of 332 and xiv pages. This work is sometimes quoted in Latin, "Benedictus, historia Valdensis et Albigenensis." It is of little value.

15. "Recit véritable de ce qui est arrivé depuis peu aux vallées de Piémont;" 8vo, pp. 48; without date or place of publication. Relates to the events of 1655. (See the *authorities* of the *Israel of the Alps*, part II., chap. vii., where mention is also made of many other authors, who wrote at the same period.)

16. "Chiare memorie e memorandi fatti de Valdesi, da compendii storici, del signor conte Alfonso LOSCHI, Vicentino." Without date or place of publication. (See the *authorities* of chapters iv. and v. of part III. of this work.)

17. ACLAND (Hugh). "A Sketch of the History and Present Condition of the Vaudois." London, 1825; 8vo. The same author translated into English, *The Glorious Recovery* . . . &c. London, 1827; 8vo, of cxix, xxv, and 239 pages.

18. "History of the Waldenses, from the earliest period . . . till the present time," by the author of the *History of the Reformation*. Edinb., 1828; 12mo, of xvi and 296 pages. (Communicated.) Is not this the same work with the "History of the Waldenses from the earliest period . . . till the present time," by WILLIAM SIME. Edinb., 1839; 3 vols. 8vo?

19. BLAIR. "History of the Waldenses and Albigeneses." Edinb., 1833; 2 vols. 8vo.—JONES, "History of the Waldenses." London, 1812.

20. MAITLAND. "Facts and documents, illustrative of the history, doctrine, and rites of the ancient Albigenses and Waldenses." London, 1832.

21. "Notes concerning the Vaudois; the result of observations made in the valleys by an English clergyman." London, 1814; 8vo. The author of this work is Mr. SIMS, who published, in 1826, the Historic defence of the Vaudois by Peyrani. Other English writers of the same period will be cited in the first §§ of sect. V.

22. BAIRD. "Sketches of Protestantism in Italy, by Robert Baird." Boston, 1845. He treats of the Vaudois in his third part. See also M'CRUE, "History of the progress and suppression of the Reformation in Italy." Edinburgh, 1828. French translation. Paris, 1831; 8vo.

23. BENDER. "Geschichte der Waldenser." Ulm, 1850; 8vo. (I know as yet nothing of this work but its title.)

SECTION IV.—POLEMICAL WORKS.

§ 1.—Against the Vaudois.

1. "Contra hæreses Valdenses, libri quatuor. Impress. Patavii, 1579. Auctor Hieronymus NIGER, Fussanensis, vicarius generalis congregationis observantiae Lombardiæ." 1 vol. 12mo. See the greater part of the treatises *contra Valdenses*, in § 1 of sect. II. But these latter works, although directed against the Vaudois, are rather works of party spirit than of religious controversy.

2. RIBOT (Philip), of Pancalier, Capuchin. "Ragionamento a modo di disputa, fatto tra lui e un ministro heretico delle valli." Turin, 1598; 18mo. This minister was David Rostain, pastor of St. Germain and Pramol. At the same period, Henry Rostain was pastor of Pinache. Philip Ribot wrote also, "Dichiaratione della salutatione evangelica," the date and place of publication of which are unknown to me.

3. CASSINI (Samuel). "Vittoria triumphale." . . . Coni, 1610. I do not know the complete title of this work. Gilles speaks of it, pp. 11–13. Cassini was a Cordelier, who was sent as a missionary to the Vaudois valleys. See FERREIRO, *Jus regnandi apostolicum*, a folio volume which contains the history of the missions in the valleys.

4. DE LA MORRE (Maurice). "Catéchismo della vera religione." . . . Turin, 1509. I do not know the exact title of this book. It is dedicated to the Archbishop of Turin, at whose desire it was composed for refutation of the Vaudois doctrines. Charles Emmanuel I. wrote to the Vaudois to induce them to receive this catechism. His letter is dated from Pignerol, 5th February, 1599. He sent the catechism to Rome to submit it to the Pope, who approved of it, after having caused the cardinals D'Arcoi and Bellarmine to examine it. This catechism was made the subject of commentaries by several theologians, amongst others by the inquisitor Fossano.

5. "Turris contra Damascum, hoc est tutela civitatis sanctæ Syon, seu Ecclesiæ Romanæ, contra Calvinistorum incursiones, objecta considerationibus ejusdam ministro," Pietro Gillio, "subscripti, ædificata cum propugnaculis, a Fratre Theodoro BELVEDERENSI." Turin, MDCXXXVI.; 8vo of 302 pages, printed in italics. The author had previously written *Lettere Apologétique*. Turin, 1634. He afterwards wrote *Lucerna della christiana verita per conoscere la vera chiesa e la falsa*, and finally, *Risposta al libro del S. Gillio, titolato Torre Evangelica*, &c. . . . (See the article on GILLES.) The true name of

Theodore BELVEDERE was Antonio LAZZARI. The following work is also by him:—

6. "Relazione all' eminentissima Congregazione della Propagandi Fide, dei luoghi di alcune valli Piemont," &c. Turin; a small 24mo volume of 323 pages. The dedication is dated 30th August, 1626, and signed, *Fra Teodoro Belvedere*.

7. "Deux marques de l'erreur du Calvinisme: la présomption et l'infidélité découvertes juridiquement dans l'écrit d'un de ses ministres. Jouxte la copie imprimée à Grenoble, chez Antoine Verdier, en l'année MDCLX." The minister here intended was Benjamin de Joux, pastor at Fenestrelle. The author of the book was a Jesuit, named CALEMART, who had fixed his abode at the same place.

8. M. de Joux having refuted the preceding work in the *Récit des conférences tenues à Fenestrelles* (which was republished in the work mentioned in No. 5 of the following §, from p. 179 to p. 248), the Jesuit CALEMART replied to this refutation, by "Réfutation de la réponse de M. de Joux, ministre de l'Eglise prétendue réformée, en Pragelas; ou, conviction d'erreur et de mauvaise foi, par sa propre lettre." M. de Joux faithfully inserted this reply in the complete edition of the *Conférences*, from p. 111 to p. 171, and showed its futility. (See the §§ and Nos. above designated.)

9. Daniel Pastor, another minister of Pragela, in a work entitled, *Le Manuel du vray chrestien* (see § 2, No. 3, of this section), refuted two works of the priest JOHN BALCET, one entitled *Le Diurnal du chrestien*, and the other *Remontrances chretiennes* (cited in the preface of the *Manuel*, pp. 2 and 3). Jean Balcet, we are told in that preface, "was born in the true church, and had even the honour of exercising the holy ministry in it; but being drawn away by the heterodoxy of the Arminians, he terminated his course of declension by joining the Church of Rome. He obtained a degree in medicine, the priesthood, and the honour of Doctor of Theology."

10. "Réveille-matin, à double montre, une qui guide au précipice et l'autre à la gloire; par le son duquel ceux qui font profession de la religion prétendue réformée, doivent s'éveiller du sommeil de la mort, auquel ils sont léthargiquement endormis . . . , par frère illuminé FAVEROT, de Turin, Recollet, &c." Grenoble, 1670; one vol. 8vo, of xxiv, 434, and xii pages. It is dedicated, "To the ministers, elders, deacons, and generally to all the people . . . in the valleys of Lucerna, Angrogna, St. Martin, &c." (This work contains the statement of the old Vaudois doctrine made to Ecolampadius, by George Morel and Peter Masson, extracted from SCULTETUS, *Annales Evangelii renovati*, anno 1530.) A reply was made to this work in name of the Vaudois by the work mentioned in No. 6 of next §.

11. FAVEROT replied again by "La colombe de Noé, portant le symbole de paix, ou replique parainétique à deux réponses synodales faites à l'auteur, par ceux de la religion prétendue réformée des vallées de Luserne, &c. . . . par frère illuminé Faverot, de Turin, Recollet, prédicateur et lecteur ci-devant missionnaire apostolique." Lyons, 1673; 2 vols. 8vo, the first of xxxviii, 394, and xxiv pages; the second of xiv, 582, and xlv pages. The two volumes are ordinarily bound in one.

12. A work, which I have not been able to procure, is referred to as follows:—"Conferenze del padre missionario Vanini gesuita, con diversi ministri Valdesi." Gilles speaks of it in his thirty-ninth chapter. "In the beginning of the year 1581," says he, "there preached in the valley of Lucerna, . . . an ostentatious Jesuit, a great roarer, and highly reputed amongst those of his

own religion. He styled himself *Dom John Baptist Vanin*" (p. 217). Vanin is in Italian, *Vanini*. (See the *Israel of the Alps*, part II., ch. iv.)

13. ROSENCO. "Esame in torno alla nuova breve confessione di fede della chiesa riformata di Piemonte, in cui si fa conoscer alli professori d'esse, distrutta con la novita, la pretese antica confessione del priore Marc Aurelio Rosenco." Turin, 1658; small 4to, or large 24mo, pp. 48.

14. "Journal des conversions qui ont été faites . . . durant le cours de l'année 1661." A journal of conversions made during the year 1661, by the congregation de *propaganda fide et extirpandis hæreticis* established at Grenoble. Relates exclusively to the Vaudois of Pragela. A 4to pamphlet of 20 pages.

15. "La conversione di quaranta eretici, con due loro principali ministri . . . nell'Augusta città di Torino, alla 18 di Maggio 1655." These two ministers afterwards returned to Protestantism, which gave occasion to a work entitled, "Sainte Palinodie, ou repentance des prisonniers des Eglises réformées de Piémont, &c." . . . (See No. 4 of next §; and for the particulars, LÉGER, part ii., p. 65.)

16. "La vérité reconnue, ou quinze motifs de la conversion de MM. de Pragellat." The first edition is without date or place of publication; the second was printed at Lyons in 1679. The author of this pamphlet is a Catholic, who pretends to be a converted Protestant. The work is addressed, "to the Brethren of Geneva, Charenton, and London."

17. DANNE. "Les colonnes de la religion catholique inébranlables aux attaques de leurs adversaires; et proposées aux habitants de St. Jean en la vallée de Luserne, par C. M. J.-B. Danne, ci-devant leur ministre, et maintenant docteur es-lois et conseiller de S. A. R." Turin, 1679; 18mo, of xii and 280 pages. In the *Acts of the Synod held at La Tour, 30th December, 1693*, we read that the Sieur Gautier, pastor and professor of theology in the city of Marburg, in Hesse, having composed a *Reply for the Valleys* to the book of M. Danne . . . he has already received upon this account the sum of fifty crowns." Danne had previously written a statement of the reasons of his conversion (see preface to the *Colonnes*, p. 3); and the ministers of the valleys had replied to him in a tract of more than 80 pages. But the latter work remained in manuscript. (Same preface, p. 7 and p. 8, paragraph 3.)

18. "Les Vaudois convaincus d'hérésie, par François GAY, ministre du St. Evangile." Pignerol, 1836; 8vo, pp. 60. On the cover of this pamphlet we read, *Appel aux Vaudois*. (See the *Israel of the Alps*, part iii., ch. xxiv.)

19. "Le guide du catéchumène Vaudois, ou cours d'instructions destinées à lui faire connaître la vérité de la religion catholique: Ouvrage utile à tous les dissidents; par M. A. CHARVAZ, évêque de Pignerol." Paris and Lyons (Perisse, frères); three large 8vo volumes, the first and second published in 1840, and the third in 1842. One of the best written of all the works against the Vaudois, although the title contains an error of syntax, as the reference of the pronoun *lui* is indeterminate. The other works of the same author are noticed in section I., § 4, No. 9, of this *Bibliography*.

§ 2.—Polemical works in favour of the Vaudois.

1. "Excusatio Valdensium, contra binas litteras doctoris Augustini." 1 vol. folio, printed in 1512.

2. "Apologia eorum qui appellantur Waldenses." 1 vol. 4to, Wittemberg, 1538. With these two works I am unacquainted.

3. "Le manuel du vray chrestien, opposé au Diurnal du sieur Jean Balcet,

enseignant la manière de la droite invocation du pur service de Dieu: et contenant la décision claire et solide des principales controverses de théologie agitées en ce temps; par Daniel PASTOR, ministre de la Parole de Dieu en l'Eglise réformée de Pragela." Geneva, 1652; 1 vol. 8vo, of xvi and 915 pages, besides twelve pages of contents. The epistle dedicatory, to the members of the reformed churches of the valley of Pragela, is dated from La Souchière, 1st June, 1651. Pastor had discharged the functions of a tutor in the Palatine house. (Records of the Venerable Company of Pastors of Geneva; vol. G, p. 283; and for other particulars, pp. 79, 161, and 337 of the same volume; also vol. H, p. 340.)

4. "Sainte Palinodie, ou repentance des prisonniers des Eglises réformées de Piémont, lesquels par infirmité avaient fait abjuration de la vérité; avec une brève réformation des articles de ladite abjuration dressés par ordonnance de l'archevêque de Turin, et du général des inquisiteurs de ladite cité;" 1656; 8vo, of 87 pages. (In reply to the work, No. 15 of the preceding §.)

5. "Le succès de la mission de Pragela, ou véritable récit de la conférence tenue à Fenestrelles, le 2 Octobre, 1659, entre le sieur Benjamin DE JOUX, ministre du saint Evangile en l'Eglise dudit lieu, et le sieur Marc Antoine Calemart, jésuite missionnaire." Geneva, 1659, 8vo, of xiv and 248 pages. (See *Israel of the Alps*, part III., ch. xv.)

6. "Réponse pour les Eglises des vallées de Piémont au sieur illuminé Faverot, Récollet et missionnaire; où sont réfutées les erreurs de l'Eglise romaine, et les chicanes des missionnaires, avec les indices nécessaires." Geneva, 1679; 1 vol. 4to, of xxx, 824, and x pages. (For the titles of Faverot's works, see the preceding §, Nos. 10 and 11.)

7. There exist, I am informed, two *apologetic works* intended for the defence of the Vaudois against one *Peter Dolmans*, who had accused them of Manicheism—the name of the author being HEYDENRYCK, and the place of their publication *Harderwyck*. They appeared in 1713. I mention them not without doubt and hesitation.

8. An Apology for the Vaudois, giving a general view of their origin . . . and an appeal to all the governments of Europe on their behalf. London, 1827; 8vo. Attributed to Mr. Sims. Along with this may be named the *Historic Defence of the Vaudois*, by PEYRANI, of which Mr. Sims was editor. (See sect. I., § 1, *Modern Authors*, No. 1), and the *Five Letters by a Vaudois of the Cis-alpine Gauls*. (See sect. I., § 2, No. 8.)

OBS. The controversial works specially intended for the defence of the Vaudois, are not so numerous as those which assail them; but it must not be forgotten that the assailants had every facility, whilst the liberty of the press and right of defence were denied to the Vaudois; wherefore, all the works mentioned in this §, were either composed by foreigners, or at least published in foreign countries.

SECTION V.—PERIODICAL, ARTISTIC, DESCRIPTIVE, SCIENTIFIC, AND LITERARY WORKS, RELATIVE TO THE VAUDOIS.

§ 1.—Books of Travels.

1. BURNET. "Voyage historique et politique, de Suisse, d'Italie et d'Allemagne." First ed., Rotterdam, 1690, 8vo. 2d ed., Frankfort, 1737; 3 vols. 12 mo. In this work are to be found particular details concerning the employment of part of the collections in favour of the Vaudois, made in 1655.

2. SPON (Jacob). "Travels in Italy, Dalmatia," &c. The author relates in this work that he met in Greece, at the base of Parnassus, a venerable old man, named *Barba Dimon*, &c.

3. COYER. "Voyage d'Italie et de Hollande." Paris, 1775; 2 vols. 8vo.—With this may be named ROLAND, "Lettres écrites de Suisse, d'Italie, et de Sicile." Paris, 1780; 6 vols. 8vo; and VOLKINANS, Travels in Italy (in German) 1771, 3 vols. 8vo.

4. "A brief account of the Vaudois of Piemont," without author's name, 8vo, London, 1753.

5. BRIDGE. "A brief narrative of a visit to the Vaudois." London, 8vo. A mere pamphlet.—"Courte narration d'une visite aux Vaudois." Cambridge, 1825. (The same work.)

6. JACKSON. "Observations on the Vaudois of Piemont." Lond., 1826 (Observations made during a tour in the valleys).

7. "Sketch of the past and present state of the Vaudois or Waldenses inhabiting the valleys of Piedmont." London, 1816.

8. "History and present situation of the Vaudois." Lond. 1823.

9. "Die Waldenser in den piemontesischen Thälern." Berlin, 1824.

10. BRACEBRIDGE. "Authentic particulars concerning the Vaudois." (Notice communicated.) This author likewise had visited the Vaudois valleys.

11. GILLY. "Narrative of an excursion to the mountains of Piemont, and researches among the Vaudois or Waldenses, Protestants, inhabitants of the Cottian Alps." London, 1824 or 1825. Dr. Gilly is one of the most voluminous, learned, and interesting of all modern authors who have written on the subject of the Vaudois. Some of the preceding works already named, and some of those still to be noticed, owe their existence to the universal interest which his pen has produced in favour of the Vaudois valleys. (Concerning the influence which he has exercised, and the benefits which he has conferred, see chap. xxiv. of part III. of the *Israel of the Alps*.)

12. HENDERSON. "The Vaudois, comprising observations made during a tour to the valleys of Piemont, in the summer of 1844." London, 1845; 1 vol. 8vo, of viii and 262 pages.

13. "Notes of a tour in the valleys of Piedmont in the summer of 1854, by the Rev. Baptist W. NOEL."

OBS. Amongst the numerous *modern* narratives of travels in which the Vaudois are mentioned, I have thought it necessary to name those only of which the Vaudois valleys are especially the subject.

§ 2.—Descriptive Works.

1. A Description of Piedmont, and particularly of the Vaudois valleys. (In German) 8vo, Zürich, 1698.

2. LEANDER. Description of the valley of Lucerna. (No fuller notice of this work is given in the communication which has been made to me.)

3. Letters regarding the Val Louise, by Father ROSSIGNOL. Turin, 1804; 8vo of 24 pages. (Communicated.)

4. "Description historique des Vaudois ou habitants des vallées du Piémont." Fol., Amst., 1731.

5. Names, situation, and particular description of the valleys of France, along the great Alps, in Dauphiny and Provence, and of those which descend from the Alps into Italy, from Savoy to that of St. Etienne, near Nice. By the Marquis DE PESAY. Turin, 1793; 18mo, pp. 172.

6. Report on the earthquake, which began on 2d April, 1808, in the valleys of the Pelis, the Cluson, the Po, &c. Laid before the class of physical and mathematical sciences in the Imperial Academy of Turin, in the sitting of 2d May, 1808; by A. M. Vassali-Eandi. Published by order of the prefect, by Félix Galetti. Turin, 1808; 8vo, pp. 136.

7. "Correspondance Vaudoise; ou recueil de lettres de quelques habitants des vallées de Pignerol, sur le tremblement de terre de 1808." New edition, Paris, 1808; an 8vo, of viii and 70 pages.

8. With the two preceding works, which are essentially works of description and observation, I think it right to name the following, which is entirely theoretic, but which relates to the same phenomenon:—"Nouveau pas sur les sentiers de nature, concernant les causes physiques des secousses réitérées des tremblements de terre. Système sur la matérialité de l'axe du globe, &c. . . . par un habitant des Hautes-Alpes." Gap, without date, one vol. 12mo, pp. 292. The name of the author was DE ROCHAS. This earthquake is incidentally spoken of in many other works. HUMBOLDT, in his *Cosmos*, ranks it amongst the most remarkable earthquakes recorded in history.

9. LA DOUCETTE (ex-prefect). "Statistique des Hautes-Alpes." One vol. 8vo.

ALLIONI, in his *Flora of Piedmont*; 2 vols. fol.—VILLARS, in his *Flora of Dauphiny*, 4 vols. 4to, and other authors writing on particular subjects, have incidentally described different parts of the Vaudois mountains.

§ 3.—Illustrated Works.

1. "Viaggio romantico-pittorico, delle provincie occidentali dell' antica e moderna Italia, dell' avvocato Modesto PAROLETTI." Turin, 1824, 2 vols. fol. He speaks of the Vaudois valleys, in vol. i., pp. 134-137.

2. "The exiles of Lucerna, or the sufferings of the Waldenses during the persecution of 1686." Edinburgh, 1841, 8vo, pp. 196, with lithographs of two tints.

3. "A tale of the Vaudois, designed for young persons." By M. R. WEBB, &c., London, 1842, 18mo, pp. 251; with wood engravings. A sort of historic romance.

4. Les vallées Vaudoises pittoresques, ou vallées protestantes du Piémont, du Dauphiné, et du Ban de la Roche, par W. BEATTIE . . . traduit de l'Anglais, par L. de Baucelas." Paris, 1838; a large quarto vol. of viii and 216 pages, with map, portrait, engraved title-page, and 73 engravings on steel, of great beauty, made from drawings taken on the spot, by Messrs. BARTLETT and BROCKEDON. This work appeared at the same time in English and in German. It is one of the most beautiful illustrated works which modern times have produced, and unquestionably the most deserving of notice of all those which have for their object the exhibition by engravings of the aspect of the Vaudois valleys.

5. There are also views of the country in Dr. GILLY's "Narrative of an excursion to the mountains of Piémont." (See § 1, No. 8, of this section.) Other works also contain views, but, like his, only as accessory to their principal contents.

§ 4.—Tales and Poems.

1. D'OLIVET (Fabre). "Les montagnards des Alpes, en 1488." 2 vols. 8vo; first edition, Paris, 1835; second, Paris, 1837. This work relates to the events which took place in the Vaudois valleys, at the time of the crusade proclaimed by

Innocent VIII. and directed by Albert Cattané; but the author neither knew the history nor the country of the Vaudois. He says, however, at the end of vol. ii., "I might easily have loaded these pages with notes and quotations, or have added a volume of documents in justification," &c. . . . In the first edition of this tale, he quoted the work of Valbonays (see § 1 of next section, No. 13.) under the name of the printer, and made the further blunder of ascribing two different editions of that work to two different authors. In his second edition there are still many errors. He even quotes, as if he had read them, works which are not in existence. Such are the *Memoires* of Vignaux, Rostang, and Morel, the *Enquêtes juridiques*, and other MSS. to which Perrin had access, but which have since been lost. I have compared all the references on particular points which the author of this tale makes with precision, and I have found them all incorrect, except five.

2. DINOCOURT. "Le chasseur noir, ou les Vaudois." Paris, 6 vols. 12mo. Relates to the events of Merindol and Cabrières. It is still less historic than the preceding.

3. MALAN (César). "Le chrétien primitif; anecdote provençale." Geneva; a small 12mo volume. The same author has published a "Complainte sur l'origine et les malheurs des Vaudois de Merindol," with a view of that village, and the words set to music.

4. "La protestante, ou les Cévennes au xviii. siècle . . ." Paris, 3 vols. 12mo. This work relates to the Camisards, as does likewise the romance of Eugene Sue, "Cavalier ou les Montagnards des Cévennes." Paris, 1840. The sources of historic information for this subject, were the *Histoire des Camisards*, par Court de Gebelin, 3 vols. 12mo.—the *Mémoires de Jean Cavalier*, 4 vols.—the *Théâtre sacré des Cévennes*, by Max. Mibbon, London, 1707, 8vo.—*Le patriote français et impartial*, 4 vols., published in 1703, &c. There exists a historic romance entitled *The Albigenes*, by Ch. Mathurin, 4 vols., a work full of very tedious passages.

5. "La vallée de la Clusone, épisode de l'histoire des Vaudois du Piémont au xvii. siècle, par Carloman d'Andilli, traduit de l'Anglais." Geneva and Paris; 1838, one vol. 12mo.—With this may be named a little work entitled, *Pierre et sa famille*.

6. "The Waldenses, or the Fall of Rora; a lyrical sketch, with other poems, by Aubrey DE VERE." Oxford, 1842; 8vo, of xii and 311 pages. The poem relative to the Vaudois occupies 94 pages. See also No. 3 of the preceding §.

7. "L'exil des Vaudois;" "Le Retour des Vaudois;" "Le Serment du Sibaud;" "La Voix des Martyrs," and "Le Culte dans les Alpes," are patriotic songs which have been published in different collections. The music of the first three was composed by M. A. Bost, that of the last, by M. Cuche.

§ 5.—Periodical Works.

1. "Mercure Historique et Politique, contenant l'état présent de l'Europe, ce qui se passe dans toutes les cours, l'intérêt des princes, leurs brigues, et généralement tout ce qu'il y a de mieux, pour le mois de . . . Le tout accompagné de réflexions politiques sur chaque Etat. A La Haye, chez Henri Van Bulderen. . . . avec privilège des Etats de Hollande et Westfrise."

The title of this publication has been taken from the number for January, 1690; it was somewhat changed in subsequent numbers; and after the month of January, 1710, the paper bore only the title of *Mercure Hist. et Polit.* This collection commences, I believe, about 1682, and ends about 1730. I

have it not in my power to give these notices with greater accuracy; and the same remark applies to many others.

2. "Lettres Historiques, contenant ce qui se passe de plus important en Europe, et les réflexions nécessaires sur ce sujet. A La Haye, chez Adrien Moetjens." The first number appeared in January, 1692. With this may be named the "Journal Historique de l'Europe," by Louis Augustin ALEMANT, from 1690 to 1696; and "L'Introduction à l'histoire d'aujourd'hui, tirée des Gazettes." (Concerning the Vaudois, see chap. xiii.)

3. "L'Esprit des cours de l'Europe, où l'on voit tout ce qui se passe de plus important touchant la politique, et en général ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans les nouvelles. A La Haye, chez François L'Honoré." This began to appear in 1699.

4. Gazettes of Leyden, of France, and of England. The last was the earliest in date, and began to appear in 1588. The complete collection is very rare. These journals make no mention of the Vaudois, except at the times of those great events which drew public attention to that people, especially in 1655, 1686, and 1690.

5. The National Archives of Baden (in German), Carlsruhe, t. I., No. 5. Letters and Observations on the Vaudois, by Mone. The *Universal Gazette* of Halle, March, 1821, No. 59, gives an analysis of this publication. The work of Mone appeared in a separate form at Berlin, in 1821.

6. The Ecclesiastical Gazette of Darmstadt (in German), contains a number of articles on the Vaudois, by Mr. Bracebridge. Another journal, published in the state of Darmstadt—the weekly paper of Bidingen—contains, amongst others, an interesting article on the Vaudois Church of Waldensberg, in the number of 19th November, 1825.

7. The Universal Gazette of Augsburg, for the year 1842, in Nos. 362, 363, and 364, of 28th, 29th, and 30th December—articles "From Piedmont," and "On Piedmont."

8. The New Theological Annals (a German journal). Numbers for February and March, 1820, p. 171; and for May, 1821, p. 316; and May, 1822, p. 216.

9. The *Preachers' Bibliotheca Critica* (a German publication). Vol. viii., part 1., p. 181, "Theological Notices." Some particulars regarding the Vaudois.

10. British Review, March, 1828, and other numbers. British Magazine, No. 113, p. 397, and other places.

11. Edinburgh Review, and Edinburgh Encyclopedia. Articles by Messrs. Plenderleith, Gilly, &c.

12. Quarterly Review; number for December, 1843, article entitled, *The Vaudois Church and the King of Sardinia*, of which an account is given in the *Record* for 22d December, 1843. There are also articles in previous numbers of the *Review* relating to the Vaudois.

13. Monthly Review; number for June, 1814, p. 204, &c.

14. Evangelische Kirchenzeitung; year 1829.

15. The Religious Narrator (a journal published in Holland); number for 24th August, 1839, and many others.

16. The Philanthropist (a German journal, published at Elberfeld, in Prussia); numbers for 13th and 14th June, 1825.

17. "Le Fédéral" of Geneva; numbers of 21st, 22d, and 23d May, 1844. Another journal of Geneva, *Le Lecteur*, first part, "Notice hist. et statistique sur les vallées Vaudoises." And with this article should be compared for

correction of mistakes, "*Le disciple de Jesus Christ*," a religious review, published at Paris, vol. ix. p. 32 (Number for April, 1847). See also *L'Ami de la jeunesse*, Paris, 1831, vol. vii., p. 373; containing a ballad by M. De Félice, entitled, *Le Colporteur Vaudois* (the subject taken from the eighth chapter of Reynerus).

18. "*Revue Encyclopédique*;" "*Bibliothèque Encyclopédique*," &c. See the Index.

19. "*Archives Évangéliques de Nîmes*;" year 1844.

20. "*Les Archives du Christianisme*;" many articles, as also in *Le Semeur*; (years, 1834, 1837, 1840, &c.)

21. *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, *Wesleyan Record*, &c. Many articles, from 1833 to 1848.

22. "*Le Chroniqueur*;" journal de l'Helvetie Romande, de 1535 à 1536;" published in 1835 and 1836. Lausanne, 4to; by M. Vuillemin, p. 394, &c.

23. "*Revue Théologique*." Strasburg, December, 1850; vol. I., p. 334; article *On the Origin and Primitive Doctrines of the Vaudois*; and vol. ii. No. 6, in which is a most interesting article on the Vaudois translations of the Bible, by Reuss. Vol. v. also contains two articles on the Vaudois.

24. *Theological Miscellanies*, in German, published by the Theological Society of Strasburg, under the direction of Messrs. Reuss and Cunitz, at Jena. The first three volumes contain valuable articles on the Vaudois.

25. "*L'écho des Vallées: feuille mensuelle, spécialement consacrée aux intérêts de la famille Vaudoise*." The first number appeared on 13th July, 1848. This journal, the collected numbers of which will yet become extremely valuable for the information which they contain, relative to the modern history of the Vaudois, was established, and has hitherto been conducted with remarkable ability, by M. MEILLE, author of the work mentioned in this *Bibliography*, in No. 6 of the *Modern Historians*, placed at the end of § 1 of the first section. This work has been succeeded by *La Buona Novella*, also conducted by M. Meille.

SECTION VI.—HISTORICAL WORKS, IN WHICH THE VAUDOIS ARE ONLY INCIDENTALLY TREATED OF, BUT WHICH EMBODY PARTICULAR VIEWS OR DOCUMENTS.

CHAPTER I.—WORKS ON SPECIAL SUBJECTS.

§ 1.—*Local History.*

1. The *Authorities* referred to at the head of each chapter of the *Israel of the Alps*, and particularly those of chapters iii., iv., vi., and ix. of Part I., and of chapters viii. and ix. of Part III.

2. "*Memoires historiques sur la maison royale de Savoie*," by the Marquis Costa DE BEAUREGARD. Turin, 1816; 3 vols. 8vo.

3. *Researches concerning the History and ancient constitution of the monarchy of Savoy*, composed chiefly from unpublished documents, by M. L. CIBRARIO. In Italian; Turin, 1832; and translated into French by Boullée, Paris, 1833; 8vo of ix and 308 pages. See also the admirable work of M. Cibrario, *On the History of Law during the Middle Ages*. This eminent man, as obliging as he is learned, has had the goodness to extract from the researches which he made as a member of the Commission for the *Monumenta Patriæ*, interesting notes and unpublished documents for the *Israel of the Alps*.

4. DELLA CHIESA (Agostino). "*Corona reale di Savoia*," 4to.—Ludovico DELLA CHIESA, "*Storia di Piemonte*," 8vo.

5. DE SALUCES. *Military History of Piedmont*.

6. MULETTI. "*Memoires historiques sur le Marquisat de Saluces*." See vol. vi.

7. MASSI and other authors, "*Storia di Pinerolo*."

8. SOLERI. "*Diario dei fatti successi in Torino*;" and other authors on the history of Turin or of Piedmont.

9. SILLERY. "*Die Waldensischen Protestanten, in den Alpenthälern bei Turin, in Italia* . . ." Heidelberg, 1844; 32mo.

10. LOWTHER. "*Brevi osservazioni sui Valdesi* . . ." Geneva, 1821. Also in French, Geneva, 1821; in English, London, 1821; 8vo, p. 52.

11. "*Notice sur l'état actuel des Eglises Vaudoises* . . ." Paris, 1822. Another *Notice Historique* on the same subject, Geneva, 1825.

12. CHORIER. "*Histoire générale de Dauphiné, depuis l'an 1000 de notre Seigneur jusqu'à nos jours* . . ." Lyons, 1672; 2 vols. folio. (The first volume was printed at Grenoble in 1661.) See vol. ii., § xix., p. 69; book xv., § x., p. 500, &c. This author is indiscriminating, and often inaccurate. In consulting his work, reference ought always to be made to the higher authority of the following:—

13. VALBONAYS (Jean-Pierre Moret de Bourchenu, Marquis de Valbonays; born at Grenoble in 1651; became blind in 1701. I do not know the date of his death). He wrote a work—the title of which varies in the different editions—the "*Histoire de Dauphiné et des princes qui ont porté le nom de Dauphins, particulièrement de ceux de la troisième race*, &c. . ." Geneva, 1712; 1 vol. fol. The first edition was entitled, "*Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Dauphiné, sous les Dauphins de la maison de La-Tour-du-Pin*, &c. . ." Paris, 1711; 1 vol. fol. of ix, vi, 22, 681, and 20 pages. Concerning the Vaudois, see pp. 326–346. The name of the author is not printed in either of these volumes.

14. "*Histoire géographique, naturelle, ecclésiastique et civile du diocèse d'Embrun*, par M——, bachelier en droit canonique et civil de la faculté de Paris et docteur en théologie." Without place of publication, 1783; 2 vols. 8vo. This is the work to which the *Five Letters*, by a Vaudois, &c., are a reply. (See section I., § 2, No. 8 of the present part of this *Bibliography*.) The author of this history, which is sometimes referred to under the title of *Histoire du diocèse d'Embrun*, was Father ALBERT. His work must have been printed at Lyons.

15. MARANDA. "*Tableau du Piémont, sous le régime des rois, avec un précis sur les Vaudois et une notice sur les Barbets*." Turin, year XI. (1803); 1 vol. 8vo, of vi and 244 pages, dedicated to *Bonaparte, First Consul*. This work contains 15 chapters, of which only the last two relate to the Vaudois. It is by no means trustworthy.

16. "*Johannis COLUMBI Manuascensis [de Manosque]. Opuscula varia, &c. . .*" Lugduni, 1568. One vol. 32mo. What relates to the Vaudois is contained in the fourth book, entitled, *De rebus gestis Epis. Valent. et Dieusium*. Jean Colomb Manosque belonged to the order of the Jesuits.

17. "*Les transactions d'Imbert, dauphin de Viennois, prince du Briançonnais et marquis de Sézane*, &c. . ." One vol. fol., MDCXLV.—See also Brunet, seigneur de l'Argentière, "*Recueil des actes, pièces et procédures, concernant l'emphythéose perpétuelle des dîmes du Briançonnais*, &c. . ." One vol. 32mo, 1754. Also, "*Recueil de pièces concernant la régaie, l'affaire l'Embrun*," &c. . . 10 vols. 4to.

18. DU TILLIER, History of Berne, 5 vols. 8vo. Berne, 1839 (in German).—DENINA, History of the Italian Revolutions (in Italian). Translated into French by Jardin; Paris, 1770.—LËTI, *Storia Genevrina*. . . . Amsterdam, 1636; 5 vols. 8vo. (In a number of houses in Geneva, there are MSS. which pass for family records, and which are nothing else than fragments of this work, translated at the time when it appeared).

§ 2.—*Memoirs and Biographies.*

1. "Memoires de M.D.F.L., touchant ce qui s'est passé en Italie, entre Victor Amedée II., duc de Savoie, et le roi très-chrétien avec le detail. . . ." &c. Aix-la-Chapelle, 1697. Concerning the Vaudois, see pp. 39, 40, *et seq.*, 170, &c.

2. "Mémoires du prince Eugène." Several works are referred to under this title: "Histoire du prince François-Eugène de Savoye, généralissime des armées de l'Empereur et de l'Empire. . . ." Amsterdam, 1740. Reprinted at Vienna in 1755, in 5 vols. 8vo, with engravings. See vol. i. book ii. p. 113, of the first edition; vol. iii. p. 146 of the second, &c.

3. FEUQUIERES. "Lettres et negociations." Paris, 1753; 3 vols. 8vo. *Memoires du Marquis de Feuquieres*, published in 7 vols.—To which may be added, D'ESTRADES, *Lettres et Négociations*; London, 1743, 9 vols. 8vo; extending from 1637 to 1677; and *Vie du Cardinal de Richelieu*, the second volume of which may be consulted.

4. The Histories of Louis XIV., by Bruyen de la Martinière, and many other authors, contain a number of particulars connected with the history of the Vaudois.

5. "Recueil de lettres de Louis XIV. à ses ministres et à ses généraux." Paris, 1760; 8 vols. 8vo.

6. Histories of the Dukes of Savoy, by various authors; *e. g.*, those of Emmanuel Philibert (Amsterdam, 1693, and in Latin, Turin, 1596); and of Charles Emmanuel (Turin, 1632), &c.

7. "D'ORIGNY. "La vie du P. Antoine Ponevin et de ses négociations." Paris, 1712. See also the Lives of Schomberg, of Catinat, of the Marquis de La Feuillade, of the Marquis De Parelles, and, in general, of all the eminent personages who figured in the campaigns of 1690 and 1703. But the particular memoirs and biographies, which refer more or less to the Vaudois, are so numerous, that I have thought it necessary to restrict myself in the enumeration of them. Those which are of any historic importance relate especially to the period from 1664 to 1713.

CHAPTER II.—WORKS OF A GENERAL CHARACTER.

§ 1.—*Ecclesiastical Histories.*

A.—IN FRENCH.

1. BASNAGE DE BEAUVAL (Ja.) "Histoire de l'Eglise depuis J. C. jusqu'à présent," divided into four parts. First edition, Rotterdam, 1699; 2 vols. fol. Second edition, the Hague, 1723; 2 vols. fol., &c. This author treats at great length of the Vaudois, and had even conceived the design of writing their history.—See also the *Biblioth. eccl.* of DUPIN, and the critical examination of it by RICH. SIMON, articles *Valdo*, *Bruys*, &c.

2. FLEURY (Claude). "Histoire ecclésiastique." (It comes down to 1414.)

Paris, 1691–1720; 20 vols. 4to. Brussels, 1692–1720; 20 vols. 4to, &c. General Index of Matters by *Rondet*. Paris, 1758; 4to. This history has been continued to 1595 by J. Cl. FEBRE, who has added 16 volumes to it (vols. xxi.–xxxvi.); and, finally, it has been brought down to the end of the eighteenth century, under the title, "Histoire du Christianisme connu, &c., augmentée de 4 livres, comprenant l'histoire du quinzième siècle et continuant jusqu'à la fin du dix-huitième siècle," by a Society of Ecclesiastics, under the superintendence of the Abbé O. VIDAL. Paris, 1837; 8 large 8vo vols.—Fleury's history has given rise to the following works:—HONORÉ DE SAINTE MARIE, "Observations sur l'histoire ecclésiastique de Fleury," addressed to Our Holy Father Pope Benedict XIII., and to Our Lords and Bishops. Malines, 1727, 8vo; and *ibid.* 1760. Consists of denunciations of Fleury's Ecclesiastical History to Our Lords and Bishops.—BEAUDOIN DE HOUSTA, "La mauvaise foi de M. Fleury, prouvée par plusieurs passages des Saints Pères, des conciles et d'auteurs ecclésiastiques qu'il a omis, tronqués ou infidèlement traduits dans son histoire." Malines, 1733; 4to.—ROSSIGNOL, "Reflexions sur l'histoire ecclésiastique de Fleury;" 1802.—MARCHETTI, "Critique de l'histoire ecclésiastique de Fleury," translated from Italian into French; published in Belgium in 1803, and at Besançon in 1819; in 2 vols. 12mo.—MAZARETTI, "Remarques sur l'histoire ecclésiastique et spécialement sur la dissertation de Fleury," translated from the fourth Italian edition.

3. MOSHEIM (John Laurence). "Histoire ecclésiastique," translated into French from the English, by *Fortunat Félice*, Yverdon, 1776; 6 vols. 8vo; and from the original Latin, by *Eidous* (Marc Antoine), Maëstricht, 1776, 6 vols. 8vo. This history has been translated into almost all the languages of Europe.

4. BÉZE (Théodore De). "Histoire ecclésiastique de l'Eglise réformée au royaume de France, en laquelle est décrite au vray la renaissance et accroissement d'icelles, depuis l'an 1521 à 1523; leur règlement ou discipline, synodes, persécutions tant générales que particulières." Antwerp, 1580; 3 vols. 8vo. A second edition of this work was published by M. Marzials, at Lille, 1837–1841; 3 vols. 8vo. In the first edition, which I have used, the Vaudois of Provence are treated of in vol. i., p. 35, *et seq.* On the same subject, see (besides the authorities named at the head of chap. v. of part I. of the *Israel of the Alps*), GAUFREDI, "Histoire de Provence;" Aix, 1684; folio; book xi., BOUCHE, "Histoire de Provence," p. 607. NOSTRADAMUS (César, the eldest son of Michel the prophet), "Histoire et chronique de Provence;" Lyons, 1664; folio, book vii. DE THOU, "Historiar. sui temporis . . .;" book v. LA POPLINIÈRE, "Histoire de France," (from 1550 to 1557), 2 vols. folio. VOLTAIRE, *Histoire générale*, vol. i., p. 170.

B.—IN LATIN.

5. GERDES. "Specimen Italiae reformatae." Leyden, 1765, 4to; vol. ii., p. 400.—SCULTET (Abraham), "Annalium Evangelii passim per Europam, 15 salutis partae seculo renovati decas 1 et 2, ab a. 1516 ad a. 1536." Heidelberg, 1618.

6. BARONIUS (Cæsar). "Annales ecclesiast. a Chr. nato ad a. 1198." Rome, 1588–1607; 12 vols. folio. Second edition, Antwerp, 1589–1603; 10 vols. folio, &c. This work has been continued by BZOVIVS (Abraham), "Annales ecclesiast. post Cæs. Baronium;" vols. xlii.–xx.; "ab a. 1198 usque ad a. 1565, rerum in orbe Christ. gestar. narrationem complectentes." Rome, 1616. *et seq.*, folio; and Cologne, 1621–1630, folio. This author often declares himself opposed to Baronius. Another continuation is by H. SPONDANUS, "Annalium

ecclesiast. Caes. Baronii continuatio ab an. 1197 ad finem 1646. Paris [1640-41], 1647; 2 vols. folio. Lyons, 1678; 3 vols. folio. Another continuation is by Od. RAYNALDUS, "Annales ecclesiast. ab a. quo desinit Caesar Baronius, 1198, usque ad an. 1565;" vols. xiii.-xxi. Rome, 1646-1677, folio. Cologne, 1693-1727; folio. Another continuation is by James DE LADERCHIO, "Annales eccles. ab a. 1566, ubi desinit Od. Raynaldus;" vols. xxii.-xxiv. Rome, 1728-1737; folio. The following works are also relative to the Annals of Baronius: —Is. CASAUBON, "De rebus sacris et ecclesiast. exercitatus. xvi. ad Baronium prolegomena," &c. London, 1614, folio. Frankfurt, 1615, 4to. Geneva (1654), 1663, 4to. Ant. PAGI, "Critica hist. chronol. in universos Annal. Baronii. Opus Posthumum 4 T. distinctum. Accedunt catalogi 10 veter. Summorum pontificum hactenus inediti." Antwerp, 1705, 4 vols. folio. New edition of Fr. PAGI, Antw., 1724; 14 vols. folio.

ALEXANDER (Nat.), "Histor. eccles. V. et N. T., ab orbe cond. ad a. p. Ch. n. 1600, et in loca ejusdem insignia dissertt. hist. chronol. crit. dogm. in 8 tom. divisae, ante quidem (1676 ff. 26 v. 8o), per [24, according to others 26] partes, nunc autem conjunctim et accuratius edita, rerum novar. accessione, scholiis et indicib. aucta, illustr. ornata. Par. (1699-1714) 1730, 8 vols., bound in 7, folio. New editions have been published by Roncaglia (Lucca, 1734, 9 vols., bound in 8, folio), and Mansi (Lucca, 1749). This last edition has been several times reprinted. Ferrara, 1758-1762; 9 vols. folio. New edition, Bassano, 1778, 9 vols., and 3 vols. of supplement, folio, &c.

The brothers DE SAINTE MARTHE, "Gallia christ., qua series omnium archiepiscoporum, episcop., et abbat. Franciæ vicinarumque ditionum ab origine eccles. ad nostra tempora deducitur." Par. 1656, 4 vols. folio. New edition, vols. i.-iii., Par. 1715-25, edited by the Monk of Saint Maur; vols. iv.-xiii., Par. 1728-85, folio. "Scriptores ordinis Prædicator. recensiti, notisque hist. et crit. illustrati; opus, quo singulor. vita præclareque gesta referuntur, &c., &c. Inchoavit JAC. QUENIF, absolvit JAC. ECHARD." Par. 1719-1721; 2 vols. fol. —USHER, "De christianarum Eccles. successionem et statu." It was from the library of this celebrated Anglican bishop, that the precious Vaudois MSS. were derived, which are now deposited in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

7. Hermann VAN DER HARDT, "Histor. litter. reformationis, constans 5 partib. . . omnia rara partim MSS., cum introductionibus." Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1717; fol. —BERNHARD-LUTZENBURG, "Catal. hæreticor. omnium pene qui ad hæc usque tempora passim litterar. monument. proditi sunt, illor. nomina, errores et tempora, quib. vixerunt, ostendens, in cujus calce et de Lutherò non nihil deprehendes." Without place or date of publication (Cologne, 1525). Second edition, enlarged, without place of publication (Cologne, 1526), 1527; 8vo. —Abr. SCHULTET, "Medullæ theologiæ patrum syntagma, in quo theologia priscor. primit. eccl. doctor. qui a. et p. conc. Nicæn. floruer. etc. etc." Frankfurt, 1634; 4to. See also the work by him mentioned in No. 9. —COLBERG, "De origine et progressu hæresium." London, 1674; 4to.

—HERMANT (John), "Histoire des hérésies." Rome, 1717; 4 vols. 12mo. 8. F. SPANHEIM, "Introd. ad chronol. et histor. sacr. ac præcipue christian., ad tempora reformationis cum necessariis castigationibus Caes. Baronii." Leyden, 1683, 1687; 2 vols. 4to. "Summa histor. eccles. a Chr. nato ad sec. 16, Leyden, 1687-1694.) Leipzig, 1698; 4to. See Section xii. —Eberhard A. BORGER, "De Mysticismo." The Hague, 1820; 8vo. Translated into German, by E. Stange, with a preface, by J. Gurlett; Altona, 1826; 8vo. New ed., with preface by E. G. A. Bœckel; Altona, 1827; 8vo. A work to which a premium was awarded. —Is. DE BEAU-

SOBRE, Hist. crit. de Manichée et du Manichéisme; Amst. 1734, 1739; 8 vols. 4to. In favour of the Vaudois; see the preface, which says—"Amongst the errors of the Vaudois there is nothing which savours of Manicheism." —BOSSUET, Hist. de Variat. Book xi., § xcvi., par. 2. —LUDNÆ, History of the Middle Ages. —BAUMGARTEN, History of Religious parties. A calm and impartial German historian.

C.—IN GERMAN.

9. SCHRÖCKH (John Matthias), "Christl. Kirchengesch." Leipz. 1768-1803; 38 vols. 8vo. An immense collection; for what concerns the Vaudois, see vol. xxix. —HENKE (H. Ph. Kr.), "Allgem. Gesch. der Christl. Kirche nach d. Zeitfolge." The first volume appeared in 1788, and has passed through many editions, as have also all the following. J. SEV. VATER has continued it from vol. vii. The ninth and last volume appeared in 1823, in 8vo. —ARNOLD (Godefroy), "Unparth. Kirchen-und-Ketzer-Historie, vom Auf. des N. T. bis auf das Jahr. Chr. 1688." Frankfurt-on-the-Maine, 1669-1700; 4 vols. fol. "Supplementa, Illustrationes u. Emendationes zur Verbesserung der Kirchen-Historie." Frankfurt-on-the-Maine, 1703; 4to. New ed. with supplm.; Id. 1729; 2 vols. 4to; Schaffhaus. 1740-42; 3 vols. fol. —A. NEANDER, "Allgem. Gesch. der Christl. Relig. u. Kirche." The earlier volumes appeared at Hamburg, from 1825 to 1836, each divided into several parts. —Of abridgments of Ecclesiastical History in German, may be mentioned, J. K. L. GIESELER (the first volume appeared at Bonn, in 1824), and H. E. Fred. GUERICKE, (first ed., Halle, 1833, 2 vols.); Dan. H. HERING, "Beiträge z. Gesch. der Evang. reform. Kirche in die Preuss." &c. Breslau, 1784, 1785; 2 vols. 8vo. New ed., Berl., 1786-87; 2 vols. 8vo. See vol. ii. W. D. TURMANN, "Handwörterb. der Christl. Religions u. Kirchengesch., &c. Nebst ein. Abhandl. üb. die hohe wichtigk. u. die zweckmässigste methode eines fortges. Studiums der Relig.-u.-Kirchengesch. für prakt. Religionslehrer, v. A. H. NIEMEYER." Halle, 1826-29; 3 vols. 8vo. —H. SCHMID, "Der mysticismus des Nittcalters in seiner Entstehungs periode." Jena, 1824; 8vo.

10. DU VOISIN (Lancelot), History of the French churches. Antwerp, 1580. For what concerns the Vaudois, see book i., p. 35. —REMY (John) published a work with the same title. —With these may be named, WIELL'S Apologetic History or Defence of the liberties of the Reformed Churches of France, an Appendix to the History of the French Church; 1759, 8vo (a German work).

11. CAVE (William). "Tabulæ quib. doctores et scriptor. ecclesiast. eorumque patria, ordo, ætas et obitus in synops. . . a epochæ christ. 1 ad a. 1519 exhibentur." (Lond. 1674, fol.) Hamb. 1676; fol. This work has been several times reprinted under new titles. The last edition is that of Basle, 20 vols., 1745. —WATER, Materials for Modern Ecclesiastical History. Halle, 1820. A German work which speaks of the Vaudois in vol. i, where a sketch is given of their history since the French Revolution.

(For the greater part of the titles contained in this section, I am indebted to Pastor EUGENE ARNAUD, the author of *Recherches critiques sur l'épître de Jude, présentant une introduction à l'épître, et un commentaire sur chaque verset*. Strasburg and Paris, 1851. —These titles are taken from a *Repertoire bibliographique de la Théologie française, depuis la réformation jusques à nos jours*, with which this author is engaged.)

§ 2.—Profane History.

1. MURATORI, *Scriptores rerum Italicarum*, fol.; published from 1723 to

1751. Concerning the Vaudois, see vol. v., p. 82; vol. xvi., p. 662, and in vol. xi. the *Annales mediolanenses*, ad annum 1259, cap. xxxi. Muratori wrote also *Antiquitates Italiae mediæ ævi*, Milan, 1738-1742; 6 vols. fol.; and *Annali d'Italia*, 12 vols. 4to. Venice, 1744-1749. The State Archives at Turin, it is said, were never opened to this eminent writer, notwithstanding all the endeavours which he made to obtain access to them.

2. Histories of Italy.—GUICCIARDINI, extending from 1490 to 1534 (Francesco Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, 1775, 4 vols. 4to). Prolix and superficial. See a critique, by Montaigne, *Essays*, book ii., chap. x.—BRUSONI, *Storia d'Italia*, extending from 1625 to 1660. Venice, 1661, 4to.—DENINA, *Delle rivoluzioni d'Italia*. Turin, 1770; 3 vols. 4to.—SIDONIUS, *De regno Italico*. Still less profound.—GUICHENON, *Histoire généalogique de la maison de Savoie*, 3 vols. fol. A servile writer. He labours to justify the persecutions of which the Vaudois were the victims, and often attacks the historian Léger, with whom, however, he had studied at Geneva, but afterwards abjured his religious opinions and friendships to gratify his ambition.—PARADIN, *Chronique de Savoie*. Diffuse and unsatisfactory. He speaks of the Vaudois, or rather of Valdo, in chap. xxxi. A *Chronique de Savoie*, in MS., and very interesting, exists in the library of Carpentras, amongst the MSS. called MSS. of Peyresk.—BOTTA (*History of Italy*) and SISMONDI (*History of the Italian Republics*), have not studied the subject of the Vaudois, although they speak of it in passing.

3. Histories of France.—Bernard Girard DU HAILLAN, *Hist. gén. des roys de France*. Paris, 1616; 2 vols. fol.—ANQUETIL; MEZERAY; HAINAULT; and the *Histoire de France*, called *Des trois marteaux*; also, the *Histoire des Français*, by SISMONDE DE SISMONDI; and, finally, MICHELET, who, although the last in date, is nevertheless one of the first in erudition, in method, and, above all, in that rare gift of life, which can only be communicated to recitals of the past by a noble heart and a great enlightened mind.

4. Particular Histories.—LACRETELLE, "*Histoire des guerres de rel. au xvie siècle*," &c.—DU MOULIN (Molinæus), "*De Monarchia Francorum*," Paris, 1561.—Anonymous: "*Memoire pour servir à l'hist. du xviiie siècle*" (extending from 1643 to 1690). Paris, 1765; 3 vols. 8vo.—LAMBERTY, *Memoires pour servir à l'hist. du xviiiie siècle*. Amsterdam, 1757; 4to, 14 vols.; and many other collections noticed in next section.

5. *Universal History*, published in 47 vols, 4to, at Amsterdam and Leipzig in 1790. See vol. xxxii. p. 477, &c.—HALLER, "*Biblioth. d'hist. universelle*."—D'AUBIGNÉ, "*Hist. universelle depuis l'an 1550 jusqu'à l'an 1601*." Amsterdam, 1616; 3 vols. fol. A writer full of energy. (See book ii.)

6. *Historical Dictionaries* of MORERI, BATLE, RICHELLET; *Conversations-Lexicons*—*Encyclopedias*—*Moderne*—*Nouvelle*—*Progressive*—*Philosophique*—*Du xixe siècle*—*Des Gens du Monde*, &c.—And, finally, L'ART DE VERIFIER LES DATES, on the chronology of the Dukes of Savoy, and in other places. This excellent work may be regarded as indispensable for every writer of history. It was continued with great assiduity by M. DE COURCELLES, and completed by M. DE FORBIA.

SECTION VII.—DETACHED DOCUMENTS.

§ 1.—Collections of Official Papers.

1. "*Liber statutorum, franchisiarum ac immunitatum, civitatis Pinarolii, nunc denuo impressus, ejusdem civitatis impensis*." Aug. Taur., 1602; of xxxii and 454 pages. Chap. lxxxiv. treats of the Vaudois.

2. "Raccolta de gl' editti et altre provisioni, delle altezze Reali delli serenissimi duchi di Savoia, di tempo in tempo promulgate, sopra gl' occorrenti delle valli di Lucerna, Perosa e San-Martino, terre anesse di San-Bartolomeo, Prarustino e Roccapiata: e dell' altre terre del Marchesato di Saluzzo e del Piemonte." Turin, 1678 (by Sinibaldo), small fol., pp. 158, containing 104 papers or edicts, printed at full length, from 1476 to 1672.

3. "Confirmazione de privilegi fatta alli Signori Conti e communita della valle di Luserna." Turin, 1682 (by the same printer), 4to. Containing the letters-patent or privileges of 1582, 1584, 1585, 1635, 1643, 1663, with the *enterinations*.

4. BORELLI. A general collection of the Edicts of the Royal House of Savoy. (In Italian. I cannot at this moment lay my hands on the original title.) In the third part, book xv., chap. ii., from p. 1259 to p. 1287, it contains a number of Edicts relative to the Vaudois, printed at full length. This collection requires to be supplemented by the following:—

5. DUBOIN. "Raccolta per ordine di materie, delle leggi, providenze, editti, manifesti, etc., publicati dal principio dell' anno 1681, fino agli 8tto Dicembre, 1780." . . . Turin, 1825, fol. For the edicts concerning the Vaudois, see vol. ii, book ii., chap. xiii., p. 109. The first three volumes of this valuable collection were at first published anonymously. The name of this author, when his work is cited by foreigners, is sometimes written *Dubois* instead of *Duboin*. The son of this eminent jurist continues the work of his father, and proposes to publish a supplement to the edicts relative to the Vaudois.

6. "Raccolta delle leggi, providenze e manifesti, emanati dai governi francese e provvisorio, e dalla Municipalità di Torino, unitamente alle lettere pastorali, del citt. arcivescovo di Torino." Vol. i. Turin, year vii. of the French Republic, and first year of Liberty in Piedmont, 1 vol. 4to. of 320 pages. Vol. ii., published afterwards, contains 240 pages. This collection contains all the decrees of the Provisional Government, and of the Executive Committee in Piedmont, from 1798 to 1800, relative to the Vaudois.

7. The following were published separately:—the *Patents of Grace*, signed at Pignerol, 18 Aug., 1655; the Edict for the re-establishment of the Vaudois, 23 May, 1694 (reprinted in 1713), and most of the other pieces of the same description at the time of their promulgation.

8. "Conférences faictes à Turin, dans l'Hostel de Ville en présence de MM. les Ambassadeurs Suisses, entre les ministres de S. A. R. et les députés des vallées de Luzerne; à la fin de l'année 1663, et au commencement de la courante, 1664." Turin, small folio, pp. 230.

9. The old *Civil Code*, published in 1724, under this title, "*Leggi e costituzioni di sua Maesta*" (title of the edition of 1770; 2 vols. 4to, of 504 and 574 pages). The new *Civil Code*, promulgated by CHARLES ALBERT in 1837, and likewise the *Statute* of 1848, deserve also to be mentioned, because of the articles which they contain relative to the Vaudois.

10. Amongst the collections of edicts emanating from foreign powers, the following will be found to contain things relating to the Vaudois of Saluces and Pragelas, at the time when these countries were under the dominion of France.—"Recueil des édits et déclarations des Roys, Henry IV., Louys XIII. et Louis XIV., sur la pacification des troubles de ce royaume." Paris, 1659; small 4to, each edict paged by itself. "Recueil des édits, déclarations et arrêts du conseil, rendus au sujet de la religion prétendue réformée, depuis 1679 jusqu'à présent." Paris, 1701; 8vo. of xx and 475 pages. The same papers are to be found also in other collections.

§ 2.—Collections of various Documents.

1. "MONUMENTA PATRIÆ: Regis Caroli Alberti jussu edita." Turin, 1837; large 4to. "Chartarum Tomus primus," No. dxiii.; and in vol. ii., entitled *Scriptores*, GIOFFREDO: *Storia delle Alpi maritime*, etc., col. 488, year 1209, the decree of Otho IV. against the Vaudois.
2. "Bibliotheca maxima Patrum;" quoted by abbreviation BIB. M. P. P., containing the greater part of the Latin chroniclers who have written *Contra Valdenses*. Some of them are also published in the *Biblioth. P. P. Lugdunensium*.
3. Some of the same works are also to be found in JUSTELLUS, *Codex canonum ecclesiasticorum* (see the preface), and in GRETZERUS, already noticed (section II., § 1); in D'ACHERY, "*Spicilegium veterum auctorum*," printed from 1655 to 1677, in thirteen vols. 4to, and in 1723, in 3 vols. fol.—MARTÈNE, 1655 to 1677, in thirteen vols. 4to, and in 1723, in 3 vols. fol.—MARTÈNE, 1655 to 1677, in thirteen vols. 4to, and in 1723, in 3 vols. fol. (This author wrote "*Thesaurus anecdotorum*," 1717; 5 vols. fol.; see vol. iv. (This author wrote also *De antiquis Ecclesiæ ritibus*, Rouen, 1700); MARTÈNE and DURAND, "*Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum amplissima collectio*." Paris, 1724—1733; 9 vols. fol.—D'ARGENTRÉ, "*Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*." Paris, 1728; 3 vols. fol.—BALUZIUS, *Miscellanea*, 1678—1715; 7 vols. 8vo. (See vol. ii., p. 203).—LABBEUS, *Bibliotheca manuscriptorum*, &c.
4. "Bullarium magnum,"—for the Bull of Innocent VIII., &c.—RIPOLL, "*Bullarium ordinis prædicatorum*." See in vol. i., p. 52, a letter to the Bishop of Mayence, given also by RAYNALD, in his *Annales*, No. xliii., ad an. 1233. Another letter to the Archbishop of Cologne, concerning the *heresies* of the time, is to be seen in TENENAGEL, "*Collectio veterum monumentorum contra schismaticos*;" Ingolstadt, 1612; vol. i., p. 368; also in JUNIUS, *Acta sacra*, vol. i., p. 345.—MANSIUS, "*Collectio conciliorum*." See in vol. xxii., p. 476, the decree of Pope Lucius II., *contra hæreticos*.—HARDOUIN, *Concilia Galliæ*, vol. i., p. 30.—MEIERS, "*Codex canonum ecclesiæ universæ ex recens. Justelli, editus nova cura*," &c. In this will be found most of the authors edited by Gretzerus, *contra Valdenses*, with new introductions, which, however, contain nothing new.
5. DUCHESNE. "*Scriptores historiæ Francorum*." Edition of Baluze, vols. v. and vi. (The Paris edition of 1636 is in 5 vols. fol.)—MABILLON, *Vetera analecta*, concerning Peter de Bruys. Vol. iii., pp. 312 and 315 of the second edition.—LELONG, "*Bibliothèque historique de la France*." Paris, 1763, 5 vols. fol.; vol. i. for notices of books; *Biblioth. manuscriptorum* for notices of old MSS.—*Biblioth. sacra*. Halle, 1768, 4 vols. 4to.—"Collection de documents pour l'histoire de France." There are a number of works with this title, by CIMBER and DANJOU, GUIZOT, LECOINTE and MICHAUD, BOUQUET, LEBER and PETITOT, &c.
6. CRESPIN (his name is not in the title-page of the work). "*Histoire des martyrs persécutés et mis à mort pour la vérité de l'Evangile depuis les temps des Apôtres jusqu'à présent*, &c." . . . Geneva, 1570; fol. The first edition was issued with the following title, "*Le livre des martyrs, depuis Jean Huss, jusqu'en 1534*." Geneva, 1554; 8vo. Claude BADUEL translated this work into Latin, and published it with the title, "*Acta martyrum qui sæculo xvi. in Gallia . . . Italia, constans dederunt nomen Evangelio idque sanguine suo obsignarunt*," 1556, 8vo.; and 1560, 4to. A third edition of Crespin, in French, appeared in 1559, and a fourth in 1561. The edition of 1570 was republished with several different titles; it is divided into eight books. SIMON GOULARD enlarged it by the addition of two books, in 1597. The edition of Geneva, in fol.,

1619, divided into twelve books, is the most complete. This Protestant martyrology has been placed in the Index by the court of Rome. This work has supplied the greater part of the materials for the *History of the Martyrs* (in Dutch), by MELLINUS, Amsterdam, 1620; *The Mirror of the Martyrs*, by VAN BRACHT, fol., Amsterdam, 1685; *The Martyrology of PANTALEON*, Basle, 1563 (containing the Confession of Faith presented by the Vaudois of Provence to Cardinal Sadolet (part II., book v., p. 130,) &c. Crespin was born at Arras about 1519. He retired to Geneva in 1548, and conceived the design of writing his admirable *History of the Martyrs*, in consequence of an account which he received of the sufferings and courage of five young Frenchmen, students at Lausanne, who were arrested at Lyons, when they were returning from visiting their parents, and burned alive in that city, as heretics, in 1552. "I may well say," such are Crespin's own words, "that they have suggested to me by their writings, the first thought of making these collections." (Edition of Geneva, 1619, fol. 5, at the bottom, in the *Argument des douze livres*.) The story of these five youths is related in this edition, from folio 201 to folio 931. The facts concerning the Vaudois are to be found in folios 111, 133, 182, 319, 333, 396, 411, 412, 418, 506, and 532—547.

7. In the *Journal des Savants*, the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, and other collections, documents have been published, of very various interest, connected with the history of the Vaudois. In particular, I shall mention (as pointed out to me by Professor Dumesnil), an interesting refutation of the charges made against the Vaudois of Cabrières and Merindol, in vol. iii. of "*L'histoire de France, depuis l'établissement de la monarchie française dans les Gaules, dédiée au Roi, par le P. Gabriel Daniel, de la compagnie de Jésus*." (Paris, 1713, 3 vols. fol.) This refutation is to be found in the "*BIBLIOTHÈQUE CHOISIE, pour servir de suite à la Bibliothèque universelle, par Jean Le Clerc*;" year 1713. Amsterdam, vol. xxvii., 32mo, pp. 49—76.

PART II.—MANUSCRIPT WORKS.

SECTION I.—ANCIENT VAUDOIS MANUSCRIPT IN THE ROMANCE LANGUAGE.

§ 1.—Origin of these MSS.

Bossuet, in his "*History of the Variations of Protestantism*" (book xi., § cxxvii.) exclaims, "Until some known library shall be pointed out to us where we may see the manuscripts, we cannot but be astonished that books are brought forward against us as authentic, which nobody ever saw save Perrin alone; as neither Aubertin nor La Roque refer to them, otherwise than upon his authority, only not saying that they never had them in their hands. This Perrin, who alone makes great use of them in his argument, takes no notice of any of the marks by which it is possible to establish the date of a volume, or to prove its antiquity; he merely tells us that they are old Vaudois books, a description sufficiently general to be applicable to the most modern black letter volumes." And before this he says, "Not only the language of Ville-Hardouin, who wrote 100 years after Peter de Bruys, but even that of authors subsequent to Ville-Hardouin, is more antiquated and obscure than that to which the date of 1120 is assigned; so that there can be no grosser absurdity than the attempt to palm these treatises upon us as of great antiquity." (Id. § cxxvi.) Such are

Bossuet's words. "There is good reason, therefore, for thinking," he afterwards adds, "that these books, which are so vauntingly brought forward, without any solid proof of their date, were composed or altered by these reformed Vaudois, after the manner of Farel and his associates." (End of § cxxvii.)

By these words, Bossuet (1.) expresses a doubt of the existence of the Vaudois manuscripts; (2.) signifies his opinion that the language in which they are written is that of a later period than the thirteenth century; and (3.) insinuates that these books were composed or falsified by the Vaudois of the seventeenth century. Besides which, other authors have alleged (4.) that these manuscripts proceeded not from the Vaudois but from Petrobrusians; (5.) that they contain internal evidence of a more recent origin; and (6.) that they belong not to the Vaudois but to other Protestant sects of the Middle Ages. These different objections I propose to examine very briefly.

1. Almost all the Vaudois MSS., referred to by Perrin, are now deposited in public libraries, in which the author of the *Variations* might have consulted them. This is a sufficient reply to his first objection. (See these MSS. noticed in §§ 2, 3, and 4 of this section.)

2. Whether the language of Ville-Hardouin is more antiquated than that of the Vaudois MSS., the reader may judge. "Un Vénisien et un chevalier de France qui avoit nom André d'Urboise, entrèrent en la tor (tour), et autres genz comencent à entrer après als (eux); et cil (ceux) de la tor se desconfisent (débandent) et s'en vont . . . Ensi fu l'oz hebergié com vos avez oi (ouï), et Constantinople prise le lundi de Pasque florie." Such is the language of Ville-Hardouin, who lived from 1167 to 1213. *Hist. de la conquête de Constantinople*, towards the end. Compare with this, the first lines of the Vaudois poem *La Barca* (Geneva MSS. No. 207; Dublin MSS. Class C, shelf 5, No. 21):—

"La sancta Trinita nos don parlar
Cosa que sia donar e de gloria
E que al profit de tuit poysa tornar
E a li auvidor donc atalentament," &c.

As I cannot suppose that the language of these lines will be so readily understood as that of Ville-Hardouin, I subjoin a reduction of them into modern French:—

"Que la sainte Trinité nous donne de dire
Des choses qui soient à son honneur et à sa gloire,
Et qui au profit de tous puissent tourner;
Et qu'aux auditeurs elle donne pareillement,"¹ &c.

Let us compare also with these some lines of the Châtelain De Coucy, who

¹ The word *atalentament*, here rendered by the adverb *pareillement*, comes from *tal*, *aital*, which signifies *such*, *equal*, *like* (*tel*, *pareil*, *semblable*), with the adverbial termination in *ment*, the use of which has passed from the Romance language to the French. Raynouard, who translates this word *desire* [*désir*], unconsciously affords a proof of the difference between the idiom of the Troubadours and that of the Vaudois; for he was perfectly acquainted with the former, and it may be supposed, without disparagement to his reputation, that the latter was less familiar to him. It would, consequently, be wrong to confound the one with the other. The recent labours of the *Ecole des Chartes* have manifested the existence, in the great family of the Romance tongues, of a greater number of branches than had been previously supposed. That which extended into the Vaudois valleys is one of the most distinct. M. Fauriel had already given it a place by itself (Verbal communications, Nov., 1834); and M. Augustin Thierry acknowledges the distinct character of the Vaudois idiom (10th Nov., 1851). This opinion is shared by M. Villemain (whom I saw at the same period); and it is in accordance with the views of M. De Siamondi, whose long-continued researches into the history of the middle ages made him very competent to judge of such a matter. (Letter on the Antiquity of the *Noble Leçon*. Geneva, 12th June, 1852.)

died in 1192. Let us see if they do not come much nearer to the French of the present day, than the Vaudois language does to that of the Troubadours of the twelfth century:—

"Bèle dame me prie de chanter
Si est bien drois que je face chançon. . . ."

(This song is quoted by TISSOT in his *Leçons et modèles de littérature française*, vol. ii. p. 41.) To find in the earlier states of the French language, something analogous to the Vaudois language, we must go much farther back than the time of the Troubadours. I will now show what resembles it most nearly.

"Pro Deo, et pro Christian populo, et nostro commun salvament, d'ist di (from this day) in avant, in quant Deus savir (savoir) et podir (pouvoir) me dunat (donnera) si salvarai io cist meon fradre Karlo (so will I defend my brother Charles)," &c. (TISSOT, i. 13.) Such was the language of the eighth and ninth centuries. The sentence just quoted is from the *speech of Louis of Germany*, to the vassals of Charles the Bald, who died in 876, at the foot of Mount Cenis. These brief specimens will suffice to show the character of the language at these different periods; and from this it follows that the idiom of the Vaudois books much more nearly resembles the language of the eighth century than that of the twelfth. And Raynouard, in placing these Vaudois poems amongst the PRIMITIVE monuments of the Romance tongue, sufficiently recognizes them as possessing an antiquity greater than the days of the Troubadours.

3. All the MSS. mentioned by Perrin, and to which this note relates, are of a date anterior to the Reformation, and consequently could neither have been composed nor falsified by the Reformed, as Bossuet more maliciously than justly insinuates. All these manuscripts (with the acknowledged exception of one only) are anterior to the invention of printing. However, none of them is as ancient as the works which they contain. In other words, we have not (unless it be in one or two doubtful exceptive instances) the paper written by the authors' own hand, we have only copies. It is easy, therefore, to see how modifications might be introduced by copyists, as we shall by and by find that they have been. But the copyists themselves lived before the Reformation, and therefore could not be subject to its influence, which deprives Bossuet's insinuations of all power. At the end of the treatise *on the reading and efficacy of the Word of God*, which occurs in the first volume of the ancient Vaudois MSS. deposited at Cambridge, No. 4, this date appears, *Anno Domini* 1230.

4. After having cited the Vaudois treatise OF ANTICHRIST, dated in the year 1120 (p. 57), Perrin found a difficulty of reconciling that date to his system, which made the Vaudois to derive their origin from Valdo of Lyons (chap. i. and ii.), according to the received opinion of all the writers of his time. Nor could he devise any better means of escape from this embarrassment, than to ascribe to Peter De Bruys the Vaudois works which bore a date anterior to Valdo, and in particular this treatise *Of Antichrist*. See the marginal note in pp. 253 and 254. It was evidently this note that suggested to Fusselin, Baumgarten, and other authors, their opinion which ascribes the Vaudois books to the Petrobrusians. But the character of the Petrobrusians, as Neander observes in his *Life of St. Bernard*, is very different in its warlike fire, from the peacefulness and the calm and serene faith which generally marked the Vaudois. Moreover, Peter De Bruys, as the writers of that country say, was a native of the Vallouise. (See *Hist. du diocèse d'Embrun*, by Father ALBERT, i. 56; *Memoires de Dominique Rochas*, MS. of Carpentras and Grenoble; *Hist. des Alpes Cottiniennes*, by Father MARCELIN FOURNIER, MSS. of Gap and Lyons).

According to other authors, Valdo himself retired to Freyssinières (MSS. of Carpentras, No. 606, vol. i., p. 101). The Abbot of Cluny (Peter the Venerable) wrote against Peter De Bruys to the prelates of Embrun, Gap, Die, and Arles. (See this letter in FLEURY, *Hist. Eccles.*, vol. lxxix. No. 24.) We know that Bruys was burned alive at St. Gilles. But it was only in these regions, where his doctrine was new, that a violent feeling was excited against him. His party subsisted but for a short time, and consequently could not produce works which exhibit proofs of long meditation. Moreover, these MSS. have been found nowhere but amongst the Vaudois mountains. If it was there that Peter De Bruys was born, it is natural to admit that he was of Vaudois descent. To conclude, we can account for the motive which causes these manuscripts to be ascribed to the Petrobrusians—this motive is based merely upon a hypothesis—this hypothesis is not supported by any proof, and there are numerous proofs that they ought to be ascribed to the Vaudois. (See Nos. 6 and 7 of this §.)

5. The different treatises in the Romance language contained in the Vaudois manuscripts, have not been all composed at the same period. The MSS. which we now possess are mere copies; and these copies also have been made at very different dates. Some of them are on paper, and cannot be older than the fourteenth century; others are on parchment, and may be of a much earlier date. In these latter, however, the orthography, the writing, the abbreviations, the form of the letters, &c., still vary sufficiently to prove that there are amongst them great differences of age. "I find reason to think that there does not exist any very ancient manuscript of these pieces," said Mr. Raynouard, in a letter to me upon this subject (6th April, 1833). In some of these manuscripts, there are private annotations or new citations, written sometimes on the margin, and sometimes at the bottom of the page, by subsequent hands (for example in the MSS. of Geneva, No. 208, pp. 4, 5, 6, 7, 12, 14, 20, 21, &c.; and in that of Dublin, Class C, Shelf 5, No. 18). Later copyists often introduced these additions into the text at the place to which they referred, so that the new book, when it came from their hands, was clean on the margins, and seemed really new; this has been the source of unquestionable interpolations. It is upon these considerations that the authenticity of the date 1120, in the book OF ANTICHRIST above quoted, is defended, notwithstanding the reference which it contains to the *Milleloquium*, and which could not have been made before the fourteenth century. This reason is a good one; but the numerous passages of the Old and New Testaments which are contained in this treatise (Perrin, pp. 273-280, and Léger, pp. 77-79), do not correspond to the ancient divisions of the sacred books (*τετρα* and *εξ*), but rather to the present division (see Perrin, pp. 279, 280, &c.); introduced by Cardinal Hugo of Saint Cher, in the thirteenth century.¹

Moreover, Léger places in the same *Book of Antichrist*, and under the date 1120, a Confession of Faith, which contains a canon of the books of Scripture, such as was not determined till a much later period² (Léger, p. 92), and this

¹ I speak here of the division into chapters, for the division into verses was not introduced into the gospel till 1551, by Robert Stephen. M. Monastier (vol. ii., p. 344) has indicated the verses where the text published by Perrin (p. 274) does not indicate them. But the books of the Old Testament were already divided into verses, from the time of Jesus Christ.

² I think it may even be said that this canon was not fixed till after the Reformation. (1.) Because the books of the Old Testament were never before that epoch (from the fifth century at least) distinguished into apocryphal and canonical. (2.) Because the sentence which begins with the words, *Ainsi sen segon li livres Apocriphe*, &c., is to be found also in the confessions produced after the Reformation (Gallican, art. iv.; Anglican, art. vi.; Belgic, id., &c.) (3.) Because it is only since the Reformation that there have been reckoned two books of

Confession of Faith occurs almost word for word in the MS. of Dublin, Class C, Shelf 5, No. 18, p. 21, under the date 1530. Perrin also gives it as being extracted not from the treatise *Of Antichrist*, but from another book whose date is not signified. (Marginal note in p. 79.) But after all these difficulties are removed, by the supposition of the alterations to which this treatise may have been subjected by later copyists; it remains, however, by no means probable, that it was composed in the year 1120 (Léger dates it in 1126, chap. xv. p. 83), because at this period the Church of Rome was not regarded as Antichrist; and because the Vaudois always speak of that Church with respect, in their most ancient writings, even when contending against and exposing its errors.

It would be interesting to inquire if a number of these treatises, in the Romance language, are not translations or imitations of various short Latin treatises published about the same period. Finally, it ought to be observed that the Romance idiom was preserved in the Vaudois valleys much longer than anywhere else, proof of which may be found in the Acts of the Synod of 1532. (Dublin MSS., Class C, Shelf 5, No. 18.) To conclude, the Vaudois works are not all of the same antiquity; but even when in a work of ancient composition, passages are found of a modern date, it does not follow that the antiquity of the book is to be rejected, for these passages may have been interpolated by copyists. Also, a work written on paper, may be anterior to the invention of paper, as Homer and Virgil, printed in our days, are nevertheless anterior to the invention of printing. The surest marks of antiquity are presented in the very contents of the works in question. The general character, the roots, and what may be called the very woof of the language in which they are written, afford also a solid basis for determining their date. The more that this language resembles Latin, it is the more ancient. (See the principles of this comparison applied to the Vaudois MSS., in No. 2 of this §.)

6. Do these writings really belong to the Vaudois?

(1.) On the first leaf of the Geneva MS., No. 207, are these words, "This Book contains the Exposition of the *Song of Songs of Solomon*, and the poems entitled *La Barca*, *Novel Confort*, *Nobla Leyczon*, *Lo Payre Eternal*, *Lo Novel Sermon*, *Lo Despreczi del mont*, and the *Avangeli de li quatre semencz*, also a Treatise on Penitence. It belongs to the Reformed Churches of the valleys of Piedmont, who request that it may be preserved in the Library of Geneva."

(2.) The treatise *De la penitencia* is also in part to be found in the other Geneva MSS., Nos. 208 and 209, and in the Dublin MS., Class C, Shelf 5, No. 22. The poems are to be found also in the Dublin MS. of the same series, No. 21.

(3.) It is in exactly the same idiom that all the other works are written, which bear the general designation of *Ancient Vaudois MSS. in the Romance tongue*.

(4.) Perrin, who gives the list of these manuscripts (Part i., pp. 57-60), declares that they all come from the Vaudois valleys. (Perrin, part i., pp. 13, 18, 20, 24, 29, &c. Part ii., p. 157, *et seq.*) Those which Léger sent to the library of Geneva in 1662, came also from these valleys. (Léger, chap. iii., p. 23.)

(5.) The acts of several Synods attest the Vaudois origin of these manuscripts. (See sect. I. of this Bibliography, art. *Perrin*.)

(6.) In these manuscripts, the Vaudois speak in their own name (*Book of George Morel*, Dublin MSS., Class C, Shelf 5, No. 18), and often name

Samuel and *two of Kings*; before that period they were only reckoned as *four books of Kings*. Other incompatibilities have been pointed out in vol. i. p. 334 of the *Revue Théologique*, Strasbourg, 1850.

themselves, "*Ilh dion qu'es VAUDÉS.*" (Nobla Leyczon, l. 372—"Le petit tropel de li christians, appella par fals nom, VAUDÉS" [Perrin, p. 224], because this little flock which was called *Vaudois*, claimed to be designated by the name of *Christians* alone).

(7.) All the learned men who have published fragments of these different manuscripts, agree in giving them without hesitation as *Vaudois* manuscripts. (Raynouard, vol. ii.; Morland, chap. iii.; Hahn, pp. 560-703, &c.)

(8.) The enemies of the *Vaudois*, who have frequented their country, themselves attest the existence of such manuscripts, which they say that they have seen, held in their hands, and read in the valleys. (RORENGO, *Memorie istorichi dell' introduzione degl' eresie nelle valli*. 4to edition, p. 20. "Se bene il Perrino n'habbia prodotto qualche particella . . .," says he, which implies that the unpublished portion was very considerable.

(9.) We know that one of the principal occupations of the *Vaudois* Barbas, was to make copies of pious books, for the instruction of their disciples. (GILLES, chap. ii. p. 15. Preface to Olivetan's Bible.)

(10.) All these books, which are now scattered in different libraries, were once obtained from the *Vaudois* valleys. (PERRIN, p. 57, marginal note, and the articles PERRIN and GILLES in this Bibliography.) None of them have ever been met with elsewhere. The Synod of Grenoble (1602) having caused search to be made for all the *Vaudois* and *Albigensis* MSS. which still existed, found none but *Vaudois* MSS. No other people, that I know of, have produced any similar. Everything, therefore, concurs to prove that these MSS. are really the work of the *Vaudois*, and nothing indicates the contrary.

7. Were all these pieces composed in the language of the *Vaudois* valleys? One circumstance which has never been noticed, and concerning which, the *Vaudois* themselves must be the only witnesses, but which is nevertheless of great importance with regard to this question, is that all who are acquainted with the present patois of the valleys (and especially with that of the mountains¹), very easily, and almost without any preparatory study, comprehend the language of these ancient *Vaudois* books which Raynouard calls the *primitive Romance tongue*. On the contrary, it frequently happens that persons versed in the idiom of the Troubadours, are very far from understanding the *Vaudois* books; and, for myself, I do not hesitate to avow, that there are in the writings of the Troubadours many passages which I could not understand without a translation, which is not the case with the books now under consideration. The author of the *Choix de poésies originales des Troubadours*, and of the Grammar of the Romance tongue (*Grammaire de la langue romane*), may certainly be regarded as well acquainted with the idiom of the primitive monuments of that language; yet M. Monastier justly takes notice of inaccuracies into which RAYNOUARD has fallen in the translation of the *Nobla Leyczon*, in lines 100, 146, 147, 151, 190, 191, 196, 208, 223, 276, 281, 299, &c. May I be permitted also to take notice of similar inaccuracies in modern authors.

M. HERZOG says, at the conclusion of his thesis *De origine et pristino statu*

¹ For that part of the valleys which is adjacent to the plain of Piedmont has undergone modifications in its language, caused by the admixture of Piedmontese. It appears that this was already the case even in the days of Rorengo; for he compares the *old Romance tongue*, which he calls the *Vaudois tongue*, with that which was then spoken in our mountains:—"Sono qui, libri scritti a mano, uno de quali tengo appresso di me in lingua Valdese, o per dir meglio montagnara." (*Memorie Istorichi dell' introd. degl' eresie nelle valli*, p. 20.) At the present day it is in the communes of Bobi, Pral, and Rodoret that it is spoken in its greatest perfection.

Vald. &c. (p. 44), "Secutus sum adiutorem Genevensensem, Hahn editoris, linguæ Valdensiæ admodum peritum." And in the first piece published by Hahn, I find the following inaccuracies:—P. 560, note 1, *atalentament*, translated by *desire*, signifies *in like manner*.—P. 561, note 1, *Per que . . . non se debia levar*, translated *how he should not take*, signifies *that he might not rise*.—P. 562, note 7, *Paure n'intren*, translated *we enter there*, signifies *we enter there poor*.—P. 563, note, *Frevols et devols . . .* This last word, translated *devout*, signifies *weak*; the first is not translated, it signifies *frail, languishing*, and it is difficult to conceive what meaning could have been attached to it by the translator. In the same page, note 10, *Local es verms* (the word should have been *vernies*), *e lendenas e peoth abrivol* (which should be *abimnol*). These corrections are derived from the original manuscript. The first part of this line is translated thus, *seed of vermin*. It should be translated *which is varnished* (brilliant externally); the word *lendenas*, which has been translated by *slow*, signifies *the interior*, and the conclusion of the line, which is not translated, signifies *abominable dust*. It may be remarked that the passages which most need explanation, are often those which are left untranslated.—Same page, note 13, *neyes* translated *same*, signifies *there are some of them*. At the end of this line is the word *abastat*; it is not translated, and probably was not understood, it signifies *enough*; hence the Italian word *abbastanza*.—In p. 564, note 1, *li scurczis*, translated *tears away*, signifies *becomes dim*.—Same page, note 3, . . . *li colla e lo fla . . .*, translated *adheres, and his side . . .*, signifies *slips away from him, and his breath . . .*—P. 565, note 7, *chaczin*, translated *bark*, should be *chamin* and the translation *way*. (Moreover, *chaczin* does not signify a bark.)—Same page, note 9, *perisere*, translated *shall perish* (plural), should be *parisere*, and the translation, *shall appear* (singular), &c. I shall proceed no farther. I have scarcely gone over one-half of the piece (*La Barca*) published by Hahn. (Pp. 560-570).

In the few citations of the *Vaudois* books, for which M. Herzog has not made use of Raynouard's translations, a few inaccuracies might, perhaps, also be noticed. Thus, in p. 8, fourth quotation, the words *cum trey de sostenguis*, translated *sicut tres Deos sustines*, signifies *cum tribus digitis sustines*. This quotation is taken from the sixteenth stanza of the poem *Lo Payre Eternal*.

In p. 9, third quotation, the word *ordenament* is translated *commode*, but would, perhaps, be more accurately rendered by *regulariter*. In p. 10, first quotation, the words *sencza defalhiment*, translated *sine vitio*, ought to be rendered *sine intermissione*. In the same page, last line, *al segle present*, translated *hominibus hujus mundi*, literally signifies *ad seculum præsens*. Not being able to comprehend the translation which M. Herzog gives in the next page, p. 11, of the first quotation which appears there, I shall content myself with observing that the first word *perque*, translated *nam*, ought to be translated *ut*, and that the general meaning of the passage has reference to regeneration. In the following page, in the last quotations, *De renovellar me al present tu l'affrecza*, translated *In eo est ut restaures me in presenti*, signifies *Ad nunc me renovandum te ipsum deprimis*. (*S'affreczar*, a genuine onomatopy to represent the noise made by the wings of a bird when it alights. In the next line, *que yo non rimagna en fecza*, translated *ne remaneam retro*, rather means *ne morar in cæno*. In the next line, *de gracious istament*, approximatively rendered by *full of grace* (*plena gratiæ*), literally signifies *of gracious support*, &c.

It ought also, I think, to be taken into account, in order that a right estimate may be formed of the probability of very ill-founded opinions having been put forth concerning these *VAUDOIS* books in the *Romance tongue*—and I make this

remark not with reference to the works of MM. Hahn and Herzog, but quite generally—that Raynouard alone, and persons who were inhabitants of the Vaudois valleys, have successfully attempted to translate any of them entire. (See the translation of an ancient Vaudois poem, recently discovered in the *Echo des vallées*, t. i., No. 10.)

I think, therefore, it may be said—

(1.) That the idiom in which the old Vaudois books (from the twelfth to the fourteenth century) were written, was not the vulgar tongue of France at that epoch. (Evidence of this will be found in comparing with these books, the writings of the contemporary Troubadours, particularly those of the Lyonnais, Provence, and Dauphiny. I have not room to institute this comparison here.)

(2.) That the idiom of the Vaudois books is called by Raynouard (vol. ii.) the *Primitive Romance tongue*, and by Rorengo (p. 20) *lingua Valdesa*, o per dir meglio *montagnera*.

(3.) But where was this mountain tongue spoken? No doubt just where we find it still in use after the fourteenth century. But it was this language which the Vaudois employed in 1530, in writing to Oecolampadius (Perrin, p. 211), and to Bucer (*Id.* p. 213; the original is amongst the Dublin MSS., Class A, Shelf 4, No. 13, p. 5). It was in this language that they stated to the Reformers their doctrines and usages. (Same MS., of which a passage is quoted in the *Israel of the Alps*, part I. chap. i., note.) It was in this idiom also that the Acts of the Synod held at Angrogna, in 1532, were written. (Same MS., from p. 118 to p. 125, although the style of the concluding prayer already exhibits some traces of Italian). And this idiom was also employed by the Vaudois of the Alps in writing to one another. (See the letter of the Barba, Bartholemew Tertian, in Perrin, pp. 73–78. This Barba lived in 1470, and his language is still the *Primitive Romance tongue*, almost without alteration.)

(4.) In comparing the present dialect of different parts of the valley of the Rhone, with that of the Vaudois valleys, we find that it is still the latter which exhibits the greatest number of points of analogy to the old Romance tongue.

(5.) From these different considerations I think I may conclude, [1.] That the *Nobla Leyczon*, and the other works written in the same language, belong to the people who spoke that language. [2.] That this idiom, called by Raynouard the *Primitive Romance tongue* (*Langue romane primitive*), and by Rorengo, *lingua valdesa*, was really the idiom of the Vaudois, and [3.] That consequently the books are to be ascribed to the Vaudois. See the linguistic considerations in No. 7 of next chapter, relative to the difference which existed in the twelfth century, between the idiom of the Alps and that of the Lyonnais.

§ 2.—Biblical MSS.

Gilles says, "This Vaudois people have had pastors of great learning . . . versed in the languages of Holy Scripture . . . and very laborious . . . especially in transcribing to the utmost of their ability, the books of Holy Scripture, for the use of their disciples." (Chap. ii. p. 15, paragraph 2.) This explains the circumstance that copies of the books of the Bible, translated into the Romance tongue, are of far more frequent occurrence than copies of any other work preserved in our Vaudois MSS.

1. VAUDOIS BIBLE OF LYONS. (*Library of the palace of the arts*, No. 60.) This MS. forms a small 4to volume, on vellum (parchment), containing the four Evangelists, the Acts of the Apostles, the Apocalypse, the Epistle of St. James, those of Peter and John, and those of St. Paul. Amongst these last, is to be found the *Epistle to the Laodiceans*, placed after that to the Colos-

sians, and beginning thus: "Paulus, apostols, no domes ni per liomes, mais per Jesu-Xrist, als fres que son a laudicia: graccia a vos, et patz de Diu lo paire nostre ed el senhor Jesu-Xrist:" a translation of the text given by FABRICIUS (*Codices Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti*, vol. i. p. 859).—Παῦλος ἀπόστολος, οὐκ ἔστ' ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ ἐν Δαοδικίᾳ ἀδελφοῦ. Χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ πατρὸς. καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, . . . &c.¹

After the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is the last, come the *Benedicite* and the *Pater noster*, in Latin, and then follow these words: "Adoremus Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum tres vegadas, gracia domini nostri Iyesu-Xrist, sit cum omnibus nobis." The volume is concluded by six leaves, filled, in like manner, with sentences of a religious character.

I believe this to be one of the most ancient of all the Vaudois MSS.; (1.) upon account of the form of the letters, in which no resemblance to the black letter yet appears; (2.) upon account of the character of the language, which is much nearer to the Latin; (3.) upon account of the absence of ornaments; (4.) because it contains the Epistle to the Laodiceans.

2. Another Biblical manuscript, in the Romance language, is also deposited at Lyons, but in the Archives of the Prefecture. According to a letter from the *Archiviste* of this establishment, this manuscript was brought from Nîmes to Lyons, a few years ago. It is in small 4to, double-columned, and full of abbreviations. It contains the whole of the New Testament, and concludes with a ritual occupying ten leaves. I have not seen this manuscript.

3. VAUDOIS BIBLE OF GRENOBLE. (Deposited in the public library, being No. 488 of the new catalogue, and No. 8595 of the old.)

This manuscript is 167 millimetres in length, 123 in breadth, and 51 in thickness. The boards are of wood, formerly covered with red skin, and held together by two brazen clasps, one of which has disappeared. It is written in black letter (with a few ornaments made by the pen, and capitals coloured with red and blue) in double columns, except the first page. All the leaves of this manuscript are of parchment, except the last thirty, which are of paper. It contains all the books of the *New Testament*, also twelve chapters of *Proverbs*, the book of *Ecclesiastes*, ten chapters of *Wisdom*, fifteen chapters of *Ecclesiasticus*, and the *Song of Songs*. All these books of the Old Testament are placed after the Apocalypse. The verses are nowhere marked. The divisions of the chapters do not always correspond with those in our Bibles at the present day.

Each of the books of the New Testament is preceded by a little preface, entitled, *Prolic*. The following is the commencement of the PROLIC SOBRE MATHIO: "Abm Mathio hagues predica premierament en Judea, e volent trapassar a las gencz, fo lo primer loqual scris levangeli en hebraye . . .," &c.

On the thirty leaves of *paper*, at the end of this volume, are (1.) a list of passages to be read and meditated upon for every Sabbath and festival in the year; (2.) a chapter entitled, *De Sanctis*; (3.) a little commentary on the Beatitudes (Matt. v. 2-10), entitled, *De la oyt benaygranzas scriptas cum breveta*; (4.) a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer; (5.) an extract from the twenty-seventh chapter of *Numbers*, which terminates the volume.

4. VAUDOIS BIBLE OF DUBLIN. (Library of Trinity College, Class A, Shelf 4, No. 13, *ex Biblioth. Usarii*.) This manuscript is mentioned by LELONG in his *Bibliotheca sacra*, vol. i., art. 2, in the chapter on the Italian Bible. It, in many respects, resembles the Vaudois Bible of Grenoble, of which it is probably

¹ "This epistle," says M. E. Reuss, "exists only in Latin. The present Greek translation was made in the sixteenth century; however, it is probable that there was formerly a Greek original." (Letter of 9th July, 1850.)

a copy, for it contains exactly the same books, with prefaces to the Gospels and Epistles corresponding to the *prologs* above-mentioned. The following is the commencement of the preface to Saint Matthew in the Dublin manuscript: "PROLOGUS SANCTI JEROMI SECUNDUM MATTHEUM. Cum Matthio agues premierament predica lavangeli in Judea, volent trapassar a las gent, scriis premierament lavangeli en abraie," &c. Yet it does not necessarily follow that the one of these two manuscripts has been copied from the other. The date of that of Dublin is indicated at the end of the Book of Revelation, as follows: *Deo gras*, 1522. The whole MS. is in the same hand, very easily read, on vellum, in 4to, and in good preservation.

5. VAUDOIS BIBLE OF ZURICH. (Public Library, Codex MS. N. T. Valdensis, c. 169.) Lelong mentions this manuscript in the following terms: "Novum Testamentum, lingua pedemontana Vallensi, per Barbetum [a Barba or Barbet] quemdam, seu ministrum Valensem translatus. Codex, in-12; scriptus post annum MC." (*Bibliotheca sacra*, vol. i., p. 369.) This manuscript is upon vellum. I have no particular note of the books which it contains. Lelong's note seems to mention only those of the New Testament. None of these books has any introduction or preface, as in the Grenoble and Dublin manuscripts. The following is the beginning of the Gospel according to John, in the Zurich manuscript: "Lo filh era al comencament, e lo filh era enapres Dio, e Dio era lo filh. Aiczo era al comencament enapres Dio. Totas cosas son feitas per luy, e alcuna cosa non es feita senca luy. Czo que fo fait en luy era vita, e la vita era luz de li ome. E la luz luczie en las tenebras, e las tenebras non cumpreseron ley." (Gospel according to John, chap. i., vers. 1-5.)

6. VAUDOIS BIBLE OF AIX. (Indicated by Lelong, vol. i., p. 369.) Contains the four Gospels, the seven Canonical Epistles, the fourteen Epistles of St. Paul, also the Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs; the first ten chapters of the Book of Wisdom, and the first fifteen of Ecclesiasticus. The Grenoble manuscript also has only ten chapters of the Book of Wisdom, and fifteen of Ecclesiasticus. Lelong adds concerning the Aix manuscript:—"Codex spissus in-4to, integer, in quo nihil deest, in membranis a quadringentis annis circiter exaratus; at versio antiquior, sicut ad me scripsit dom. Thomas de Mazangue, filius senatoris Aquensis, penes quem extat hoc exemplar: quod usui Valdensibus fuisse, multis probari potest argumentis," &c.

There is also a description of this manuscript, by Remerville de St. Quentin, in the collection entitled, *Pièces fugitives d'histoire et de littérature*, Paris, 1704; second part, p. 270. Alexander Natalis likewise speaks of it in his *Vindex librorum deuterocanoniconum Veteris Testamenti*, &c. But he seems to think that the manuscript mentioned by Remerville, is not the same as that described by Lelong on the authority of Thomas de Mazangue.

7. VAUDOIS BIBLES OF PARIS. The libraries of this capital contain several Biblical manuscripts, which belong or have been ascribed to the Vaudois. Dr. Gilly, in the learned introduction prefixed to the Romance version of the Gospel according to John, published by him at London in 1848, has given a particular account of these manuscripts. I shall follow him rapidly in his examination of them.

A.—MS. No. 8086, of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, in Paris. This MS. is mentioned under the head, *Nouveau Testament en provençal*. It is on vellum, in small 4to, written in double columns, and has suffered much from time or use. The first leaf of the volume is marked as being properly the thirty-second. The Gospel of Matthew, and the commencement of that of Mark, seem to have been removed. It contains the following books:—St. Mark, from fol. 32 to fol. 48; St. Luke, fol. 48-72; St. John, 72-86; Acts, extending to the second page

of fol. 114; the Epistles of St. James, St. Peter, and St. John, which occupy fol. 114-126. Then come the Epistles of St. Paul, to fol. 182. They are followed by the Epistle to Philemon and that to the Hebrews, fol. 186-196; and the volume concludes with the Apocalypse, from the midst of which also some leaves have been removed. The first verses of the Gospel according to John, are in this volume as follows:—

"Lo filh era al comensament; el filh era am Dieu, el filh era Dieus. Aquest era al comensament am Dieu. Totas cauzas foron fachas per el: e nenguna causa non fou fach senz el; so che fou fach, era en lui vida: e la vida era lus dels homes."

I regard this MS. as belonging, by its language, to the class of Vaudois MSS.

B.—MSS. Nos. 6831-6833 of the same library. Three folio volumes, double-columned, containing the Old and New Testaments. This MS. is set down as a *Bible in Provençal*, but it had been formerly regarded as a *Catalan Bible*. (See Lelong, *Bibl. Sacra*, vol. i., p. 369.) It belonged to the library of Cardinal Mazarin. The first volume begins with Genesis, and ends with the Book of Job. The second begins with Proverbs, contains the Psalms and the Prophets, and ends with a short dissertation on St. Mark, as a transition to the third volume, which contains the New Testament.

The sheets of this MS. are of paper, mingled with vellum, and adorned with vignettes. It is said to belong to the fifteenth century.

A short preface, entitled, *prolog*, is placed at the head of a few of the books. There is none prefixed to the Gospel according to Matthew; but that which is prefixed to the Gospel according to John, has a great resemblance to the *prolog* which precedes the same book in the Dublin MS. Other parts of these little prologues resemble those contained in the Vaudois Bible of Grenoble.

The following is the commencement of the Gospel according to John, in our MS. No. 6833:—

"En lo comensament era paraula, e la paraula era ab Deu; e Deu era la paraula. Acso era en lo comensament ab Deu. Totes cosas son fetes per ell, e sens ell nenguna cosa non es fata."

The first volume of this work, which bears the number 6831, and which contains part of the Old Testament, commences thus:—

"En lo principio crea Deu lo ciel e la terra; hera vana e vuyda, e les tenebres heran sobre la fac del abis, e l'esperit de Deu era portat sobra les aigues."

In the Book of Job, it is to be remarked that the word Leviathan, is translated by *lo diabla*.

I believe this MS. also, upon account of its language, to belong to the class of Vaudois MSS.

C.—MS. of the same library, bearing the No. 7263^{2.3}, and known by the name of the *Bible of the Poor*. One vol. 4to, on vellum, written in double columns, with coloured initial letters, which have almost everywhere been taken away. This manuscript formerly belonged to the library of Colbert. It contains the following books:—(1.) Genesis; (2.) Exodus, which begins at fol. 30; (3.) Numbers, beginning at fol. 52—the first leaf of this book has been removed; (4.) Deuteronomy, beginning at fol. 76; (5.) Joshua, fol. 97; (6.) Judges, fol. 3; (7.) Ruth, fol. 125; (8.) The First Book of Kings, of which one leaf has been removed, fol. 128; (9.) The Second Book of Kings, fol. 145; (10.) The Third Book of Kings, fol. 161; (11.) The Fourth Book of Kings, fol. 179; (12.) Tobit, fol. 196; (13.) Judith, fol. 201; (14.) Esther, fol. 209; (15.) Job, fol. 216; (16.) Psalms, fol. 232. The initial letters are preserved in fol. 232, 241, 248, and 252. (17.) The Gospel according to St. Matthew, fol. 270; (18.)

Mark, fol. 290; (19.) Luke, fol. 306; (20.) John, fol. 330; (21.) Acts of the Apostles, fol. 348; (22.) The Epistle of St. James, fol. 368; (23.) The two Epistles of St. Peter, fol. 369. The last of these Epistles is incomplete; the end of the MS. has been torn, and is completely wanting.

Concerning this MS., M. Paulin-Paris, expresses himself in the following terms:—"This precious volume formerly belonged to James Augustus De Thou, whose signature may still be seen upon the first leaf The text is the most ancient that I know of the literal translation of the sacred books; this copy being as old as the earlier part of the thirteenth century The writing, the ink, and the dialect of the marginal notes, all combine to prove this. But it is not so easy to fix the date of the translation itself. Why should it not be as old as the twelfth century? May it not be that famous translation made by the Lyonnese, Stephen De Hansa, or D'Ansa, at the request of Peter Valdo, about 1170—a translation which was called the *Bible of the Poor*, because of the name which the Vaudois heretics affected? We have no positive proof, but it may be presumed that this French translation of the sacred books, undertaken for the first time under the auspices of Peter Valdo, is the same which was censured by Innocent III., about the year 1200, and the origin of which was unknown to that pontiff. A great number of writers of the thirteenth century, point it out as a book dangerous to read, and no other contemporary author of any similar translation is mentioned."¹ "I doubt not," he adds, in a subsequent place,² "that the MS., 7268²⁻², was executed in the diocese of Reims, or in that of Sens." "Ere we can acknowledge the existence of translations of the Bible anterior to this, in the vulgar tongue," he also says,³ "we must have evident proofs of it, which as yet we have not." M. Le Roux De Lincy⁴ has made us acquainted with several partial translations, which he regards as belonging to the twelfth century, but he acknowledges that the known manuscripts are not older than the century following.⁵—"Such is the translation of the four Books of Kings, preserved in the Mazarine Library, and in the Royal Library; the Psalms of Nos. 1152 bis, 278 Latin, and 7887 French; the Apocalypse, No. 7013," &c.⁶

Brief specimens of these various manuscripts will give a just idea of the language spoken in France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁷

First specimen, taken from Psalm xlii. [xlv]—*Dixit insipiens in corde suo, &c.*—"The fool hath said in his heart," &c.

I.—From MS. 7268²⁻², fol. 234.

"Cil qui estoit neant sages (*who has no wisdom*) dist en son cuer, Dex n'est pas. Il sont corrompu, et sont fet abhominable. Il n'est qui face bien, de si à un seul."

III.—MS. 6701.

"Li nient sage, dist en son quer (*cœur*); il n'y al Deu. Cil sont corruptz et faitz sont

II.—From MS. 6818², fol. . . .

"Cil qui estoit noient sage, dist en son cuer, Dieux n'est pas. Ilz sont corrompuz e leur fait abhominable; il n'est qui face bien de si à un seul."

IV.—MS. 6816².

"Le fol (*or he who lacks wisdom*) dit en son cuer, Dieu n'est pas: Ilz sont corrompus

¹ *Les manuscrits français de la bibliothèque du roi*, leur histoire et celle des textes allemands, anglais, hollandais, italiens, espagnols de la même collection; par A. PAULIN-PARIS de l'Académie royale des inscriptions et belles lettres, conservateur adjoint de la bibliothèque du roi. Section des manuscrits. Paris (Techner, Place de Louvre, 12), 1848. Vol. vii., pp. 185 and 188.

² *Id. ibid.*, p. 189.

³ *Id. ibid.*, p. 190.

⁴ *Introduction to his edition of the old translation of the Four Books of Kings*, Paris, 1841.

⁵ PAULIN-PARIS, vol. vii., p. 192.

⁶ *Id.*

⁷ These quotations are all extracted from the work of M. PAULIN-PARIS, above-named, vol. vii., pp. 194, 195.

abhominables. En leur estudes (*en leurs études*), il n'y a nul qui fait bien; il n'y ad nul, desques (*jusques*) à un." et sont fais abhominables en leurs estudes; il n'est qui face bien, jusques à ung seul."

Second specimen, taken from the First Psalm, as preserved in MS. 6818²:—

I.—MS. 6818².

"J'ai ma fiance en Nostre S. comant dites-vous à m'ame (*à ma ame*) trespasse en la montaigne moysnel. (*En moineau; like a sparrow.*) Pour ce vées ci les pecheurs, qui ont tendu leurs ars (*arcs*) et ont appareilliés leurs saietes, pour courre qu'il saietent caulx qui ont cuer droiturier, en lieu obscur."

II.—MS. 6818².

"J'ay ma fiance en Nostre Seigneur. Comment dictes vous a mon ame; trespasse la montaigne comme un moinel. Car vecy les pecheurs, qui ont tendu leur arc, et ont appareillie leurs saietes (*saïettes; arrows*) et leurs tarquois très forts, ad ce qu'il saietent (*pierce with arrows*) en bien oscur, ceux ont cuer droiturier."

Third specimen, same passage, from the *Bible of the Poor*, No. 7268²⁻².

"Ge ai ma fiance en Nostre Seignor. Coment dites vos a m'ame, trespasse en la montaigne comme moinel."

"Por ce veiz ci, les pecheors qui ont tendu lor arc, et ont appareillié lor saietes (*have prepared their arrows*) en lor coivre (*cuivre; quiver*) que ils saietent (*saïettent; pierce with arrows*) cels qui ont cuer droiturier, en lieu oscur."

I regret that I have not at hand one of the Vaudois MSS. already mentioned, that I might borrow from their translation a passage to be compared with those just quoted. But so many passages of these Vaudois MSS. have been already quoted in this *Bibliography*, and in the first chapter of the *Israel of the Alps*, that the reader may easily institute a satisfactory comparison between the dialects of these two classes of manuscripts. It results, I think, from this comparison, that the difference which exists between the Vaudois language and the French of the twelfth century, is still greater than that which distinguishes our present French from the French of that period. The Vaudois books, written in the primitive Romance tongue, do not, therefore, exhibit the Lyonnese idiom, which even then was the French dialect, or the Romance language in a secondary form; they cannot, therefore, have been written by inhabitants of Lyons; they are not, therefore, to be ascribed to disciples of Valdo: there were, therefore, in the Alps, Vaudois anterior to Valdo.

Dr. Gilly demonstrates, by many arguments, that this *Bible of the Poor* served as the basis of the translation of the Holy Scriptures, by Guiart Des Moulins, the MS. of which is also preserved in the National Library at Paris (No. 6830). I agree with him in thinking that the language of the MS. 7268²⁻² is not the ancient Romance tongue, and, consequently, that it is not to be classed amongst the Vaudois MSS.

D.—(1.) MS. endorsed No. 6, B. L. F., in the *Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, in Paris, and indicated by Dr. Gilly, in the first note of p. xlii. of his Introduction, as being, like the preceding MS., a translation of some books of the Bible, not into the Romance tongue, but into old French. This MS. is unknown to me.

(2.) MS. bearing the No. 6833³ in the National Library, indicated by the same author (p. lxxv.) as being an incomplete volume. It contains a portion of the books of the New Testament. At the end of it are the words—"Euthonius Satorra fecit iste liber anno a nativitate Domini MCCCCLXI." But Dr. Gilly believes it to be more ancient. He even seems inclined to believe that Reynerus (an author of the thirteenth century) was acquainted with this MS., or with an earlier MS., of which this is merely a copy. This opinion he rests upon the following correspondence:—Reynerus says that the Vaudois "corrupte Scripturam exponunt, ut est illud Johannis I, *In propria venit et sui non receperunt*,

ibi dicunt *sues* id est *porei* non receperunt" (*Biblioth. Patr.* iv., par. ii., p. 478); and in this MS. we read in the passage thus pointed out (John i. 11.)—"En les *sues* propres coses vench, e los *sues* non riberan aquell."

(3.) Dr. Gilly adduces also, on the authority of Raynouard, the following MSS. as belonging to the class of Vaudois MSS., or at least, of ancient MSS., in the Romance tongue:—An Abridgment of the Old and New Testaments, with pictures; National Libr., No. 2317 bis.—Abridged History of the Bible, entitled, *Bible en langue gascone*. Library of St. Genevieve, in Paris, endorsed A. F. 4, No. 32.—History of the Bible, described as *en provençal* (Rayn. vol. i., p. 605).—The book of Sydrac in the Romance tongue, and not in Spanish, as the title bears. National Library, *Fonds de Baluze*, No. 590.—*Naturas d'alcunas bestias*. Same Library, *Fond de La Valhère*, No. 14.—*Sermons en provençal*, *ibid.*, No. 3548.—A catechism in the same language (No. 808); and, finally, *Lo libre de vices e de vertutz*; a treatise which is also to be found in other Vaudois MSS., and which bears the No. 7693. It is to be wished that a careful comparison were made of these various MSS. with reference to the subject now before us.

8. PERRIN mentions (p. 57), "a New Testament on parchment, in the Vaudois tongue, very well written, although in a very ancient character;" and in the margin he adds, "*These books, and a number of others, were collected in the valley of Pragela.*" It has been supposed that this might be the copy now deposited in Dublin, or perhaps that of Grenoble. Vol. vi., in the division F of the ancient Vaudois MSS., deposited at Cambridge, contained a portion of the books of the New Testament, viz.:—*The Gospel according to St. Matthew*, and that *according to St. John*; the first chapter of *St. Luke*; the *Acts of the Apostles*; *six Epistles of St. Paul*; the eleventh chapter of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, and the two *Catholic Epistles of St. Peter*. This MS. is no longer to be found.

§ 3.—*Geneva MSS.*

MS. I., No. 43, of the Public Library.

This MS. is noted, by mistake, in several works, as No. 44. It is a large 16mo volume, written entirely upon a thick kind of paper, with the exception of the first leaf, which is parchment, and which contains forty-two lines in the Romance tongue, in beautiful black letter. (This leaf certainly belonged to another MS.) The MS., No. 43, is inclosed in a parchment cover, one side of which is extended and folds round, as is common in pocket books. Upon the back is a label affixed, with these words—*Vaudois Manuscript, believed to be of the fourteenth century.*

This MS. exhibits two very distinct parts: the first is in Latin, and occupies almost half the volume; the second is the Romance tongue, and fills up the rest. The following is a note of the different pieces which it contains:—

1. The forty-two lines of the first leaf. They are on the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

2. *The Apostles' Creed*, in Latin. Each of the articles of the Creed is specially attributed to a particular apostle; and there follows a quotation of the prophets, to show that all the events of the life of Jesus Christ had been predicted. This treatise occurs also in the Romance tongue in other MSS. The following is an extract from it, borrowed from Hahn, pp. 608–610:—

"San Peyre, apostol, pausé lo premier article, diczent . . . Sanct Thoma pause lo V, diczent: Descende a li enfern; to terez jor rexucite de la mort. Coma propheticze Ozea, diczent: O mort, yo serey la toa mort. Per aquest

deven creire que Yeshu Xrist descende a li enfern en apres la soa mort, per desliorar e trayre las armas de li sant paires (*to unbind and bring out the souls of the holy patriarchs*), e du tuit aquilh que morrión del commencement del mont, en fe e en speranza qu'ilh fossan salva. Car per lo pecca d' Adam, convenia que tuit, bons e mals, descendessan en lenfern; mas li bon, eran en bona e ferma speranza que lo filh de Dio li vengues liberar e salvar, coma era ista promes per li seo san prophetas."

3. *Glosa super symbolum Apostolorum*. This gloss was also written in the Romance tongue; and it is from the Romance text that Léger gives a partial translation (Part I., ch. viii., and Perrin, p. 197). The Romance text is to be found in the Dublin MS., Class C, Shelf 4, No. 17.

4. A treatise on almsgiving, entitled, *Elemosina*. It occurs in the Romance tongue in the Geneva MS., No. 209, and the Dublin MS., Class C, Shelf 5, No. 26.

5. *Expositio moralis orationis dominicalis*. A number of treatises upon this subject are still in existence in the Romance tongue, Léger, part I., ch. vii., and in a translated form, Perrin, p. 201, and Léger, p. 47.

6. *De summo pontifice*. This piece, which occupies only one page, differs very much from the usual tone of the Vaudois; it is full of violent and reproachful expressions, attesting the indignation which the conduct of the popes had at that period excited. These expressions, however, are not stronger than those of Dante and Petrarch on the same subject.

7. *Prophetia Hildegardis*.

8. *Versus magistrales*.

9. *De gaudiis Paradisi*. This last piece occupies only one page.

Such are the titles of the Latin treatises. The latter half of the volume is filled with edifying discourses in the Romance tongue, each entitled *Sermo*.

MS. II., No. 206.

Until 1825, this passed for a MS. in the Catalan language; and it is so marked in the catalogue. In that year I examined it, and ascertained and proved it to be a Vaudois MS. in the Romance tongue.

It is a small 12mo volume, containing 121 leaves of parchment, much blackened on the edges, like those of books which villagers have long kept in their chimney. It wants some leaves at the beginning and end. The first leaf, as well as those from the 16th to the 28th, have the margins deeply notched by oblique cuts, which, however, have not reached the text. Fol. 18 is torn out altogether, as well as three or four others, in different parts of the volume. The first fifteen or sixteen leaves are blotted with ink. This MS. is generally very difficult to read, because of the numerous abbreviations, although it is well written in black letter. The initial letters are adorned with red, green, and blue.

1. The first part of this MS. contains the book of the *Virtues*, thus headed, *Vertuez*; but the commencement of the treatise (the first six paragraphs) has disappeared, the first leaves of the volume having been torn out. The end of the sixth paragraph only occupies the four leaves which are now the first in the work. The Dublin MS., Class C, Shelf 5, No. 22, begins also with a treatise on the Virtues, entitled, *Liber vertutum*. It is there complete. See also Léger, Part I., p. 51.

¹ It would be interesting to compare this treatise with the *Sum of the Vices and Virtues*, by Brother LAURENT, of which there are a number of MS. copies in the National Library at Paris, Nos. 7018³, 7043², 7044, 7284, &c. It is a point which I have not been able to investigate.

2. In fol. 29, begins an article on *Compunction*, of which the first sentences are the following: "La componsion del oor es humilita de la perfeta naysencza, en lagrimas de la recordanza de li peca e de la temor del medici. Per lo peca es fait ardrament cant quest ardriment es recongta en grant superbia." Farther on appears this remarkable maxim, "La ley de liberta es laqual de la vita" (The law of liberty is that of life.)

3. After this treatise comes the *Epistle to the faithful* (Pistola fideli). At the top of a single page, it bears this title, *Pistola amicus* (Epistle of a friend, or to friends). Perrin speaks of an epistle with this title, at the bottom of p. 58. In our MS. it begins thus, "O frayres carissimes . . ." And the last words are "Donca o carissimes, sia curios d'eserquiar limal: tota mala parola non yessa de la vera boca; ma si alcuna bona . . ." The end is awanting, some leaves having been torn from the volume or misplaced. Hahn (pp. 623-626) has published an *Epistola amicus*, which is different from this.

4. At the top of the first leaf which comes after this, is inscribed the title *Isaya* (Isaiah).

5. *Jeremia*.

6. *Sermo*; occupying three leaves.

7. *Job*; occupying four leaves.

8. *Noczas* (Les *Noces*; the Marriage). The following are the first words of this piece:—"Totas cosas son aparelhas veni a las noczas, enayma es dit en san Matthio. 21. lo rey local fe noczas al sio filh, es dio payre, de la familia del qual son tuili fidel. Lo filh es lo nostre senhor Jeshu Xrist . . ." &c.

9. *Sermo*; occupying seven leaves.

10. Three other *sermons* (on Luke, Matthew, and Mark), occupying, altogether, nine leaves.

11. *Del judici* (Of the judgments); occupying seven leaves.

12. A *sermo* on *Joan*, occupying four leaves.

13. A treatise on *joys and pains*.

14. *Glosa pater noster*. A Vaudois commentary on the Lord's prayer is published by Léger, chap. vii. Another is to be found in Perrin, p. 201. There is a similar one in the Dublin MS., No. 7 of the Vaudois MSS. That of our MS. goes no farther than the fourth petition, and concludes thus, "La quarta cosa di qual nos deven mastigar aquest pan con devocion: le que nos lo deven rescobar en la boca del cor." The last leaves of the volume, which are awanting, contained the end of this *Gloss*.

This book is unusually difficult to read, because of the numerous abbreviations which it contains, and which produce a frequent running of the letters into one another, even between words which ought to be separate and distinct, whilst also the syllables of the same word are often disunited, and one part attached to the word preceding, another part to the word following. But this MS., 206, is indisputably proved to be a Vaudois MS.; (1.) by the language; (2.) by the sentiments; and (3.) by the fact that some of the treatises which it contains are also to be found in other Vaudois MSS., of which the origin is no way doubtful.

MS. III., No. 207.

Of all the Vaudois MSS., this is the best known, and has been most frequently quoted. It forms a small 18mo volume, bound in wood, covered with skin, written upon vellum, in fine black letter, and in the Romance tongue. It contains 165 leaves, not paged, and has neither gloss, nor preface, nor general title. I have mentioned in this section (§ 1, No. 6) the inscription

which it bears upon the first sheet, and which indicates all the books contained in it.

1. Commentary on the Song of Solomon, with this title, "Incipit prologus in secundo libro exponicionum canticon Salomona." It begins thus: "O karissimes, lo nostre cor non se mervella si una spia (*épi*, grain, particle,) da questas sentencias engenra moti grande parollas," &c. The following is a fragment, from near the end:—

"Yo, non penso mi haver compres totas cosas, ni aver script tota aquella sciencia, lalal si rescont encara en aquest libre. E empercezo laysant calquecal cosa remen al foc celestial."

"Donca, o legidor karissime, repausa te entre li baron de mira, cum lical hinta lo rey de gloria. Vejas cantas cosas son recoynta de lor meseymes, e cant bella es la ley del Segnor, e cant delectivol es studiar en ley."

I do not imagine that I have understood all the things, nor written out all the wisdom (knowledge) which is still hidden in this book. And therefore we leave some things to await the celestial fire (gracious illumination).

Therefore, O dearest reader, repose thou amongst those barons of distinction, with whom the King of glory dwells. Thou seest what things are recounted of them; and how excellent is the law of the Lord, and how delightful is the study of that law.

Notwithstanding all that the author has thus voluntarily suppressed, the commentary now being noticed is of very considerable length; it fills 221 pages (more than half of the volume), and concludes thus: "Enayma dis Ysaya li tio olh vean cum li just to sey en la soa belleza local vio e regna dio (*lequel vit et règne Dieu*, i.e., *étant Dieu*) cum lo payre e cum lo sant sperit, per tuit li segle de li segle. Amen."

2. A poem, entitled *The Bark*, indicated by these words, *Ayci commença la Barca* (in p. 222). This poem contains fifty-six stanzas of six lines each. (The fifteenth, however, seems to have only five, because the first and second have been written in one line through evident negligence of the copyist; the forty-eighth, on the contrary, contains seven lines instead of six; and stanzas eighteen and nineteen, forty and forty-one, fifty-five and fifty-six, are not separated from one another in this MS.) It is not until we reach the thirty-sixth stanza, that the course of man upon the earth is likened to the voyage of a bark advancing towards the harbour. The harbour is heaven, the passengers are men. What do they bring with them? All their works are defiled. Let the sinner acknowledge his errors, and let him accept for his pilot Jesus Christ alone, the merits of Christ for his only treasure; such is the conclusion of the poem. Raynouard (*Choix de poésies orig. des troub.*, vol. ii., *Monuments primitifs de la langue romane*), quotes four stanzas of this poem. Hahn gives it entire (*Geschichte der Waldenser*, pp. 560-570). I have quoted the first lines in this section (§ 1, No. 2).

3. *Lo novel Sermon*. A poem of 408 lines, divided into twenty-one paragraphs or sections of unequal length. This poem occupies seventeen pages of the manuscript. It has for its subject, an exposure of the deceitful vices of the age and the necessity of serving God. Raynouard quotes detached portions of it; Hahn publishes it entire, pp. 570-581. This poem commences thus:—

"O frayres karissimes, entende mon parlar. . . ."

and ends with the following lines:—

"Adonca li felhon seren mot engana,
Ma a tart conoisceren quilh auren mal obra.
Adonca sare fait cambi dun chascun istament:
Aquilh que han czay lo deleyt auren lay torment."

Ma li Serf dal Segnor que han czay tribulacion,
Auren lay eternal gloria e grant consolacion.
Benaure seren aquilh que seren de li perfeit,
Cant la sere compli lo nombre de li eleyt!
La poiscenza del payre et sapiencia del filh
Et la bonta del sant Sperit nos garde tuit
Denfern, e nos done Paradis. Amen."

Of these lines, the following is a translation: "Then the wicked shall be much deceived, but at last shall discover that they have done ill. Then shall there be interchange of every state; those who have chosen pleasures shall have torment; but the servants (serfs) of the Lord, who have chosen tribulations, shall have eternal glory and great consolation. Happy shall those be who shall be amongst the perfect, when the number of the elect shall be filled up! The power of the Father, and the wisdom of the Son, and the bounty of the Holy Spirit, keep us all from hell and give us Paradise. Amen."

4. *Le novel Confort*. A poem of 300 lines; consisting of seventy-five verses of four lines each. It wants one line in the fortieth stanza. A little red line separates the quatrains from one another in the manuscript, of which this poem occupies thirteen pages. Raynouard quotes eighteen verses of it, selected here and there; Hahn gives it complete (from p. 581 to p. 589). The poem has for its object to confirm the Christian in his detachment from the world, and to encourage him in seeking salvation by the gospel. The seventy-third verse, and the last verse, are as follows:—

"O car amic, leva vos del dormir!
Car vos non sabe lora que Xrist deo venir;
Velha tota via de cor en dio servir
Per istar en la gloria local non deo fenir
Venel e non attende a la noyt tenebrosa,
Local es mot secura, orribla e spavantosa;
Aquel que ven de noyt, ja lespos ni lesposa,
Non hubrire a luy la porta preciosa. Amen."

Translation: "O dear friends! arise from your slumber, for you know not the hour when Christ is to come. Watch continually to serve God heartily, that you may abide in glory which shall have no end.—Come! and await not the gloomy night, which is very dark, horrible, and fearful. He who comes in the night, neither the bridegroom nor the bride shall open to him the precious gate."

Raynouard thinks that this poem is of more recent origin than the others, because of the greater perfection of the verse.

5. *La nobla Leyczon*. A poem of 479 lines, having for its object to exhibit the three successive laws which God has given to the world—the natural law, the law of Moses, and the law of the gospel. This object is intimated in line 438. The first part extends from line 57 to line 138; the second, from line 138 to line 207; and the third, from line 207 to line 346. The poem concludes with a general recapitulation and pious exhortations. Morland, Raynouard, Plenderleath, Gilly, and Hahn, have published this poem entire. Léger gives only fragments of it. Part I., chap. iv. The date of this poem is fixed by the sixth line—

"Ben ha mil et cent ancs compli entierament."

Many writers deserving of consideration think that the date contained in this line is not to be taken as exact, but only as approximative; and that the poem should not be referred to the year 1100, but to about the year 1190, the

period when Valdo and his disciples are supposed to have come to the Vaudois valleys, either from Piedmont or from Dauphiny, and that, therefore, it is to be ascribed to the disciples of Valdo.

We are entitled to demand positive evidence in support of this opinion, which those who maintain it do not produce. I shall attempt to bring forward some evidence to the contrary. Let us suppose the *Nobla Leyczon* to have been composed, not in the year 1100, but in the year 1200; and let us see if it could be the work of the disciples of Valdo. This poem is in the Romance language: it was not the language of Lyons. (See the writings of that period in the vulgar tongue.) The disciples of Valdo left that city between 1180 and 1190.¹ Would they not require some years to acclimatize them in a new country, and is it to be supposed that in so short a time they could have learned a new language, so as to produce in it most perfect works—(most perfect for that time at least); and that amidst the difficulties of their settlement, they could have had leisure for the composition of a poem of such length? Could they immediately after their arrival in these mountains, exhibit the characters of extension already acquired, of firm establishment, tranquillity, and duration, which this poem ascribes to the *Vaudois*? It appears to me that an impartial mind will find much more difficulty in admitting all these things, *without evidence*, as those are obliged to do who maintain that the Vaudois are descended from Valdo—than in admitting that they were anterior to him, on the testimony of this work, dated in the year 1100, and of the authors of the twelfth century, whom we have quoted. (*Israel of the Alps*, part I., chap. i.)

The difficulty becomes an impossibility if we hold to the date of the *Nobla Leyczon* (and there is nothing to set it aside), or if we merely admit that it was composed before 1180; for nothing at that period can explain the production of it among the disciples of Valdo. The latter not only is not named in it, but there is not the least allusion which can be supposed to refer to him. This is not surprising, if the piece is anterior to him; but it would be very extraordinary if its composition was owing to his direct influence, and if it was produced by his disciples.

It is natural, indeed, to wish for precise information, that we may give a precise account of the origin of things, especially in history; and we cannot give a precise account of the origin of the Vaudois in an historic manner, except by connecting them with Valdo; but this, again, we cannot do except by hypotheses, that is, by uncertainties. To these laborious uncertainties, is it not rational to prefer the inevitable uncertainty which must reign over the origin of the Vaudois regarded as anterior to Valdo, on this very ground, that if their origin had been recent, it must have left traces? I repeat, there is a testimony to the existence of the Vaudois in the Alps anterior to Valdo; but it is disputed. There are only hypotheses to establish their descent from Valdo, and these hypotheses are also disputed. Accurate minds must at least desire that this question should be further studied: it is the part of a superficial or prejudiced erudition, I think, to consider it as decided in favour of the hypotheses.

The Vaudois are named in line 372 of the *Nobla Leyczon*:—

"Ilh diou qu' es Vaudes e degue de punir."

The poem concludes thus:—

¹ The *Chronique de Laon* (published by Bouquet, vol. xiii.) places Valdo in 1173. His doctrine was condemned in 1177, 1178, and 1179. It was not till 1183 or 1184 that he was expelled from Lyons; and his disciples did not probably all leave it on the same day.

"Plaza ha aquel Segnor que forme tot lo mont
Que nos siam de li celeit per istar en sa cort.
Dio gracias. Amen."

This work is followed in the MS. of which we speak, by two pages of moral sentences.—Not to prolong this article, I shall merely indicate the poems which follow, and which are also to be found in the Dublin MS., Class G, Shelf 5, No. 21. When we come to that MS., I shall accompany the mention of them with some details, as I have done with regard to the preceding poems.

6. *Lo Payre Eternal*. This poem is composed of 156 lines, divided into fifty-two verses of three lines each. These triplets are separated from each other in the Geneva MS. by a red line which joins the arabesques on the margin. There is a hiatus here and there. The first line of verse thirty-two contains in reality two lines, of which the first ends with the word *creant*, and the second with the word *ben*. The last line of this verse does not belong to it, and ought to be the first of a subsequent verse, which remains incomplete. This poem, which occupies five pages of MS., is simply a prayer in which are introduced many passages of the psalms of David. Raynouard thinks that it is of more recent date than the other Vaudois poems. (Letter of 6th April, 1833.) He quotes thirteen triplets of it, in the *Monuments primitifs de la langue romane*. (Choix des poésies originales des Troubadours, vol. ii., p. 117.) Hahn gives it entire (pp. 590–594). I quote some passages of it in the next §, vol. iv., No. 4.

7. *Lo despreczi del mont*. A poem on detachment from the world; occupying four pages of the manuscript, and consisting of 115 lines. Fragments of it are quoted by Raynouard (vol. ii., p. 121), and it is given entire by Hahn (pp. 594–597). A red line has been drawn after every two lines of the poem, between the distiches, in the Geneva MS., but on the first page only. For other particulars, see next §, concerning Dublin MS., vol. iv., No. 5.

8. *L'Avangeli de li quatre semenz*. (The gospel of the four seeds.) A poem on our Saviour's parable (Matt. xiii.) It occupies eleven pages of the MS., and contains 300 lines, divided into seventy-five quatrains.—Raynouard has published twenty-five quatrains (vol. ii., p. 126). Hahn gives it entire (pp. 598–604). The verses are separated in the MS. 207, by red lines which join the arabesques on the margins. See quotations from it in next §, on vol. iv., No. 2.

9. After this poem comes a treatise on Penitence, indicated by the words *La sensec de la penitencia*. (Here follows concerning penitence.) It occupies the last twenty-four pages of the MS., and is not complete, because some leaves are wanting at the end of the volume. This treatise contains an interesting passage on Confession, which occurs also in another Geneva MS. (No. 209, fol. 17) and in those of Dublin, Class C, Shelf 5, No. 22, and same series, No. 25, fol. 242.

MS. IV., No. 208.

This MS. is in small 8vo, written upon paper, and bearing upon the back this modern title, *Controverses vaudoises*. The leaves of this MS. are in very great disorder. That which occupies the first place, ought to be the seventeenth, and to find what precedes it, it is necessary to begin reading at fol. 14. Many other transpositions are also to be observed; they must have been the result of the ignorant handling of a modern binder.

The following are the pieces which this volume contains:—

1. Beginning at p. 29, we find a protest of the ancient Vaudois church against the innovations of the Church of Rome, under this title, *Circa la varieta de las cosas emergent*. (Concerning the variety of things which now present them-

selves.) The following are the first words of this grave and admirable manifesto:—

"A Lausor e gloria de l'eternal Dio comencament et fin de todas cosas, e refugi de tot esperant en si: emperco comencant de lui, nos preguen humilment la sua magnificencia que el ordene lo comencament daquesta nostra obra, e endreissa lo mecz, e perduca la fin, ha honor e gloria de lui meesynce, e de tota la cort celestial, e ha salu de tot fidel. Amen."

To the praise and glory of the eternal God, the beginning and end of all things, and refuge of all those who hope in him; therefore, commencing in him (or proceeding in him), we humbly entreat his magnificence, that he would order the commencement of this our work, and rectify the middle and perfect the end of it, to his own honour and glory, and of all the celestial court, and to the salvation of all believers. Amen.

These words are also to be found in the Dublin MS., Class C, Shelf 5, No. 22; in the second page of fol. 176, under the title, *Ayzi comencza lo prolic del libre apella THRESOR E LUME DE FE* (Treasure and light of faith. Quoted by Perrin, pp. 59, 201; Léger, p. 47, &c.) This preface or *prolic* is continued in the Geneva MS. (No. 208) as far as p. 32. This introduction has for its object to establish the Bible as the sole foundation of all authority in matters of faith.

2. *A statement of the Vaudois faith*, indicated by the words, *de li article de la fe*. To follow the order of the treatise, we must, after having read from p. 23 to p. 32, return to p. 1, and read without interruption twenty-seven consecutive pages, and then resume reading at fol. 17. These *Articles of Faith* are published by Hahn, from p. 605 to p. 608.

3. Then follows an *Exposition of the Apostles' Creed*, analogous to that spoken of as in No. 3 of MS. 47 of Geneva, the first in this §. Hahn publishes this piece, pp. 608–611.

4. *Des sept sacrements*, beginning at p. 17 and occupying nineteen pages of the manuscript. The articles are these, (1.) *Del baptismo*. (2.) *L'imposicion de li mans*. (3.) *Lo tercz sagrament es la communion del corps e del sang de Xrist*. This article occupies five pages, and ends with an &c. (4.) *Lo quart sagrament es la penitencia*. (MS. 209 bears that, *La ley de matrimoni es lo cart sagrament de la gleya*.) A part of the "Treatise on Penitence," which is found at the end of MS. 207 is the same with this. (5.) *Lo quint sagrament, es ordonament de preires e de diaques*. (6.) *Lo matrimoni*. (Placed in the fourth place in MS. 209.) (7.) *La honcion de li enferm* (the unction of the infirm). "These two sacraments are admitted," says M. Tron in a note, "but only in the simplicity of the evangelical institution; thus there is nothing of extreme unction, nothing of consecrated oil . . . &c." A part of this treatise of the sacraments is placed much farther on, and on account of the disordered condition of the MS., is intercalated in the midst of the work following.

5. *Exposition of the Ten Commandments*. This treatise seemingly occupies eighty-six pages of the MS., but twenty-two pages must be deducted, viz., pp. 30–52, which belong to the preceding work. This treatise enters into its subject at much greater length than the quotations given by Léger (p. 51), and Perrin (p. 182), under a similar title. It is probable that these authors quoted from the "Book of Virtues," and not from the *Thresor e lume de la fe*. The first two commandments are united together in one in MS. 208; but the tenth is divided into two, viz., IX., a prohibition of coveting moveable property, and X., a prohibition of coveting fixed property.

6. *A Treatise Of Penitence*, occupying eight pages of the MS. It is in part also to be found in MSS. 207 and 209, as well as at the end of 208. The treatise in MS. 209 is the same as that in 207, with the exception of a few

slight variations in the first lines. That which is contained in MS. 209, in the second part of this treatise, seems to be an abridgment of that which is found in MS. 207. The latter, however, wants the article entitled *penitencia exterior*. The copy of MS. 208 agrees with that of 209, except that all which relates to *la falsa penitencia* (the first part of the treatise) is wanting in the former, which, however, is much longer than the other two in what relates to *oracion*, under the head of *penitencia exterior*.

7. *Of fasting*; occupying nine pages of the MS. The object of this treatise is principally to prove that *bodily fasting* is of no value without *spiritual fasting*. This treatise, and the preceding, are united in MS. 209, under the title, *De la penitencia e del jumi*.

8. *A Commentary on the Lord's Prayer*; occupying eight pages of the MS. It appears also in the Dublin MS., Class C, Shelf 5, No. 22, fol. 230. The same commentary, with slight variations, is given by Léger (pp. 40-46), and copied by Hahn, pp. 697-701. A partial translation of another treatise, on the same subject, is given by Perrin, p. 47, and by Léger, p. 201.

9. *A Treatise Of Purgatory*; occupying forty-six pages of the MS., containing the treatise *Of the Invocation of Saints*, and that *De la potesta dona a li vicario de Xrist* (of the power given to the vicar of Christ). This last-mentioned work occupies twelve pages of the MS. Hahn has published a part of it, pp. 611-616. These different treatises are also to be found united in the book *Of Antichrist*. (Perrin, pp. 253-295; Léger, pp. 71-91.) After this treatise comes in the MS. 208, the sequel of the Exposition of the Ten Commandments, mentioned in No. 5 of this article.

10. *Ara sensec de la penitencia* (*Now follows Of Penitence*), as at the end of MS. 207. (See No. 6 in this article.) This treatise occupies thirty pages of the MS., and concludes the volume. The last words of it are the following:—"La deficion de la penitencia part en prima desplaissance e dolor del pecca, en la secunda temor de non recagir. Linconiens prima es abandonar li pecca comes e abandonnans plorar lor e degittar." "The sufficiency of penitence depends, in the first place, on a displeasure and sorrow for sin, and, in the second place, on a fear (attentive observation) not to fall into it again. The consequences are, first, an abandoning of sins committed, and in abandoning them—a deploring and rejecting of them." These last words, *lor e degittar*, are inclosed in a sort of scroll, made by the pen, with slight arabesques on both sides, and terminated by the figure of a hand with the forefinger stretched out.

MS. V., No. 209.

This MS. is in small 8vo, written on paper, in the Romance tongue, and in black letter. The binding is modern, and upon the back is the title, *Conseils des barbes*.

The leaves of this MS. are also in disorder, like those of *Codex 208*.—The commencement of the first page is to be found after the sixteenth, and that first page itself contains only the end of an article, of which the first part must be sought in fol. 20. Not having had time to note the proper place of all the leaves of this MS., I shall now indicate its contents according to the order in which they are at present placed.

Fol. 1.—The first leaf belongs, as has just been stated, to a work which has been placed farther on in the volume. It treats of heritages and the division of goods.

Fol. 3.—In fol. 3, begins *Pistoletta* (a little epistle), containing pious exhortations. It would seem that this fol. 3 ought to be the first in the volume.

Fol. 6.—*La ley del matrimoni* (of marriage). Marriage is designated the fourth sacrament of the church. The division of this treatise is extremely simple—(1.) Duties of the wife towards her husband (the husband is called *lo Baron*).—(2.) Duties of the husband towards his wife.—(3.) Of the two together towards their children; above all, says the MS., that *li filli, liqual nayson carnal, sian rendu a Dio spirital* (that the children who are born carnal may be made spiritual to God). Is not this the loftiest aim of education?

Fol. 7.—*Of justice*.—Here we find this recommendation: *Non avez recors al judici secular*. If you would be just, it is said, see that ye offer "Vos meseymes a Dio, con totas aquellas cosas que son vostras, amor e ajutori al proyme; a vos meseymes, sanctita; al amis, concordia; per lenemis, oracion devota; al rey . . . tribu," &c. In regard to the love of enemies, it is said, "I well know that you cannot attain to it of yourself, but call God to your aid, and he will put into your heart that love which he has had for us, who have so much offended him."

Fol. 8.—Detached thoughts, entitled, *Pensiers*.—It is from this piece that the thought is extracted which is quoted in the *Israel of the Alps*, part I., ch. i., note. It is to be found upon the second page of fol. 8, which corresponds to p. 16.

Fol. 11.—A treatise *Of Penitence*, which occurs also elsewhere. See No. 6 and No. 10 in the account of the preceding MS.—In fol. 17 is a piece, entitled, *La sancta confession*. The following is a brief extract:—"Aquilh que se volon confessar vocalment, ilhi dovon cerca preires sapient e discret e dot: car silhi recoraren a li mal preire, ilh seren plus engana que certifica." *Prayers, fasting, and almsgiving* are afterwards spoken of. This treatise is very long.

Fol. 21.—About the middle of p. 41, or of the first page of fol. 21, is this title written by itself in red ink. *Que cosa sia pecca* (What sin is). This new treatise is also of great length. The characters of *pride, envy, anger, luxury, sloth* (acedia), *avarice*, &c., are successively examined, with the remedies appropriate to them. The following is a brief specimen of the preliminary part:—"Lo es de saber (*il est à savoir*) que lo pecca mortal, a receopu lo nom de la mort, empercezo car el mortifica l'arma (*l'âme*). Trey pecca son apelha pecca capita, czo es principals de li quals li autre pecca prenen nayssament," &c. A few of these passages will be found extracted in chap. iv. of Perrin, p. 13, *et seq.*

Fol. 53.—*The Prayer of Manassch*.

Fol. 54.—*A Commentary on the Lord's Prayer*. "Glosa sobre *Pater Noster*." These last words being Latin, would seem to indicate that the Vaudois said the Lord's Prayer in that language. This commentary is published by Léger, pp. 40-46, and by Hahn, pp. 697-701. But the different petitions, or *requerencias*, are given by them in the same idiom as the commentary.

Fol. 77.—*De las quatre cosas que son avenir*. [Of the four things which are to come.] These four things are death, judgment, hell, and paradise. After this treatise three leaves of the MS. are left blank, viz., fol. 118, 119, and 120. From this last to the end of the volume (which ends with fol. 156), is occupied with the following treatise:—

Fol. 121.—*Vergier de consollacion*. This is one of the Vaudois books, the title of which has been most frequently cited, but it has never been published. It contains—

(1.) General remarks on the Divine law.

(2.) On human corruption.

(3.) An examination of different vices. (Part of what is said on this subject, has already occurred in the treatise above-mentioned: *Que cosa sia pecca*.) In

the article *De la Tentation*, heresy and heretics are spoken of. We cannot but desire to know what the Vaudois understood by these terms.

"Li hereges son dit quell coma errant de la verita. En ayma las vestimentas cuebron lo cors, en ayma las bonas obras cuebran larma de larege, e tollon las vestimentas de liqual ilh destruon li ben."

Heretics are so called as wandering from the truth. As garments cover the body, so do good works cover the soul of the heretic; and come in place of (take away) the garments of which they destroy the possession.

(4.) Faith, hope, and charity are spoken of. Charity, we are told, begins with the love of God; it renders us invulnerable by injuries of men, &c.

(5.) An examination and recommendation of different virtues.

(6.) A long article on Friendship; in which occurs a quotation from Aristotle.

(7.) Of prelates.—A very long article, pointing out the resemblance which they ought to bear to Jesus Christ.

(8.) Of preachers.—They ought to be the light of the world.

(9.) Of Divine chastisements, containing quotations from St. Isidore.

(10.) Of the fear and love of God.

(11.) Of the love of our neighbour, of almsgiving, &c.

(12.) Of penitence and contemplation. This last term is thus defined:—"Es sostracion de ment a Dio, cum desmentigancza de las cosas temporals." (It is the elevation of the soul to God, with forgetfulness of temporal things.)

(13.) Of the praises of the Lord.

(14.) Of perseverance, poverty, obedience, humility, and chastity. May the practice of these virtues, says the author in conclusion, "per tu, Segnor, e lo tio nom, sia a mi recreacion!"

This treatise, deficient in method, has evidently received the name of *Vergier de consollacion*, from analogy to an orchard (*verger*) in which all sorts of trees grow unrestrained, because of its pages filled with matters, various indeed, but all edifying. It would seem that to have entitled it, *Of the virtues and vices*, would better have made known its general character. I doubt if this treatise is complete. It contains a number of passages which are also to be found elsewhere; and a number which it is very difficult to read. A copy of the *Vergier de consollacion* occurs in the Dublin MS., vol. 7, No. 3. It would be desirable to have these two copies compared with one another.

MSS. which have disappeared.

Other MSS. besides these were deposited in the library of Geneva, by John Léger, in 1662. M. Gérard was then librarian. The receipt which he gave for these documents is inserted in the work of Léger, part I., ch. iii., p. 23. According to a letter of M. Raynouard (of 6th April, 1833), the greater part of these documents were sent to England, at the request of Cromwell; but as Cromwell died in 1658, and his son resigned the Protectorate in 1659, whilst these MSS. were not deposited at Geneva till 1662, it is impossible that this can have been the way in which they disappeared. Be it as it might, they are not now to be found in the library of that city.

Amongst these documents there was only one volume in the Romance tongue. It came from the valley of Pragela (Léger, p. 23). All the books which it contained are to be found in other MSS. still existing. The following is a note of them:—

1. *La nobla Leyezon*.—To be found in the Geneva MS., No. 207, and Dublin MS., vol. iv., No. 6. (Class C, Shelf 5, No. 21.)

2. *Lo purgatori soima*. (Of the invention of purgatory.) Dublin MS., vol. iii., No. 36. Published by Léger, p. 295, and by Perrin, p. 93.

3. *De li tramettament*. (Of traditions.) Was to be found in the Cambridge MS., No. vi., t. i. (Indicated by Morland, pp. 95-98, and by Léger, pp. 21-23.)

4. *De l'invocassion de li sant*. (Of the invocation of the saints.) Dublin MS., vol. iii., No. 57. (Class C, Shelf 5, No. 22.)

5. *Lo novel confort*.—Geneva MS. 207; and Dublin MS., vol. iv., No. 1.

6. *Lo Dottor*. (*The Teacher*, containing sentences from the fathers of the church, on *Repentance*.) Cambridge, vol. ii., No. 3.

7. *Glosa Pater Noster*.—Cambridge, vol. ii., No. 1; Dublin, vol. vii., No. 2; Geneva, MS. No. 43, § 3, and No. 209, fol. 54, also No. 206.

8. *Glosa simbolum apostolorum*.—Geneva, MS. 43, No. 3.

9. *Explication of the Ten Commandments*.—Geneva, MS. 208, No. 5.

10. Various sermons, or discourses of no great length, on different Scripture subjects. Dublin MSS., vol. iii., fol. 11-17, and fol. 348-368.

These different treatises, of a MS. incontestably of Vaudois origin, being found scattered throughout all the MSS. which bear the general name of *Vaudois manuscripts*, although an attempt has been made to dispute the claim of the Vaudois to them, establish that claim so that it can no longer be set aside.

§ 4.—Dublin MSS. (Library of Trinity College.)

These MSS. were derived from the library of Usher (in Latin, *Usserius*) the celebrated author and Church of England divine, who was born at Dublin in 1580, became Bishop of Meath in 1620, and Archbishop of Armagh in 1626, and died in 1655. The Vaudois MSS., deposited in Cambridge by Morland in 1658, and which have never since been to be found, were not in England at so early a date as those of Usher which still exist in Dublin.

Volume I.

(Class A, Shelf 4, No. 13.) *Vaudois Bible*.—I have already given an account of this MS. in the present section, in No. 4 of § 2, entitled, *Biblical MSS.*

Volume II.

(Class C, Shelf 5, No. 18.) This MS. is known by the name of the *Manuscript of George Morel*. It is a volume of paper, six inches in length, by four inches and a half in breadth. It contains a collection of letters and other documents relative to the mission of George Morel and Peter Masson, to the Reformers on behalf of the Vaudois in 1530.

The following is an account of its contents, *seriatim*, according to a letter of Dr. Todd, inserted in the *British Magazine*, No. cxiii., p. 397.

1. At p. 1 is a letter of the Vaudois to *Æcolampadius*, commencing thus—"Salve mi Domine Æcolampadie. Pero aczo que tu dones conselh a nos, e confermes nos frevolis, anne lo present eord^e loqual es entre d' nos ministres. Car moti racontant . . .," &c.—The remainder as in Perrin, p. 211. This letter occupies only one page.

2. Pp. 2-5.—*Reply of Æcolampadius*. Perrin, p. 46, and Léger, p. 105. (A letter of much greater length, but commencing in the same way, is published in the *Epistolæ virorum doctorum*, edited by BIBLIANDER. Basle, 1548, p. 2.)

3. P. 5, *Epistola ad Bucerum*.

4. Bucer's Reply. Perrin, p. 47.

5. *De ministrorum ritibus*. Published by Schultet, an. 1530,—Von der Hardt, *Par. v.*, p. 161. In the Dublin MS., in pp. 8, 10, 25, 31, &c., there

are words, and even entire sentences, erased by a modern hand. In some places there are words written in, which were not there originally. The words and sentences, erased in the MS., are omitted by Perrin, and the changes made by a modern hand are adopted by him.

The portion of the MS. which treats *de ministrorum ritibus*, extends as far as p. 116. Each particular is made the subject of a question (*peticio*), after which follows the reply of Ecolampadius or of Bucer. It is in *peticio* xii. that the Confession of Faith occurs, which so very strikingly resembles that published by Léger, p. 92. Perrin also, who was the first to publish it, says it is extracted from the *Memoires de Georges Morel* (the very MS. in question), as well as the *Almanack spiritual*. (P. I., ch. xii., marginal note, p. 79.)

In p. 56, this question occurs—"Qual cosa se deo entendre par las claus dona a sant Peyre?" The reply of Ecolampadius is identical with the paragraphs *de clavibus ecclesie*, which are to be found in the *Epistolæ doctorum virorum*, p. 4. *Peticio* xxiii. is in these terms—"Item, si tot jurament es defendu," &c.

6. P. 116. *Letter of Ecolampadius*, of which a copy appears in the *Epistolæ doct. vir.*, p. 8.

7. *Letter of Bucer*, dated *anno salutis* 1530.

8. P. 118. Report of the proceedings of the Synod held at Angrogna, 12th Sept., 1532. (See the *Israel of the Alps*, vol. i., ch. vii.) This piece also exhibits erasures. It is supposed that this is the same MS. which Perrin had in his hands, and which he quotes under the title of the *Book*, or *Memoirs of George Morel and Peter Masson* (pp. 46, 106, &c.), because the passages quoted by him exactly correspond with those of the existing MS.

Volume III.

(Class C, Shelf 5, No. 22). Not having before me any exact account of this MS., and not having myself seen it, I can do no more than indicate the subjects which are treated in it.

1. In p. 1, is a little calendar of the church.

2. P. 2—p. 156. *The Book of the Virtues* (*Liber Vertutum*), occupying 77 leaves.

3. *A treatise on education*, contained in fol. 78–83, *de l'enseignement de li filh*; and from fol. 83–85, *de las garda de las filhas*.

4. *A treatise on marriage*, beginning thus—"Ayczi vollen parlar del matrimoni, a confort de li bon." This treatise extends from fol. 85 to fol. 91.

5. *On dreams*. (De li soyme). Fol. 91–94.

6. *Ayczi vollen parlar de li pecca de la lenga*. This treats of evil-speaking, calumny, false judgments, &c. Fol. 94–118. It is to be found in part in the Geneva MS. 209, fol. 51–53.

7. *De la superbia* (Of pride). Fol. 118–139.

8. *La parolla de Dio*. Fol. 139–145.

9. *De li perillh*. Occupying only the first page of fol. 145.

10. *Iot don noble* (Eight eminent graces), or *Tot don noble* (All eminent grace). Between these two versions the general scope of the piece and the view of the MS. alone can decide. This treatise occupies only two pages.

11. Seven *sermons*, occupying fol. 146–167 of the MS. The following are the first words of each, by which they may be recognized:—(1.) "Aquilh que fameian . . ."—*Those who are hungry*. (2.) "O Seignor, tu me pocz mondar si tu voles"—*O Lord, thou canst make me clean, if thou wilt*. This is to be found also in No. 13 of vol. vi. of this series. (3.) "Sermo d' Erodiana." *On Herodias*; the death of John the Baptist. (4.) "De la parollas auciosas"—

Of idle words. (5.) *Li parlar de li filosofe*—*The sayings of the philosophers*. (6.) "Vevos un filh mort unial de la sua mayra"—*The death of the only Son*. (7.) "Sermo de las noczas"—*Sermon on the marriage feast* (the introduction of the elect into the kingdom of God). A few pages on the same subject are to be found in the Geneva MS., No. 206.

12. Various fragments, of which some are also to be found in the *Liber vertutum*. They extend from fol. 167 to 175. They are (1.) "De la ubrieta"—*Of drunkenness*. (2.) "Luxuria." (3.) "De la familiarita de las fennas." (4.) "De la honesta"—*Of modesty*. (5.) "De la sapiencia de Dio." (6.) "Angel . . ."—(The angel . . .). (7.) "La considération de la brevita de la vita."—*Considerations on the shortness of life*. (8.) "De li parlar dalcuns doctors." (9.) "Al enferm . . ." (10.) *De la ben del paradis*. (These fragments, (9.) and (10.), are two parts of the same piece.) (11.) "De la Cristianita."

13. "Trésor e lume de fe." This important treatise extends from fol. 176 to 271. It contains (1.) the remarkable introduction already noticed in the Geneva MS., No. 208, fol. 15. It is indicated in the Dublin MS. by these words—"Ayczi commence lo prolic del libre appella TRÉSOR E LUME DE FE." This introduction extends from fol. 176 to 179. (2.) "Lo simbole d'Anastais." (3.) "De li articles de la fe." (4.) "Li sept sacrament," occupying 16 pages. (5.) "Li commandament de Dio," occupying 33 pages. (6.) "Tracta del oracion," 23 pages. (7.) "De la penitencia," 78 pages. (Concerning this last piece, see No. 6 of Geneva MS. 208.)

14. In fol. 271, we read—"Ayczi comencan LAS TRIBULACIONES." This treatise occupies 13 pages. Published by Léger, part i., ch. vi., p. 35, and by Hahn, pp. 692–696.

15. "LAS INTERROGACIONES MENORS."—This is the little catechism which Perrin (p. 157) and Léger (p. 58) have published, as of date A.D. 1100. There is no Vaudois book which has been so often reprinted. Koecher, Monastier, Dieterici, Brez, Hahn, and others, have given it in their works. It has also been separately printed in Edinburgh.

16. Two fragments: "De li bal" (fol. 292–297) and "De la Taverna" (fol. 297, 298). These passages have been published. They are very severe against *balls and public houses*.

17. The Apostles' Creed; occupying the first page of fol. 298.

18. "Alcuns testimoni del Apocalis," from the second page of fol. 298 to the end of fol. 299.

19. "De li VIII. pensiers;" occupying page 600, or the first page of fol. 300.

20. "De las quatre cosas que son a venir." These four things are death, judgment, hell, and paradise. From fol. 301–304, where commences "Del alegrecza de li Salva," which extends to fol. 334.

21. Fragments, similar to some which occur in the *BOOK OF VIRTUES*. (1.) "Del pecca de la desubidienza;" fol. 337–341. (2.) "De la venianca"—*Of vengeance*; occupying four pages. (4.) "De la desesperacion"—*Of despair*; occupying five pages. (5.) "Lo fellon abandonne la soa via"—*Let the wicked forsake his ways*; occupying two pages.

22. *Sermons*. These pieces are six in number. (1.) "De lo mesquin." (2.) "En aquella contra de Bethlem eran pastores . . ." (3.) "Yeshu dis a li seo discipules . . ." (4.) "Johan deczia al poble." (5.) "Jeshu montant en la nauta . . ." (into the boat). (6.) "Lo fantin Jeshu . . ." (the infant Jesus . . ., &c.) These six sermons extend from fol. 348 to fol. 373.

23. "Del Purgatori"—*A treatise Of Purgatory*, extending from fol. 373 to

385, and containing "*De la convocation de li sant*," fol. 378-383, and *De l'absolution*," fol. 383-385.

24. A Sermon, commencing thus—"O Frayres! sabent aquest tempo, car hora es ja a nos levar del sopn . . ." (from sleep), concludes the volume in fol. 389.

Volume IV.

(Class C, shelf 5, No. 21.) This volume contains the same poems in the Romance tongue which are in the Geneva MS. 207; but in a different order.

1. LO NOVEL CONFORT. I have quoted the last two verses of it in the preceding § (MS. iii., No. 4); M. Monastier gives a passage of considerable length (vol. ii., pp. 278-282) borrowed from the work of Raynouard. There are some variations which would require to be further examined. The following, for example, presents itself in the second line of the third verse:—

"Tota la vostra vita es un petit dormir;
Et dorment vos soyma un soyme de placzir . . ." &c.

"And in your sleep your dreams are all of pleasure . . ." The length of this poem and its principal characteristics, have been indicated in the section above referred to.

2. LAVANGELI DE LI IV SEMENCZ. A poem on the Parable of the Sower. One of the most remarkable of the ancient Vaudois poems, and, perhaps, that which best shows how thoroughly the Vaudois had apprehended the moral import of the Scriptures. (See MS. 207, No. 8, in the preceding §.) It contains also very valuable notices of the different classes of Christians (corresponding to the different classes of the *seed*) as they appeared at that epoch. There are those who at first receive the Word of God with eagerness—

"E de present qu'ilh senton la persegucion,
Un poc d'espavament o de tribulacion.
Ilh renean e laysan la predicacion
Lacal ilh scoutavan con tanta devocion" (verse 15).

Time has not, in this respect, changed the heart of man; but the obstacles are no longer the same.—The tares which grow with the good grain, represent the enemies of the kingdom of God—

"Czo, son li filh fellon, plen de tota malicia;
De persegre li just han mota cubiticia:"

it is said in verse 65, and in the next verse—

"Ma li just son ferm; en Xrist han lor confort . . ."

Accordingly, this strength does not fail them (verse 67)—

"Empercoz temon Dio, gardant se de mal far,
La ley del Segnor s'efforcan de gardar;
E totas adversitas en paciencia portar
Entro que sia vengu lo temp del meisonar."

It has been previously said (verses 39 and 40)—

"Mot son pacific, human e ben suffrent;
Non se volon deffendre, non son mal respondent,
Mas portan en paciencia greo cosas entra la gent;
Empercoz son apella filh de Dio tot poysent."

"Tribulacions suffron e persegucion grant;
Son tormenta e audis e en grant carcer istant;
Per czo son plen de temor e de grant spavant;
Sovent d'un lusc en autre fuon transfugant . . ."

Such was the condition of Christians at that time, such was the condition of the Vaudois, in the midst of their adversaries—

"Que volon devorar lo tropellet petit
Del cal es bon pastor lo segnor Jeshu Xrist" (verse 8).

And it is especially worthy of notice, how it is afterwards said of this little flock, or church of persecuted believers—

"Aquesta es la sancta Gleysa, recebent confidancia
La parolla de Xrist e la soa amonestancia" (verse 47).

"Molher es de l'agnel e dicta la soa sposa
Humil e casta, e vio mot vertuosa" (verse 60).

It could scarcely have been more decidedly intimated that the Vaudois regarded themselves as the Church.

3. LA BARCA. A poem, already mentioned, and an account given of it, in article ii. of the Geneva MS., No. 207.

4. LO PAYRE ETERNAL. (See No. 6 of the same MS.) This poem is a prayer, addressed successively to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, and then to the *fortissima Trenita*. I give the following verses as specimens of it:—

"O primiera cayson senca defalhiment,
Fin sies de totas cosas, senca comencament:
Mostra me la toa facia alegre e resplendent!"

"Consolador dreiturier, sant e prencipal,
Purifica la mia arma d'tot pecca mortal,
Planta hi las vertucz, e dereycza li venial!"

"Segnor segnorizant de las tres girarchias,
E de la gleisa triumphant que ufere a tu Messias,
Prego te, fay nos esser d'aquellas compagnias!"

"Conselhador fidel, merevilhos e fort,
Conselha lo tio poble, qu'es tormenta a tort,
Que habandone aquest mont per venir al tio ort."

The word *ort* literally signifies *garden*, and metaphorically *Paradise*.—These four triplets are the 18th, 19th, 21st, and 37th of the poem. I cannot here give a complete translation of these passages, because of the little room which now remains to me within the limits assigned to this Bibliography.

5. A poem which bears no title in the MS. of Dublin, but which is the same with that which, in the Geneva MS., is entitled, "*Lo despreczi del mont*." (See MS. 207, No. 7.) This poem (judging from the Geneva MS., which alone I have seen) does not appear to me to have been completed, for in the 95th line, the subject is stated in these terms:—

"Lonor del mont yo te volh recontar . . ."

And twenty lines after, the author unexpectedly comes to a close, the sense being interrupted—

"Aquel non ista segur, ni mot ben alloga
Local po esser de la mort subitament arappa."

It is evident that the subject is not exhibited in the manner promised at the beginning; and the formula, with which most of the other Vaudois poems conclude, being omitted in this, seems also to indicate that it has been broken off in the middle. I proceed to quote a few lines:—

"Las cosas terrenals totas venon a nient;"

(Earthly things all come to nothing.)—With what wilt thou redeem thyself, when Death comes to slay thee? For Death will acknowledge no paction nor agreement . . . , &c.

"De cal te reconprare cant la mort te aucire?
Car pat ni convenenca la mort non recebre;
L'or ni l'argent non te secorrare,
Ni preguiera d'amic non te desliorare
Al dia de la besogna, cant l'arma perire."

(In the day of need, when the soul shall perish.)—There is no trust to be placed, says the Vaudois author, in any of this world's possessions.

"Ni en torre, ni en palays, ni en grant maysonament,
Ni en tantas, ni en convilis, ni en li grant manjament,
Ni en ly leyt honorivol, ni en li bel parament,
Ni en vestimentas claras e fortment resplandent;
Ni en grecz de bestias, ni en lavor de moti camp . . . , &c."

The enumeration of the things of which the men of that time were proud, might, with some study, aid to determine the period at which the poem was composed.

6. LA NOBLA LETCZON. (See a particular account of it, in the preceding §, MS. 207, No. 5.)

7. LO NOVEL SERMON. (See the preceding §; MS. 207, No. 3.)

8. SERMON, in prose, entitled, *Del Mesquin*.

9. The original of a fragment, of which Perrin (p. 178) and Léger (p. 57) have given the translation, under the title of *CONFESSION OF SINS of the ancient Vaudois*. These two authors publish it as being in prose; this fragment is also written as prose in the Dublin MS. The Rev. Dr. Gilly having had the kindness to send me a copy, I perceived that it was in verse; and that this was to be added to the number of the ancient Vaudois poems already known, although Perrin and Léger themselves do not seem to have been aware of it. I procured the publication of this fragment in the *Echo des Vallées*, first year, No. 10, pp. 154–159, with a very exact translation, executed by M. Meille. The following are a few lines of it:—

"Segnor perdona me, per la toa bointa!
Temeros soy a far ben, e fortment pereczos
E ardi a far lo mal e mot evananczos.
Segnor, dona me gracia, que non sia de li fellon . . .
Hayas marci da mi e dona me humilita . . .
Segnor Dio, tu sabes to czo que yo hay confessa,
Encara hi a moti mal que yo non hay reconta . . . , &c."

In the inequality of the measure, and the simple assonance of the rhymes, these verses bear the marks of high antiquity. This must be regarded as one of the most ancient Vaudois poems which has come down to us.

10. "De las proprietas de las animanczas." A didactic treatise, containing examples and lessons, derived from the habits of different animals. This treatise was in the ancient Vaudois MSS. deposited at Cambridge, and now lost, in vol. i., Div. A, No. 2.

11. "Ayczi comenza algunas sposicions sobre alguns passages de S. Matth." Such is the title of the last work in this volume. That it contains a piece in verse written as prose, is sufficient proof that this MS. is merely a copy made at a time very remote from the time when what is contained in it was composed.

Volume V.

(Class C, Shelf 5, No. 25.) This volume begins with a fragment, which in some other volumes forms part of the "Treatise on Antichrist."

1. "Ayczo es la causa del despartiment de la Gleysa roman." In most of the collations hitherto published, we read *del NOSTRO despartiment* . . . , &c.

2. "Joachim Camerarius," in narratione historica "de Ecclesiis Fratrum in Bohemia et Moravia." Camerarius having lived in the sixteenth century, the MS. which contains his work must necessarily be of a very recent date. But the presence of this work in a Vaudois MS. shows the interest which the Vaudois took in the *Bohemian Brethren*, and in some measure attests the relation which subsisted between them.

3. "La Epistola al serenissimo rey Lancelau." This piece, if it were published, would perhaps be of a nature to throw more light on the relations of the Vaudois with Bohemia. With it this volume terminates. The work of Camerarius occupies the greater part of the volume.

Volume VI.

I can only mention the first few words of each of the treatises which this volume contains.

1. "A Isach. se tu despartires la preciosa cosa de la vil"—(If thou separate the precious things from the vile)

2. "De las vertucz theologals."—(Of the theological virtues.)

3. "L'beneuranczas."—(The Beatitudes.)

4. "Oyt cosas son que nos deven pensar per chascun dia."—(There are eight things of which we ought to think every day.)

5. "Cant tu seres envida a las noczas"—(When thou art invited to the marriage feast)

6. "Jo entendo d'dire cal cosa matrimoni"—(I propose to say what marriage is.)

7. "Li filh lical naison a li payrans carnals"—(The children who are born to their parents carnal) Compare with an analogous passage, noticed in this Bibliography, in art. vi. of the Geneva MS., No. 209.

8. "Del pecca de la desubidienca."—(Of the sin of disobedience.) These last four fragments are probably parts of the same treatise.

9. Sermon. "En aquel temp Herode fey pilhar e ligar e encarcerar Johan Baptista."—(At this time Herod caused John the Baptist to be seized, bound, and cast into prison.)

10. "Nos vesen esser na tres greo perilh."—(We see that three great perils are produced.)

11. "Donca nos mesquins, perque tarden de ben far."—(Why then, poor creatures that we are, do we defer to do right?)

12. "Lo felhon abandone la soa via."—(Let the wicked forsake his way.)

13. "O segnor tu me pocz mondar si tu voles."—(O Lord, if thou wilt thou canst make me clean.)

14. "Tu sies sol pelegrin in Jerusalem."—(Thou art the only pilgrim towards Jerusalem.)

15. "Lo fantin Jeshu."—(The infant Jesus.) "Lo teo payre e io dolent querian tu."—(Thy father is now afflicted and seeks thee, or rather: It is I thy father who seek thee sorrowful.) "En aquellas contra te Belem, eran pastors

¹ If it were not that Dr. Muston's familiarity with the Romance tongue is so great, and

. . . (In that country of Bethlehem, were there shepherds . . .)—“E cum Jesu fossa na en Bellem . . .”—(And when Jesus was born at Bethlehem . . .) “En aquel temp zoes li savi atroba e adora lo fantin.”—(At this time came the wise men, to find and adore the child.) I have joined these five fragments under the same number, because they appear to belong to one piece. They were in part contained also in the ancient Vaudois MSS. deposited at Cambridge, vol. . . . Div. B, No. 21.

16. “Li teo olh vean dreytas cosas.”—(Thine eyes shall behold right things.)

17. “De li bal.”—(Of balls.) “De la Taverna.”—(Of taverns.) “De la Benianca.”—(Of Benevolence.) “De la Desperacion.”—(Of Despair.) “Yo non volh la mort del peccador . . .”—(I desire not the death of the sinner.) It appears to me that these five fragments ought to be connected with a discourse on *Conversion*, which follows them.

18. “De las parollas auciosas.”—(A sermon on idle words.) This was also contained in the second volume of the Vaudois MSS. of Cambridge, No. 19.

19. “Yot don noble.”—(Eight eminent gifts.) Perhaps this ought to be *Tot don noble*: Every elevated quality, &c. . . . In the MS. above-mentioned, there is a treatise concerning the *Seven Gifts of the Spirit*, which recalls the treatise of Stephen De Borbonne, *De septem donis Spiritus sancti*, founded upon Isa. ii., and a treatise on the *six things honourable in this world*, Nos. 15 and 19.

20. Two treatises *sobre lusura* (on usury).

21. Paraphrase, “Jeshu fo mena del esprit al desert, qu’ilh fossu tempta del diavol . . .”—(Jesus was led of the Spirit into the wilderness, to be tempted of the Devil.)

22. Three sermons, one of which is entitled, “Lo bon pastor.”—(The good Shepherd.) The second begins with these words, “Petit e non verre mi e dereczo petit e veyre mi.”—(A little while and ye shall not see me, and again a little while and ye shall see me.) And the third begins with the words, “La fenna cant ilh aperturis a tristicia, car lora de ley yo soy conspira al fane” (Job xxx.) The last five words of this sentence must have been inaccurately copied.

23. A treatise *de la penitencia*, already noticed elsewhere.

24. Six sermons commencing thus: (1.) “Cant vos devian del judici avenador . . .” (2.) “Yo fameiey (I have been hungry) a vos non doner a mi a maniar . . .” (3.) “E vevos fenna Cananea yssic daquellas encontras . . .”—(And behold a woman of Canaan came out of these countries . . .) (4.) “O segnor, filh de David merceneia de mi.”—(Have mercy on me.) (5.) “Vevos aqual que semenava . . .”—(Behold he who sowed . . .)

25. “A Isach, Crisostomo di, Tota la gloria de Dio e tota la salu de li ome es pausa en la mort d’Xrist.”—(All the glory of God, and all the salvation of men, rests upon the death of Christ.)

Volume VII.

(Class G, Shelf 4, No. 17.) Entitled: “Waldensium tractatus tres, veteri lingua Britannica conscriptæ.” I know not on what ground it could be supposed that this volume was written in the ancient Breton language; the treatises which it contains are in the Romance language, and are elsewhere to be met with amongst other Vaudois MSS.

that I can scarcely pretend even to a slight acquaintance with it, I would suppose this to be from Luke ii. 48, and the translation to be, “Thy Father and I have sought thee sorrowing.”—TRANSLATOR.

These three treatises are—

1. GLOSA SOBRE LO PATER NOSTER. Occurs also in the Geneva MSS., Nos. 206, 209, and 43.

2. DE LA QUATRE COSAS QUE SON AVENIR. Occurs also in the Geneva MS., No. 209, fol. 77. The subject of it is indicated in these terms, “Lo es dentendre dun chascun dias que quatre cosas son avenir; czo es asaber: la mort, lo jorn del iuiament, las penas eternalas, li goy de paradis.” (It is every day to be recollected that there are four things to come, viz., death, the day of judgment, the eternal pains, and the joys of paradise.)

3. VERGIER DE CONSOLACION. Frequently referred to by Perrin and Léger. It is to be found also in the Geneva MS., No. 209, at the end of the volume, of which this treatise occupies the last seventy-two pages. In this treatise it is said of *faith, hope, and charity*—

“La fe endreyca al sobeiran ben, en crescent e consentent lo ver mediant”

Faith guides us (puts us in the right way) to the sovereign good, making us to grow and to consent to the true Mediator.

“L’esperanca endreicza en resemlhant e ecompeitant las plus autas cosas, mediant lasquals larma se espert . . . es fianca de li ben avenadors, per la gracia de dio e per la bona conscientia.”

Hope elevates us (puts us in the right way), assimilating us to, and making us to compete for the highest things, by means of which the soul is encouraged. . . . It is the confidence of good things to come (to be obtained) through the grace of God and through a good conscience.

“Carita . . . es lamor de dio e del proyme. La carita donna liberta de griesta; la temon sent lo lavor, non regarda lo merit.”

Charity . . . is the love of God and of our neighbour. Charity gives exemption from the injuries (of self-love); fear (or the solicitude which arises from love) neither feels labour nor regards merit.

See the present section of this *Bibliography*, § 3, MS. 5.

Volume VIII.

(Relating to the inhabitants of Frayssinières.) (Class C, Shelf 4, No. 18.) Entitled, *Valdenseia documenta*, and containing—

1. “Poursuites dirigées,” &c.—Prosecutions instituted in 1497, by the Archbishop of Embrun, against some of the inhabitants of Frayssinières.

2. “Sentence contre . . .,” &c.—Sentence against Peter Valois of Frayssinières.

3. “Note sur les événements,” &c.—Note on the historic events of 1488. (Crusade of Innocent VIII.)

4. “Tractatus, seu epitome, eorumque continentur in accusatione et lite intentata coram reverendissimis dominis, domino inquisitore apostolico, atque venerando officiali hujus curiæ, præsentibus ac præidentibus, contra Stephanum Ruffum (Gaspard le Roux) e loco, vel oppido, quod vulgo apud Gallos, vocatur la Frayssinière.”

5. “Requête . . .,” &c.—Petition addressed by some inhabitants of Frayssinières to the Archbishop of Embrun, and dated in 1483.

6. Lis intentata contra duos Barbas.—This piece is apparently the same with that which occurs in vol. ix., No. 7, letter I.

7. A letter of the Archbishop of Embrun.

Volume IX.

(Historic Documents, generally relating to the Vaudois of Dauphiny.)

1. Origo Valdensium et processus contra eos facti.

VOL. II.

2. A French translation of the piece, No. 5 of vol. viii.
3. Bull of Innocent VIII. against the Vaudois. (Albert Cattané, Legate.)
4. Copia protestationis factæ per Castellatum Vallis Loysie una cum omnibus habitatoribus dictæ vallis, declarantes se esse bonos et fideles, orthodoxos, præceptis ecclesiæ obediens, et quod nullam intendunt prosequi causam in curia christianissimi Francorum Regis.
5. "Processus factus et formatus in facto sanctæ fidei, per reverendum in Christo pastorem et dominum Johannem Episcopum Ebredunensem.
6. Bull of Alexander VI. to absolve the Vaudois. (See the *Israel of the Alps*, Part I., chap. iii. and iv.) This is followed by two other bulls of the same pope, for the same purpose.
7. *Judicial Pieces*.—A. Examinations of divers Vaudois.—B. Compareance of Auduin Crispin (Crespin) of Val-Loise.—C. Translation of the piece noticed under No. 3 of vol. viii.—D. Copy of No. 4 of same vol.—E. Examinations of divers prisoners.—F. Other informations.—G. Examination of Peter Valois.—H. Sentence against the same.—I. Case against two Barbas, Martin and John.—K. Case against Peyronnette (published by Allix).—L. Other papers relative to the same affair.
8. *Various Pieces*.—A. Discourse, by Rostaing, Archbishop of Embrun.—B. Trial and abjuration of Antoine Blaise.—C. Letter of Archbishop Rostaing.—D. Copy of the Letters-Patent of Louis XII., in favour of the inhabitants of Frayssinières.—E. Mandate of the king, to restore to the inhabitants of Frayssinières and Val-Loise, their properties which had been confiscated.—F. Letter to the Bishop to the same effect.—G. Another letter (of the king), to the same effect.—H. Incomplete papers relating to the affair of Odin Crespin.

§ 5.—*Ancient Vaudois MSS. deposited at Cambridge.*

In this library there was for some time the most voluminous collection known of ancient Vaudois MSS., and documents relative to our history. Léger furnished seven volumes of it, and Morland fifteen—in all twenty-two. (For these numbers, compare what LÉGER says, part I., chap. iii., p. 21, with GILLY's *Waldensian Researches*, chap. i., and MORLAND, p. 95.) There were other small articles also deposited with them, under the designation of documents. (Léger, p. 23.) The seven volumes which came from Léger, and of which he gives a particular account, pp. 21-23, were sent by him to Morland, Cromwell's ambassador at the Court of Turin in 1655; Morland himself brought back from this embassy, fourteen or fifteen bundles of documents, which are now bound up in five volumes. (These papers mostly relate to the events which took place in the Vaudois valleys, from 1650-1656.)

The seven volumes, deposited by Léger in the Cambridge library, are no longer to be found there. They are not mentioned in a catalogue of that library, printed in 1690. The new catalogue, printed in 1753, mentions only the bundles sent to the library by Morland in 1656. These are the pieces which originally formed fifteen unbound volumes, and which having recently been bound, now form five volumes, still remaining.

The MSS. which have been taken away, alone contained Vaudois treatises in the Romance tongue. They were the most valuable. "It is probable," says the Rev. Dr. Gilly (*Waldensian Researches*, chap. i.,) "that they were secretly removed or destroyed during the reign of James II." A letter which I received in 1845, informed me that these MSS. had been discovered at Oxford; but this news has not been confirmed.

Being under the necessity of restricting this Bibliography within as narrow

limits as possible, I do not here give a list of these MSS., which may be found in MORLAND, pp. 95-98 (edition of 1658), LÉGER, part I., chap. iii., pp. 21-23, and MONASTIER, vol. ii., pp. 235-239.

§ 6.—*A Note of what has been already published of the ancient Vaudois MSS. in the Romance tongue.*

I.

Brief fragments, quoted by Perrin:—

1. Letter of the Vaudois to King Lancelau (Wladislas), Perrin, p. 14.
2. "Of Luxury," extracted from the Book *Del remedi de pecca de luxuria*, chap. xxi. (probably forming part of the treatise entitled, *Cal cosa sia pecca*), Perrin, p. 15.
3. "Of Marriage," extracted from the book of Virtues.—Pp. 16, 17.
4. "Of Baptism," extracted from the *Almanach spiritual*, fol. 45.—P. 18.
5. "Of Swearing," from the same book.—P. 20.
6. "Of the Pope," from the book *Ayczi es la causa del nostro despartiment de la gleysa romana*, p. 235.—P. 21.
7. "Of Holy Places," from the same book, p. 125.—P. 23.
8. "Of Judicial Authority," from the *Thresor e lume de fe*, fol. 214.—P. 24.
9. "Of Civil Authority," from the book named in No. 6, p. 41.—P. 25.
10. "Of the Trinity," from the *Thresor e lume de fe*, art. 2.—Pp. 25, 26.
11. Against *Revenge*, from the book *De las tribulacions*, p. 224.—P. 27.
12. Against *Astrology*, from the book of the *Exposition of the Ten Commandments* (found also in No. 6 of the *Book of Virtues*).—P. 29.
13. Against belief in *sorcerers and conjurers*, from the same book. Pp. 30-32.

II.

Fragments of which the original text is published by Perrin and Léger:—

1. "On the Education of pastors." Taken from the *Book of George Morel*, p. 8. Three pages. Perrin, pp. 70-73; Léger, p. 190. Hahn gives articles x. and xi. of it, p. 702.
2. "Letter of the Barba Bartholemeu Tertian."—Entire; Perrin, p. 73; Léger, p. 200.
3. "Athanasian Creed," as in use among the Vaudois.—Perrin, p. 91; Léger, p. 116.
4. "Letter of the Vaudois to Ecolampadius."—A fragment. Perrin, p. 211. (Léger does not copy this fragment.)
5. "Interrogations menors." A Vaudois catechism, of date A.D. 1100. Entire; Perrin, p. 157; Léger, p. 58; Monastier, vol. ii., pp. 296-315; Hahn, p. 678.
6. "Discipline of the Vaudois."—Perrin, pp. 225-252; Léger, p. 190.
7. "A treatise concerning Antichrist."—Perrin, p. 253; Léger, p. 71; Monastier, p. 323. This treatise sets forth (1.) *The marks of Antichrist*; Perrin, pp. 253-261; Léger, pp. 71-73. (2.) *His works*, distinguished into eight classes; Perrin, p. 262; Léger, p. 73. (3.) *How his adherents seek to justify them*. Nine means are pointed out. Perrin, p. 269; Léger, p. 76. (4.) *How he is combated by the Bible*; Perrin, p. 273; Léger, p. 77.
8. "Chapters on Antichrist," sometimes separately referred to. (1.) *Causes of our separation from the Church of Rome*.—Perrin, p. 281; Léger, p. 79. (2.) *The iniquities of Antichrist*, essentially contrary to the Apostles' Creed, exhibited under four heads.—Perrin, p. 285; Léger, p. 80, near the bottom.

9. "*Chapters on Antichrist*," separately referred to by Perrin and Léger. (1.) *Of the invention of Purgatory* (Del purgatori soima); Perrin, p. 295; Léger, p. 83; Monastier, vol. ii., pp. 365-375. (2.) *Of the Invocation of Saints*. Perrin, p. 310; Léger, p. 87. (3.) *Of the Sacraments*; Perrin, p. 324; Léger, chap. xii.

10. This *treatise on the Sacraments* is also to be met with in a number of other Vaudois works—in the *Almanach spiritual*, the *Thresor e lume de fe*, &c. Perrin (p. 211) gives a translation of a similar treatise, which Léger copies (p. 65), making its paragraphs alternate with those of another treatise inserted under the same title in the book *Of Antichrist*. The latter is the treatise now under notice. The chapter on the *Lord's Supper* (Léger, p. 66) is derived from this book; those on *Orders*, *Chrism*, and *Extreme Unction* (Léger, p. 67, at the bottom) are derived from the *Almanach spiritual*. Perrin, without stating where this treatise occurs, places it at the end of the book on Antichrist; but a number of passages of this treatise correspond exactly with the translation which he gives of that which is found in the *Almanach spiritual*. (Compare p. 324 of Perrin, with p. 213.)

The following are the chapters of this treatise on the Sacraments:—

- (1.) *Of Baptism*. Perrin, p. 324; Léger, p. 65.
- (2.) *Of the Lord's Supper*. Perrin, p. 325; Léger, p. 67.
- (3.) *Of Marriage and Orders*. Perrin, p. 327; Léger, p. 67 (for what relates to orders solely).
- (4.) *Of Chrism or Confirmation*. Perrin, p. 328; Léger, p. 68.
- (5.) *Of Extreme Unction*. Perrin, p. 330; Léger, p. 68.
- (6.) *Of Fasting*. Perrin, p. 331; Léger, p. 69. With this article is united in Léger that on the *Visitation of the sick*, given by Perrin, p. 219. It will be perceived that the number and order of the Sacraments are not entirely the same as the Church of Rome holds at the present day. I believe this treatise may be regarded as containing a summary of what is contained on this subject in the *Almanach spiritual*. Compare, as to the divisions, Perrin, p. 211, and Léger, p. 65; as to the subject, Perrin, p. 331 and 219, with Léger, p. 69; and as to the expressions, Perrin, p. 213, with p. 324, and with Léger, p. 67.

11. *A Confession of Faith*, of date (according to Léger) A.D. 1120. (This author says it is extracted from the *Book on Antichrist*, Léger, p. 92; and Perrin, that it is extracted from the *Almanach spiritual*, and from the *Book of George Morel*; Perrin, p. 79, marginal note). See No. 1 of chap. i. of sect. 3, of this Bibliography.

III.

Fragments and Treatises from the ancient Vaudois books, in the Romance tongue, of which Perrin and Léger have published translations only:—

1. *A Confession of Sins*, beginning thus: "O Dio de li rey, et Segnor de li Segnor." Léger, p. 57; Perrin, p. 178; Hahn, p. 687; Monastier, vol. ii., p. 376. All these authors give this piece as being in prose. The original exists in the Dublin MS., Class C, Shelf 5, No. 21, art. ix. It is indeed written as if it were prose; but it has been published in the form of verse in the *Echo des vallées*, first year, No. 19, pp. 154-159.

2. "*An Exposition of the Ten Commandments*." Taken from the *Book of Virtues*. Perrin, p. 182; Léger, p. 51; Hahn, pp. 679-687.

3. "*An Exposition of the Lord's Prayer*." Taken from the *Thresor e lume de fe*. Perrin, p. 201; Léger, p. 47. This last-named author gives under the same title the original of a similar piece in the Romance tongue. Pp. 40-46.

4. *A Treatise on the Sacraments*; extracted, it is said, from the *Almanach*

spiritual. Perrin, p. 211; Léger, p. 65. A portion of the original, relating to the sacrament of Baptism, is given by Perrin, p. 18.

5. *Of Marriage*; extracted also from the *Almanach spiritual*. Perrin, p. 211. This fragment is not copied by Léger.

7. *Of the Visitation of the Sick*; from the same book. Léger, p. 69; Perrin, p. 219.

IV.

Fragments and original works in the Romance tongue, published by LÉGER; and by other authors, but not by Perrin.

1. "*La nobla Leyczon*." (See sect. ii., § 3, of this Bibliography, MS. 207, No. 5.) Léger gives only a fragment of this poem, part I., chap. iv., p. 25.—Raynouard (vol. ii., pp. 73-102), Monastier (vol. ii., pp. 246-269), and Hahn (pp. 628-647) give it entire.

2. "*De la temor del Segnor*"—A Sermon on the fear of God. Léger, chap. v., p. 30; Hahn, pp. 689-692.

3. "*De las tribulacions*."—A treatise on afflictions. Léger, chap. vi., p. 35. Hahn, pp. 692-696.

4. "*Glosa pater noster*"—An exposition and commentary on the Lord's Prayer. Léger, chap. vii., p. 40; Hahn, pp. 697-701.

V.

Vaudois poems in the Romance tongue, published for the first time in a complete form by Hahn; and fragments of certain other works of the ancient Vaudois, first published by the same author. (*Geschichte der Waldenser und verwandter Sekten*. Stuttgart, 1847; 8vo, pp. 822.)

A.—Works in Verse.

The works mentioned below, are poems extracted from the Geneva MS., No. 207:—

- | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|--------------------|
| 1. " <i>La Barca</i> ," | ... | ... | HAHN, pp. 560-570. |
| 2. " <i>Lo novel Sermon</i> ," | ... | ... | " " 570-581. |
| 3. " <i>Lo novel confort</i> ," | ... | ... | " " 581-589. |
| 4. " <i>Lo payre eternal</i> ," | ... | ... | " " 590-594. |
| 5. " <i>Lo despreczi del mont</i> ," | ... | ... | " " 594-597. |
| 6. " <i>L'Avangeli de li quatre semencz</i> ," | ... | ... | " " 598-604. |

The various fragments of these poems, which are published by M. Raynouard, in the second volume of his *Choix des poésies originales des Troubadours*, are copied by M. Monastier, in his *Hist. des Vaudois*, vol. ii., pp. 272-288.

B.—Works in Prose.

1. "*De li article de la fe*." Hahn, pp. 605-608.
2. "*Le credo*." (Each of the different articles of the creed, is ascribed to one of the twelve apostles.) Hahn, pp. 608-611.
3. "*De la potesta dona à li vicari de Xrist*? (Extracted from the Geneva MS., No. 208.) Hahn, pp. 611-616.
4. "*Sermo del judyci*" (on the judgment). Hahn, pp. 617-623.
5. "*Epistola amicus*." (A similar epistle is in the MS. 206.) Hahn, pp. 623-626.
6. "*Epistola fidei*." (Extracts only given.) Hahn, pp. 626-628.

VI.

Other recent publications.

In "L'Echo des Vallées vaudoises," the publication of various hitherto unpublished fragments of the ancient Vaudois books was begun, and was meant to have been continued. (Vol. i., No. 10, p. 154: the poem, No. 9 of vol. iv. of the Dublin MSS.) This journal having been given up, I believe I may express a hope that the *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes* will supply its place in respect of the publication of these works.

SECTION II.—MS. DEPOSITED IN VARIOUS ARCHIVES.

This section ought to be divided into two chapters: (I.) *Public Archives*; (II.) *Private Archives*. It would have been much longer than the preceding section. Its magnitude compels me to suppress it. I shall content myself by reminding the reader that the principal archives from whose contents I have derived information in preparing this work, are, *In Turin*, the State Archives, the Archives of the Senate, and those of the Court of Accounts;—*In Pignerol*, those of the City, of the Intendance, and of the Bishop's Palace;—*In the neighbourhood*, those of the Vaudois Table, and of the municipalities of Lucerna, La Tour, La Perrier, Fenestrelles and Briançon;—*In Grenoble*, those of the department of the Isère, of the Bishop's Palace, and of the Court of Accounts;—*In Paris*, the National Archives of France, the MSS. of the former Royal Library, and the State Diplomatic Archives;—*In Geneva*, those of the Hotel de Ville, of the Council of State, and of the Venerable Company of Pastors.—In most of the other towns of Switzerland and Germany, which interested themselves on behalf of the Vaudois, or in which they settled, are also to be found treasures of greater or smaller amount, but it would be useless to enumerate them without giving some further account of them.

PART III.—DETACHED DOCUMENTS, PRINTED AND IN MANUSCRIPT.

CHAPTER I.—CONFESSIONS OF FAITH, PUBLISHED BY THE VAUDOIS, OR IN THEIR NAME, IN DIFFERENT LANGUAGES.

I.—(1120.)

A Confession of Faith, called George Morel's Confession.—Léger gratuitously assigns to it the date 1120, saying that it is "extracted from the old manuscript mentioned above" (Léger, p. 92, line 16); but the last manuscript mentioned above, is that concerning Antichrist, which, indeed, Perrin dates in 1120 (Perrin, p. 57¹); but Perrin himself, in speaking of this Confession (chap. xii.), says

¹ Even this date is doubtful, for Perrin indicates it thus:—"Item, un livre intitulé l'Antechrist, lequel commence ainsi: *Qual cosa sia l'Antechrist, en datte de l'an mil cent et vingt.*" These last words, although in Italica, are not in the Romance language, and are not to be found in the text of the original. They have therefore been added by Perrin; it may be supposed that he did so by reason of a date inscribed upon the volume which he had in his hands; but there is no proof whatever of the authenticity of this date. See also Part II., section i., § 1, No. 5, of this Bibliography.

it is extracted from the *Book of George Morel* (Perrin, p. 79, marginal note), in which it is to be found to this day. (Dublin MSS., Class C, Shelf 5, No. 18.) But that MS. is not older than the year 1530. Moreover, this Confession says, *nos non aven conegu autre Sacrament que lo Baptisme e la Eucharistia*—We have not known any other Sacrament than Baptism and the Eucharist—(Hahn, p. 651), which is true of the Vaudois only since the Reformation. The characters of the language, the spelling of the words, and the use of capital letters in the middle of sentences; above all, the composition of the *Canon* which this piece contains (see Part II., sect. i., § 1, art. v., note 2, of this Bibliography), compel us to assign this MS. a date posterior to that of the MSS. of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Confession contains fifteen articles, and is published by Léger, chap. xvii., p. 92; Monastier, vol. ii., p. 316; Hahn, pp. 647–651; and Bert, p. 416. For a critical examination of it, see the *Revue théologique*, vol. i., p. 337.

II.—(1431.)

Under this date, Léger places a Confession of Faith of the Bohemian Brethren, erroneously attributed to the Vaudois of Piedmont. It was directed, as a protest, against Rokenzana or Rockyane. (Léger, p. 108.) Léger gives only a summary of its contents; but it is to be found entire in the *Waldensia* of L. Lydius. (See this Bibliography, Part I., sect. ii., § 3, No. 1.)

III.—(1488.)

In the MS., entitled, "*Histoire générale des Alpes maritimes ou Cottiennes, et particulièrement d'Embrun, leur métropolitaine: chorographique, et mêlée de l'histoire séculière avec l'ecclésiastique: divisée en cinq parties; composée par le Révérend P. Marcellin Fournier, de la compagnie de Jésus;*" in p. 356, mention is made of a Confession of Faith of the Vaudois, drawn up in opposition to the Bull of 1487, by which Innocent VIII. confided to the legate Cattaneo the charge of persecuting them. This MS. is in the library of the Little Seminary at Gap. The original is in Latin, and is in the library of the Syon College; there is a copy of it in Paris. The MS. of Gap is a translation made by Raymond Juvenis, royal procurator in the bailiwick of Gap in 1680. Fournier's history ceased with the year 1640; Juvenis continued it to his own time, and added many notes. He is the author of the unpublished *Mémoires historiques*, preserved in the libraries of Grenoble and Carpentras.

IV.—(1532.)

The Confession of Angrogna or Farel's Confession, drawn up by a Synod held at Angrogna on the twelfth of September, 1532. Such is the date given by Gilles and in the Dublin MS., Class C, Shelf 5, No. 18, fol. 59; but Léger (p. 95) says the twelfth of December, 1532; and Perrin (p. 157) the twelfth of September, 1535. This Confession was composed under the direct influence of Farel and of Saulnier, who were present at the meeting of Synod in which it was adopted. It contains seventeen articles, very concisely expressed. It denies free-will and asserts predestination. I have spoken of it more at large in the *Israel of the Alps*, Part I., chap. vii. It is given entire, in a translation, by Perrin, p. 58; Léger, p. 95; Moser, p. 319; and Hahn, p. 652. Gilles softens down the terms of it in his work (chap. v.), as if the opinion expressed in it had only obtained a temporary triumph in the valleys.

V.—(1535.)

The Confession of the Magnates of Bohemia, "presented to the King of

Bohemia," says Léger, "by his subjects, the Vaudois, in the year 1535, who, after an excellent preface of the *Picards* or *Vaudois* . . . and another . . . of the *Barons of the country*, set forth the causes for which they had embraced their religion." But this style is too confused and full of inaccuracies to convey any clear idea. This Confession is not of the year 1535, for Melancthon speaks of it in a letter dated from Wittemberg, in 1533.—(D'Argentré, vol. i.; see also the separate pamphlet which contains this piece.) Nor is it a Confession of the Vaudois of Piedmont. It is preceded by a preface by the Magnates of Bohemia, on the reasons which have induced them to embrace the Reformation, and not the religion of the Vaudois, as Léger seeks to insinuate by his ambiguous expression. There follows a letter of Luther on the *Picards*, whom Léger calls the *above-mentioned Vaudois* (p. 104), and an eulogy of this letter by Wesembecius. This Confession of Faith contains twenty long articles. It is in Latin, and is mentioned only by Léger, pp. 96-104, and Hahn, pp. 654-665 (Léger, in p. 111, quotes also, as Confessions of the Vaudois, two Confessions of Faith addressed by the French refugees, in 1532 and in 1538, to the Marquis of Brandenburg.)

VI.—(1543.)

Confession of Faith of the Vaudois of Cabrières to Cardinal Sadolet, then Bishop of Carpentras. It contains a statement of the primitive doctrines, without a trace of predestination, and contains twenty-six articles. Léger gives only an extract of it (p. 107); but it is given entire in *Pantaleon's Martyrologe* (Basle, 1563; book v., fol. 130 of the second part). In 1541, the Vaudois of Merindol presented to Francis I., a *petition*, which also contained a *profession of faith*, and which is given in CRESPIN (edition of 1619, fol. 138).

VII.—(1544.)

Confession of Faith of the Vaudois of Provence to Francis I.—The preceding (the first of No. 6), was only made in name of the inhabitants of Cabrières du Comtat; this was made in name of those of Cabrières d'Aignes, of Lourmarin, of Merindol, &c. It is conceived in a very good spirit—evangelical, rational, and practical. It contains twelve articles, and is to be found in Perrin, p. 87; Léger, p. 109; Du Moulin, *De Monarchia Francorum*, p. 60; Hahn, p. 665. It was after reading this document that Francis I. exclaimed, "I would like to know what they can get to reply to that!"

VIII.—(1550.)

Confession of Faith of the Vaudois, according to Vignaux (cited by Perrin, pp. 49, 50). It bears no precise date; that which I give is only an approximation, and determined by the period at which Vignaux was a pastor in the Vaudois valleys. This Confession of Faith regards certain practices of the Church of Rome merely as *superfluous* (art. vii.) It admits of no other degrees in the ecclesiastical hierarchy than those of *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons* (art. viii.) It contains, in all, eleven articles; and does not appear to have been drawn up under the influence of any of those temporary causes, the effect of which may too often be traced in similar productions, whilst the authors who have written under such influences have neglected to refer to them. It must have been drawn up previous to the Reformation.

IX.—(1556.)

Confession of Faith, presented to the Parliament of Turin, by the Vaudois church, in reply to the edict of 23d March, 1556. It accepts the Creeds of

the first four general councils (those of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon), and also the Athanasian Creed. It contains five articles of doctrine, very brief; and five paragraphs in reply to the charges brought against the Vaudois in respect of doctrine, in the above-mentioned edict. It is mentioned by Gilles, p. 59; and given by Léger, p. 106.

X.—(1572.)

Confession of Faith of the Vaudois of Bohemia, mentioned by Calvin in one of his letters.—(Letter 204 of the Collection). I have sought for this Confession in various works, but have not been able to assure myself of its identity: and I have not at present any opportunity of repeating this search.

XI.—(1603.)

Confession of Faith of the Vaudois of the valley of Suza and the Marquisate of Saluces. This piece is drawn up in the form of articles. It is rather a manifesto than a confession. It affords evidence of the necessity which the Protestants of Piedmont felt, of keeping on such terms with foreign powers as to secure their political support. To be convinced of this, we have only to read the declaration which terminates this piece, and which Léger has published (p. 115) after the Confession of 1655. For the original words of the manifesto of 1603, see Perrin, p. 185, and Léger, p. 111.

XII.—(1655.)

A Confession which might be named the *Anathematizing Confession*, as it is the only one of all the published writings of the Vaudois, or of those published in their name, which pronounces an anathema against those who do not agree with their views.—(See Léger, p. 116, line 8.) Léger entitles it a "Brief Confession of Faith of the Reformed Churches of Piedmont, published with their manifesto, upon occasion of the dreadful massacres of the year 1655."—(Part I., ch. xvii., p. 112). These words do not say where, nor how, nor by whom this Confession of Faith was drawn up. They only tell us that it did not exist before 1655; but, in 1655, no Synod was held in the Vaudois valleys to draw it up; it first appeared in a book published in a foreign country without place of publication.—(See Part I., sect. ii., § 2, No. 2, of this *Bibliography*). This book could not at that time penetrate into Piedmont; the Confession of Faith which it contains was therefore not published there. Its origin is very doubtful.—(See Part I., sect. i., § 2, No. 2, of this *Bibliography*). It may, however, be safely asserted, that the Vaudois church (as represented by a regular Synod) took no part in its preparation; it is probable that the majority of the members of that church did not know of it when it appeared; it is certain that it does not at all agree with the ancient doctrine of the Vaudois. Any other Confession of Faith, emanating from any of the numerous sects of Protestantism existing at that time, might just as well have been ascribed to the Vaudois, in virtue even of the declarations which it contains.—(See Léger, p. 115, lines 20-23.)

The Vaudois, in fact, here renounce the title of a special church (see Léger, p. 112, third paragraph); they reject even the name of *Vaudois*, and take only that of *Reformed*. It might be said that they renounce at once the name and the doctrine of their fathers, if this Confession were really their work; but, on the contrary, everything shows that they had (as a church at least) nothing whatever to do with it. The most probable opinion is, that one of their political

friends, with the consent, no doubt, of a few Vaudois, produced it in their name in a foreign country, to rally all the Reformed Churches in their defence.

This Confession of Faith contains thirty-three articles, modelled after those of La Rochelle. It is published by Léger, p. 112, and by Hahn, p. 668.

The doctrine which predominates in it is that of absolute predestination. All men are damned from their mother's womb.—(Art. 9 and 10). God withdraws the predestinated ones from damnation, and leaves the others in it, without any possibility of our prayers, our virtues, or our efforts producing any change in these destinies which are independent of us and fixed beforehand.—(Art. 11, 16, and 18.)¹

"This doctrine," says M. Guizot, "is as old as the fifth century. Its origin is obscure and doubtful. Saint Augustine earnestly defended himself from the charge of having taught it. But from the time when it appeared, it clashed with the good sense and moral equity of the greater part of Christians."—(*Cours d'Histoire moderne*, Lect. IV., Brussels edition of 1835, vol. i., pp. 178, 179.)

We find no trace of it in the ancient books of the Vaudois in the Romance tongue. "We have always believed," say they, on the contrary, "that God has given to man a principle of spontaneity and of virtue (action, force), by means of which he may labour for his salvation, according to the gifts which he has received, as the *parable of the talents* appears to teach; and with the aid of God, according to what is said, *I stand at the door and knock*; and that the reprobate were made so by their own fault, agreeably to these words—*Every man shall receive according to his works* . . .," &c.—(Extract and abridgment of articles xv. and xvi. of the statement of the Vaudois faith made to the Reformers; Dublin MS., Class C, Shelf 5, No. 18.—Sculdetus, *Annales evangelii renovati*, anno MDXXX.—Ruchat, *Hist. de la réformation en Suisse*, vol. iii. —Ecolampadius, *Epistolæ* . . . , &c.) Of all that I have found in the ancient Vaudois books, the strongest opinion of an opposite character, is expressed in the following terms:—

"La potesta natural, laqual es lo libre arbitrio, se po, alcuna vez, alargar per grazia e alcuna vez restregner. . . ."

"Lo libre arbitrio, se po perdre per lo pecca, e accreisser per grazia. . . ."

"E similhant raczon es del retenament e del ligament de li pecca."

The natural power, which is free-will, is capable of being sometimes extended by grace and sometimes restrained. . . .

Free-will may be lost by sin and increased by grace. . . .

And a similar account is to be given of the retaining and of the binding of sins (of the remission or responsibility of sin).

(*De la postesta donna a li Vicari de Xrist*; published by Hahn, *Geschichte der Waldenser* . . . , &c., pp. 611-616; end of the first paragraph). But even these words suppose the existence of *free-will*, which the Confession of 1655 denies (art. ix.)

It cannot be denied that a severe logic conducts us to the doctrine of predestination. But it ought not to be forgotten that logic is a form of our understanding; and that without this form, and not within it, lie the bases of life. Faith in God, in our own existence, in the immortality of the soul, &c., are not the result of a syllogism. It has not pleased God that our life should depend upon our good or bad reasoning. It is in vain that an irreproachable logic leads us to fatalism: a reasoning not less correct tells me also that if God could not be moved, our prayers were useless; that the laws of causality annul moral

¹ I translate these paragraphs as I find them. This is no place to discuss the subject, or to prove that the learned author himself has not been free from the influence of prejudices. But the reader will easily perceive their nature and tendency.—TRANSLATOR.

liberty; that our physical existence is merely an hypothesis, &c.; but I feel that I exist, I feel that I am free, I feel that prayer does me good; and I thank God that he has put within me something which reasoning can neither prevail over nor destroy.¹

It has been attempted to bind the conscience of the Christians of our times to this Confession of Faith of doubtful origin; but any authority whatever, external to the Bible, which proposes to limit at once the meaning of the Bible and the conscientious opinions of men, is nothing but a disguised Popery. It supposes that the faith of the framers of a Confession is capable of being transmitted to those who adopt it by the mere fact of its adoption. The result is the formation of two classes of believers: the one class composed of those who believe of themselves; and the other, of those who believe in virtue of the church's code, on the authority of the former. This delegation of faith has no foundation in the gospel. It is, moreover, incompatible with the principle of private judgment; for we cannot say to any one—"I grant you the right of private judgment, on condition that you arrive at results previously determined by me." Such a pretension would be the seal of bondage placed on human thought. Moreover, convictions are necessarily individual; they concern things which the person understands; they are, therefore, relative to our means of understanding; and as they vary according to the individuals, we can never, in a society composed of people of all ages and all diversities of character, consider a single formulary as the sincere expression of the convictions of all. The same conviction would suppose the same moral type, and therefore the same life, which is not the case. Finally, such a formulary would be a Procrustes' bed for the minds of men, if they were really to be subjected to it; but they cannot be so; it is, therefore, only a fiction; and those who maintain it, or submit to it, by reason of its official character, are tacitly involved in falsehood. Again, what is an official faith? Under all religious forms, whether dogmatic or ceremonial, there are hearts without life. The life of the soul is the only condition of salvation; this life is obtained by the grace of God, and not by assent more or less enlightened to matters of doubtful speculation, nor by practices of devotion more or less puerile. Indeed, life is not incompatible with these forms; but it does not proceed from them: and if the disciples of Christ were called Christians (Acts xi. 26), it was because they led a Christian life. It was on the same ground that the Vaudois of ancient times might be called the heirs of the primitive church.

CHAPTER II.—HISTORIC DOCUMENTS AND NOTES ANTERIOR TO THE BULL OF INNOCENT VIII.

(1487.)

The events anterior to the epoch indicated at the head of this chapter occupying little space in this history, I think it right to point out here some of the documents of which, in a more extended work, use might be made to throw light upon them. The question how the Vaudois valleys became part of the dominions of the Duke of Savoy, is one of the first which presents itself.—The name of Savoy is not met with before the fourth century. Ammianus Marcellinus is the first author in whose work it occurs. After having formed part of the kingdom of Burgundy, Savoy was annexed to the Empire in the

¹ [The Translator refrains from appending any remarks of his own on this and the following paragraphs, but he feels called upon to guard himself against being supposed to assent to all the opinions and reasonings of the author.]

tenth century. In 1050, Peter Damian complains to the Countess of Suza (in whose county the Vaudois valleys were), that part of her domains did not observe the ordinances of the church; (*Damiani opera*, p. 566, quoted by Gilly, *Waldensian Researches*, p. 88, and by Coste De Beauregard, vol. i., p. 111), and a short time afterwards, the *Chronicle of Saint Thron* (from 1108 to 1136) mentions, without naming the Vaudois, a country in the Italian Alps, celebrated for its heresy.—(*Dacherii Spicilegium*, vol. viii., p. 493.) The documents which follow would seem to determine this country to be the *Vaudois valleys on both sides of the Alps*.

1056. A Bull of Pope Victor II., addressed to Viminian, Archbishop of Embrun, in which are the words—"Ecclesiam Ebredunensem . . . mirabiliter est corrupta."—(Quoted by Father Albert, vol. i., p. 56. For the exact title of this work, see Part I., sect. vi., chap. i., § 1, No. 14, of this *Bibliography*.)

1064. Foundation of the convent of Pignerol, by Adelaide of Suza.—(*Chronologie de chiesa*, chap. xxiv.; Rorengo, p. 41; *Monumenta patriæ*, vol. i.)—In 1076 and 1078, she endowed it with the neighbouring lands.

1081. Gift of properties situated at Saluces, to the same convent, by the Countess of Suza.—(*State Archives at Turin*.) If the domain of the Countess of Suza extended from Pignerol to Saluces, the Vaudois valleys must have been comprised in it.

1096. A Bull of Urban II., in which he makes mention of the same valleys, but on the French side, as infested with heresy. The Val-Louise is designated in this Bull the *Vallis Gyroniana*.—"Recueil des actes, pièces et procédures sur l'emphythéose des dîmes du Briançonnais;" note in p. 55; and Father Albert, vol. i., p. 56.)

1100. Supposed date of the *Nobla Leyczon*, in which the Vaudois are designated by name; and of the catechism, *Interrogations menors*, which they were accustomed to use.—(*Léger*, Part I., pp. 26 and 53; *Perrin*, Part II., p. 157; *Buxhorn*, *Hist. Néerland*, pp. 36-48, &c.)

1119. Council of Toulouse: decrees of the Inquisition, against the heretics who existed partly in Italy and partly in France.—(*Gallois*, *Hist. de l'Inquis.*, pp. 81, 83, 84.)

1130. About this period Peter De Bruys began to propagate his opinions in the south of France. According to the Catholic authors of Dauphiny, he was a native of the Val-Louise (*Hist. du diocèse d'Embrun*, by Father Albert, vol. i., p. 56; *Fournier*, MS. quoted in No. 3 of the preceding chapter, &c.) Concerning the doctrine of Bruys, see the letter of Peter the Venerable, of Cluny.—(*Biblioth. Cluniacensi*, pp. 1117-1230.; *Bibl. Max. P. P. Lugdun.*, vol. xxii., p. 1033, &c.)

1144. The heretics of Dauphiny were denounced by Pope Lucius II. (*Veter. monumentorum amplissima collectio*, vol. i.—Quoted by GILLY, *Waldensian Researches*, chap. ii.)—"The passage to which he alludes, occurs in a letter written by the Chapter of Liège to Pope Sixtus II.—*Martène and Durand*, vol. i., p. 776.) In this letter mention is made of the heretics established at Mons-Guimari; *Martène* makes a conjecture, forte *Mons-Limarii* (Montélimart), in *Delphinatu*. But the place intended is the castle of Monte Vimers, near Châlons-sur-Marne." Note by M. Schmidt.

1165. "A numerous detachment of Albigeois, leaving the south of France, took refuge in the valleys of Piedmont, where they united themselves with the Vaudois, both in doctrine and worship."—(*Morison*, *Hist. of the Ref.*; translated by Burnier, p. 35.) The author gives no proof of this fact; but this is the date at which Gilles places the arrival of the disciples of Valdo, in the

Vaudois valleys.—(*Chap. iii.*, p. 17.)—He had previously said 1160. (*Chap. i.*, p. 2.)

1188. Thomas, Count of Savoy, seizes the Vaudois valleys.—(*Old Chronicle*, deposited in the Library of Carpentras. MS. of Peyresk, Register LIX., vol. i., p. 27.)

1190. The period about which Valdo of Lyons may have retired into the Vaudois valleys. The History of the town of Pernes, by Giberti, vol. i., p. 101, says, that Valdo retired to Freyssinières (MS. of Carpentras, No. 606).—*Raumer* (*Hist. des Hohenstaufen*, vol. iii., p. 273) places the conversion of Valdo in the year 1173. This is also the date assigned to it in the *Chronique de Laon*, published by Bouquet, (*Recueil des Histoires de Gaule et de France*, vol. xiii.)—Valdo was condemned in 1179, by the Council of Lateran; his disciples were condemned in 1186, by Lucius III., in the Council of Verona.

1192. "Statuta synodalia Odonis Episcopi Tullensis, de hæreticis . . . qui vocantur Vadoys."—(*Martène, Thes. anecdotorum*, vol. iv., p. 1182.)

1194. Edict of Alphonso II., King of Aragon (and Marquis of Provence), against the Vaudois and other heretics.—(*Nicol. Eymeric, Directorium Inquisitorum*, p. 282.) *Mansius* attributes this decree to Peter II. (vol. xxii., fol. 673),—other authors to Alphonso, or Hildefonso, of Aragon, but under the date 1192.—(*D'Argentré, Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, vol. i., fol. 33.—*Biblioth. Max. P. P.* vol. xxv., fol. 190.—*Bert, Valdesi*, p. 424, &c.) This latter date also appears to me the more probable.

1200. Origin of the Inquisition. (*Perrin* places it in 1206. P. 104.) It was not established in an active form till 1208 in France, 1224 in Italy, and 1231 in Spain.

1209. Decree of Otho IV. (passing through Piedmont, on his way to be crowned at Rome), by which he authorizes the Bishop of Turin to employ temporal arms against the Vaudois.—(*Monumenta patriæ*, vol. iii., col. 488.)

1211. Refusal of the Count of Toulouse, to whom the Council of Narbonne offered the restoration of his dominions, upon condition that he would expel the heretics from his territories.—(*History of the Albigenses*.)

1213. Letter of the Emperor Frederic II. to Pope Innocent III., in which he promises to the Pontiff that he will exert himself for the extermination of heretics.—(*Raumer*, vol. iii., p. 304. *Bert*, p. 427.)

1215. The Council of Lateran (the fourth of that name; the twelfth general council), assembled by Innocent III., condemns the Vaudois. The Council of Cremona, held in 1226, treats also of the extirpation of heretics in Italy. (*Art de vérifier les dates*.)

1220. Decree of the municipality of Pignerol, forbidding any one to show hospitality to a Vaudois man or Vaudois woman, under pain of a fine of twelve sous. "Liber statutorum civitatis Pinarolii." Turin, 1602. Cap. 84. "*Monumenta Patriæ*," vol. ii.

1224. Edicts of the Inquisition against heretics in Italy. (*Gallois*, "*Hist. de l'Inquisition*," p. 81.)

1228. Conferences of monks in Dauphiny against the Vaudois. (*Perrin*, pp. 104, 105.)

1231. Bull of Gregory IX. against the Vaudois. (*M'Crie*, "*Hist. of the Reformation in Italy*, chap. i.—*Gallois*, *Hist. de l'Inquis.*, p. 84.)

1233. Thomas, Count of Savoy, makes himself of Pignerol, under pretext that the race of the Counts of Piedmont is extinct. (Historians differ from one another as to this fact.) *Amadeus III.*, or *IV.*, according to other chronologists, succeeded Count Thomas, his father. He was appointed Vicar of the Empire

in Lombardy and Piedmont, in 1241, by the Emperor Frederic II. (Art de vérifier les dates.)

1235. A Synod held at Avignon, concerning the Vaudois and Albigeois.

1238. Quotation of a MS. concerning the Vaudois, according to Usher and Cappel. (Léger, pp. 328-331.)

1240. *Concilium Rituricense*, in which a new crusade against the Albigeois was proposed.

1242. Acts of the Synod of Tarascon, held against the Vaudois. (Mansi, vol. xxiii., p. 553.)

1265. Brief of Alexander IV., to the Prior of Paris, against the heretics. (Martène and Durand; *Thes. nov. anecdotorum*, vol. v., p. 1814.—Hahn, p. 735.)

1273. Instructions of Gregory X., regarding the Inquisition.—(Same works; Martène, vol. v., p. 1817; Hahn, p. 739.)

1300, or thereby.—Wars of Amadeus V., Count of Maurienne and of Savoy, with Humbert, first Dauphin of Le Viennois. Settlement of the Vaudois, who came from the valleys of the Po, on the banks of the Durance. Foundation of Mérindol, Cabrières, &c.—(Numerous authors.)

1315. Accounts of the Delphinal châtelain of the valley of Pragela, containing a statement of the sums which he had furnished to the inquisitors for the destruction of heresy in the Vaudois valleys. (Archives of Fénéstrelle.)

1332. Brief of John XXII. (dated from Avignon, 8th July), in which he says: "Multiplicati sunt hæretici . . . præcipue, de secta Valdensium . . . frequentes congregationes, per modum capituli, habent . . . in quibus aliquando quingenti simul fuerant congregati." (Rorengo, *Memorie storiche*, 4to edition, Turin, 1619, p. 16.—Léger, part. ii., p. 20.) According to Platina, the pope who issued this brief, must have born the title of John XXIII. (*De vitis Pontificum Rom.*, 4to edition; Cologne MDC., p. 255.)

1335. Bull of Benedict XII. to Humbert II., Dauphin, against the heretics of Dauphiny. (Valbonays, *Hist. du Dauphiné*, p. 326.—Raynaldi, *Annales*, No. 63.)—At the same date there occurs an extract of the accounts of Borelli, *Baillif* of Embrun, "pro persequendis Valdensibus et aliis expensis." (Valbonays, p. 326.—Raynaldi, *Annales*, No. 68.)

1344. Pastor began to act against the Vaudois of Dauphiny. (Fournier, MS. already mentioned, translation of Juvenis, p. 361.—1712.)

1345. Accounts of the Delphinal châtelain of the valley of Pragela, for the purchase of various instruments of torture, for the use of the inquisitors. (Archives of Fénéstrelles.)

1348. Letter of the Dauphin, Humbert II., to the Baillif of Embrun and other civil officers, "quibus injungit ut quoties fuerit requisitus ab Archiepiscopo Ebredunesii, ei auxilium præstet contra Valdenses." (Records of the Court of Accounts at Grenoble, vol. K, p. 301.)

1349. Dauphiny ceded to France.—In 1347, the Republic of Quiers in Piedmont, voluntarily submitted to Amadeus VI., Count of Savoy, and to the Princes of Achaia. (Hist. de Quiers, vol. i., p. 891. Cibrario, p. 143.)

1353. War between Maurienne and Dauphiny, about the boundaries of these provinces. Guillaume de Bordes, Archbishop of Embrun, and Guillaume Dupuy, Inquisitor sent by Innocent VI. against the Vaudois, destroy their place of meeting in Vallouise, and put numbers of them to death. (Fournier's MS., already quoted. The author adds after this, "I can learn nothing of what was done against the Vaudois in the end of this century, because the papers are wanting.")

1354. Order of the Prince of Achaia to the Governors of La Tour in Val Lucerna, against the Vaudois. (Rorengo, *Mém. Hist.*, p. 16, first paragraph.)

1360. Maxims of the Inquisition reduced to practice with regard to the Vaudois. (Perrin, pp. 102 and 127; Léger, p. 337.)

1369. Commission given to Borelli and to Bertrand de St. Guillaume to persecute the Vaudois, in virtue of a bull of Urban V. (Chorier, *Hist. gén. du Dauphiné*. Book xii., chap. v., p. 392.)

1373. Bull of Gregory XI., addressed to the inquisitors Borelli and Bertrand de St. Guillaume, calling upon them to destroy the Vaudois. (D'Argentré, *Collect. judic. de novis erroribus*, vol. i., p. 392.)—Some authors, and amongst others, Raymond Juvenis, in his *Mémoires Historiques* (MS. preserved at Carpentras), ascribe this bull to Gregory IX. Father Albert places it in 1365. (*Hist. ecclési. du diocèse d'Embrun*, &c., vol. i., p. 59.) Gregory XI. addressed private letters, with the same view, to the Emperor Charles V., to the Bishop of Paris, to the Archbishops of Vienne, Embrun, &c., to the Governor of Dauphiny, and in particular to the Count of Savoy (Amadeus VI.)—The pontifical letters, addressed to the latter, are of date 20th March, and of 7th May, and 17th June, 1373. (Extracted from various archives.)

1375. Repetition of this Bull. (*Mém. Hist.* of Juvenis, unpublished.)—Prosecutions in virtue of it. (Same MSS., also *Mémoires Hist.* of Dominique Rochas, quoted by M. Gautier, author of the *Letters Hist. sur le Gépençois*.)

1380. New orders to destroy the Vaudois given to Borelli by Clement VII. (Perrin p. 113. This author says that this is the first persecution which had come under his notice.) New pontifical letters were then written, with the same view, in Dauphiny and Piedmont. It must be remarked, that at this period, Clement VII. was pope in Avignon, and Urban VI. in Rome.

1386. The towns of Nice and Barcelonnette withdrew themselves from the dominion of the Count of Provence, to put themselves under the protection of the Count of Savoy. (*Art de vérifier les dates*.)

1390, &c.—Judicial investigations directed against the Vaudois of Dauphiny by the inquisitors. (Bossuet, *Hist. des Variat.*, liv. xi., § ciii.) These investigations must not all be referred to one year. They took place in 1344 (Fournier, MS. of Gap, *Hist. des Alpes*, &c., p. 361); in 1353 (id. p. 355); in 1393 (Perrin, p. 114, lines 1, 29, and 30, compared with the first lines of p. 115). They were especially numerous from 1487 to 1497. (For the intermediate dates, see Perrin, pp. 127, 131, 132, 134, and 137.)—In 1485, the papers connected with them were so voluminous, that by themselves alone they formed the burden of a mule (Perrin, p. 141, marginal note). They were then transported to Paris by order of the Grand Chancellor (Adam Fumée, whose father was physician to Charles VII., Louis XI., and Charles VIII.) New ones succeeded, which were also transported to Paris, in 1501. (*Mémoires* of Rostaing, Archbishop of Embrun, quoted by Perrin, pp. 140-143.) Similar investigations taking place again, it came to pass that in 1585, when Embrun was taken by Lesdiguières, the papers fell into the hands of the Reformed. (Perrin, *Dedication*, p. 2, l. 22; marginal notes, pp. 47, 68; p. 128, &c.) Part of these papers seem to have been preserved for some time at Grenoble, in the Archives of the Parliament (Rorengo, *Memorie Hist.*, p. 12); but they can no longer be found. Perrin had access to them (Dedication to Lesdiguières). Those which belonged to the libraries of Colbert and the Marquis de Seignelay (Bossuet, *Histoire des Var.*, liv. xi., § ci.) have also been lost. Part of these processes were in the hands of Léger, for the years 1475, 1478, 1483, and 1497 (Part I., p. 23, No. 7); these were deposited at Cambridge, whence they have also disappeared. Allix

(*Some Remarks, &c.*, end of the 4th vol.; Lond. 1590) has published some considerable fragments of them. Basnage (vol. ii., p. 1440) and Perrin (p. 133, &c.) speak of them; and Léger gives a translation of one of them (Part II., p. 21). Various fragments of these processes are now amongst the Vaudois MSS. of Dublin (Class C, Shelf IV, No. 18). Father Bonnet and Lelong speak of them in their dictionaries. In 1838, the Minister of Public Instruction caused researches to be made in Paris for the recovery of these documents, but they were unsuccessful.

1393. Sentence of the inquisitor Borelli, who delivered to the fire 150 Vaudois of Dauphiny (Perrin, p. 114). Chorier makes the number 230 (*Hist. gén. du Dauphiné*, liv. xii., § v.) Joseph Dominique Rochas, in his *Mémoires Hist.*, follows Chorier's version (MS. above quoted, second series, p. 71). Brunet places at this date, and ascribes to Borelli, the events which took place in 1487, at the instigation of Veyletti, according to Perrin and Chorier. (See Brunet, Seigneur de l'Argentière, *Recueil des Actes*, . . . &c., p. 55; Perrin, p. 127; Chorier, under date above mentioned).

1400, or thereby. A part of the Vaudois, settled in Provence, being persecuted, says Gilles, at the instance of the pope, whose seat was in Avignon (Gregory IX.), retired to the valleys, and thence proceeded to Calabria (Gilles, p. 19). At the same period, the valley of Pragela was invaded (Perrin, p. 116).

1413. The Count of Saluces is compelled by force of arms to render homage to the Count of Savoy (Amadeus VIII.).

1416. The county of Savoy is erected into a duchy by the Emperor Sigismund, passing through Piedmont, on his way to seek the antipope, Benedict XIII., at Perpignan.

1419. Yolande of Arragon relinquishes to the Duke of Savoy (Amadeus VIII., who was only count in 1413) the country from Nice to Ville-Franche. (By treaty signed at Chambéry, on the 5th of October.)

1434. Amadeus VIII. retires to the priory of Ripailles, where (on 7th November, 1434) he instituted the order of secular knighthood, *de l'Annonciade* (which was only a transformation of that of the *Lacs d'Amor*, established in 1355). The Council of Basle (in its session of 5th November, 1439), having previously deposed Eugenius IV. (session of 25th June), elevated Amadeus of Savoy to the popedom, whose coronation took place at Basle (24th July, 1440). He assumed the pontifical name of Felix V. The Council of Florence, under the presidency of Eugenius IV., declared Felix V. an antipope, heretic, &c. (Session of 23d March, 1440, the fourth of the Council.) He retained the tiara, however, till 9th April, 1449, when he laid it down to prevent a schism. Amadeus then returned to Ripailles, and died at Geneva, on 7th January, 1451. (*Art de vérifier les dates*.)

1448. "Privilegii, immunità e franchigie, concesse alle comunità e nomini della valle di Luserna." Dated 14th September. (Deposited in the Archives of the Court of Accounts at Turin, under No. 576.) Numerous ratifications of these *Patents* are to be found at Pignerol, under the title of "Libertates et franchisizæ, Dominis vallis Lucernæ et hominibus suis . . . concessæ." (Civil Archives, Categ. *Lucerna*, Mazzo di *Bobio*.)

1453 (16th July). Brief of Nicholas V., addressed to the Bishops of Turin and Nice, authorizing them to relieve those of the inhabitants of Lucerna who should renounce their heresy from the interdict under which the valley had been laid. (Rorengo, p. 19.)

1475 (29th November). Orders by John de Compesio, Archbishop of Turin, to the inquisitor Andrew d'Aquapendente, to punish in various ways the Vaudois

who had relapsed—i.e., who having become Catholics, had afterwards returned to their former doctrines. (Rorengo, pp. 22-24; Gilles, p. 24.)

1476 (23d January). Edict of the Duchess Yolande, to cause the Vaudois to observe the orders of the Inquisition and the ceremonies of the Church of Rome. (*Raccolta dagl. editi* . . . &c., p. 1; Rorengo, p. 24; Borelli, under the date mentioned; Hahn, p. 705.)

1477 (27th April). Brief against the Vaudois, mentioned by Sclopis in his *Storia della legge di Piemonte*, p. 487.

1478 (18th May). Letters of Louis XI. to put an end to the persecutions to which the Vaudois, and in particular those of Freyssinières, were subjected in Dauphiny. (Perrin, pp. 118-124; Hahn, p. 725.) Ten years after, their brethren of Vallouise were completely destroyed. These letters are dated from Arras.

1483. Petition of some of the inhabitants of Freyssinières to the Archbishop of Embrun. (Vaudois MSS. of Trinity College Library, Dublin, Class C, Shelf IV., No. 18, piece 5. Other historic documents are also to be found in this volume and the next.)

1484. Edict of investigation into the conduct of the Vaudois, issued by the Duke Charles, and "registrato nel protocollo del Bessone, nel Archivio di Chambéry." (Rorengo, p. 25.)

1484 (29th August). Election of Innocent VIII. to the popedom. It was he who published the celebrated *tariff* of the indulgences, the traffic in which awakened the indignation of Luther. The following is the title of this rare book, preserving the orthography of the time: "Rubrica, regule, ordinationes et constitutiones cancellarie, sanctissimi domini, domini Innocentii, divina providentia Pape viij, scripte et correcte in cancellaria apostolica. Roma MCDLXXXVII." According to this tariff, all possible vices might be redeemed for so much money. For parricide, eight gros; for fratricide, the same price; for a husband killing his wife, six gros; for incest, seven gros, &c. (The *gros* was worth about sixteen sous, and corresponded in value to eighteen or twenty francs [fifteen or seventeen shillings], at the present time.) During the time of this tariff appeared the following bull:—

1487 (27th April). Bull of extermination fulminated by Innocent VIII. (*octo nocos*, according to a saying of the time) against the Vaudois. The legate to whom the execution of these sanguinary orders was confided was *Albertus Cattaneus Cremonensis* (Albert Cattaneus of Cremona), often called De Capitaneis. The bull is dated by Innocent VIII., "On the 5th of the Calends of May, in the third year of our pontificate." It is to be found amongst the Vaudois MSS. of Dublin, Class C, Shelf IV., No. 18, vol. II. (vol. IX. of the MSS.), article 3. It is published entire by Léger, Part II., pp. 8-20; and by Hahn, p. 744. M. Bert, in his work *I Valdesi*, p. 438, gives an abridgment of it. Other documents which I have not had opportunity of consulting, but some of which most probably relate to the events of the same period, are also to be found in vol. IX. of the Dublin MSS. already mentioned.

APPENDIX, No. II.

NOTE ON THESE PASSAGES OF PART I., CHAP. IV. (Vol. i. p. 50), "*The victorious Protestants incurred the guilt of bloody reprisals*," AND (Vol. i. p. 51) "*Cruelties and spoliations, unworthy of their name, were perpetrated by the Protestants*."

The Catholic historians pretend that at Molines they buried the parish priest of that place alive, leaving only his head above ground, which they used as a mark for bowls, and that the priest of Reortier was rolled from the summit of the mountain in a cask filled with nails, &c. These atrocities, although very improbable, cannot be disproved. The first printed work in which they are mentioned is a publication of the year 1783, an anonymous *History of the Diocese of Embrun*. The author of this history was an abbé, named Albert. The occurrences which he relates took place two centuries before (from 1583 to 1586); he cannot, therefore, have received his information from an eye-witness, and where did he find any account of them? In an unpublished work of a Jesuit, entitled, *A History of the Maritime or Cottian Alps*, by Father M. Fournier, a voluminous manuscript, preserved in the library of Gap. To this manuscript Father Albert has been indebted for almost all that his book contains, as any one may easily be satisfied who will undertake a comparison of the two works; but the history of Father Fournier has been written without judgment, and is replete throughout with errors, now well known as such, so that I could not use it as an authority. Every one knows how readily false reports arise and spread in troublous times, how everything is exaggerated and perverted; the Jesuit may have admitted, without due examination, statements which perhaps were false; he lived, moreover, at a great distance from the valley of Molines. I could not reckon his testimony sufficient; but I had no other of earlier or of the same date by which it could be set aside, and impartiality required that I should make mention at least, in a general way, of the atrocities which he alleges to have been perpetrated.

Since the *Israel of the Alps* was published, I have, however, become acquainted with a testimony anterior to his, and that, too, of a Catholic, and of one living in the village of Molines itself, at the very time when these things are said to have taken place, which I think I may adduce as proving the falsehood of all the stories which he tells. A number of families in the high Alps were in the habit of keeping, under the title of *Trangetons*, which signifies a relation of strange or extraordinary events, a simple chronicle of the history of their locality. A chronicle of this kind, kept at Molines, from the year 1469 onwards, contains only the following particulars concerning the period to which our present inquiry relates:—"On the 5th of January, 1551, died M. Chaffre Gourdes, parish priest of Molines, who had held that office for thirty-two years. During this time, he caused the church to be rebuilt," &c. "In the year 1584, the Sieurs Constant Bonnet and Augustin Chabrans were consuls." After this there is no entry till 1590. But if the atrocities mentioned by the authors above cited, had taken place in 1586, the village chronicler could not have failed to have noticed them, as under date 1591 he notices the expedition of the Vaudois into Queyras, in these terms:—"On the 30th of March of this year, the Vau-

dois came to La Monta and La Chalp, and after having pillaged all, they came to Ristolas, where they burned nine houses, and killed nine persons." And in the year 1555, he had already said that 400 Vaudois women from the valley of Lucerna, "sought refuge in this commune of Molines," &c.

The manuscript from which these extracts are made, is a folio, entitled, *Livre de Mémoires par moy Chaffrey Roulph de Fougillarde, hameau de la commune de Molines . . . tirés des trangetons les plus anciens que j'ai pu trouver . . .*, &c. [Book of Memoirs, by me, Chaffrey Roulph of Fougillarde, a hamlet in the commune of Molines . . . derived from the most ancient trangetons which I have been able to find. . . , &c.] It is in the library of M. Aristide Albert, advocate in Grenoble, the author of a learned monograph on the Oisannais, &c.

APPENDIX, No. III.

JOURNAL OF A VAUDOIS OFFICER, CONCERNING THE MILITARY OPERATIONS WHICH FOLLOWED THE RETURN OF THE VAUDOIS TO THEIR OWN COUNTRY IN 1639, AND PARTICULARLY THE SIEGE OF THE BALSILLE IN 1690.

The work from which these extracts are made, is a quarto manuscript of seventy-two pages, written in a neat hand. On the margin of the first page is the following note:—"Mr. G. ROBERT, the author of this narrative, was afterwards a lieutenant in the service of the Republic [of Holland]. In the year 1716, he sent to me at Voorburg this narrative, written with his own hand."

Arnaud, in the enumeration which he gives of the Vaudois troops and their officers, says, that the troops from Pramol and St. Germain were placed under the command of Captain Robert. (*Glorious Return*, First Day, p. 46.) It is probable that Captain Robert was compelled to leave the Vaudois valleys in consequence of the new vexations to which their inhabitants were subjected in 1698, and that he repaired to Holland, and there followed the profession of arms. M. Clignet, postmaster at Leyden, of whom Arnaud speaks in his preface (p. 54) resigned his office in 1734, in favour of a person named Robert, of Neuville, who was his relative. Perhaps this relationship may have helped to attract the author of the following memoir to the United Provinces.

Our extracts begin at the moment when the expedition reaches the Vaudois country.

When we reached Pragela, M. Arnaud offered up a prayer full of thanksgiving, for the goodness of God to us in having enabled us to surmount all the difficulties which we had experienced on our way. We saw some cavalry on the heights above Fenestrelle, which had been detached in order to cut us off; but as soon as they perceived us in the valley, they withdrew. Fifteen or twenty young men of that valley joined us.

Having passed the night here, we set out next morning to enter the valley of St. Martin. Our route lay by the Col du Lis. This mountain makes the entrance to that valley very difficult. The first opposition which we met with

there, was from a company of soldiers of the army of His Royal Highness; but after having rolled down some stones upon us as we approached, they fled. We pursued our way to the highest part of the mountain, where, unknown to us, the Marquis of Parele awaited our coming, at the head of 800 men. Besides that this number was superior to ours, they were so advantageously posted, that it would have been impossible for us to have forced the pass, if the heavens had not favoured us in the way which I am now to relate. The air was as calm and serene as possible, when suddenly there came on a mist, so thick that a man could scarcely be seen at the distance of a few paces. Thus it happened that one of our people, who was a short distance from the rest, came unexpectedly upon a sentinel. He became aware of this fact by hearing before he saw any one; but marching right up to the sentinel, until he almost touched him, he was addressed in the words, "Say who you are, or I will shoot you;" upon which, without any answer, he shot the sentinel dead. A tumultuous noise arising from the ranks of the soldiers when this first shot was heard, we fired in the direction of the sound, and without giving the enemy time to make any observation as to the amount of our force, we rushed forward, and they, who had not imagined that we were so near, fell into confusion, and fled. Ten or twelve of them, wandering in the mist, fell into our hands. These we put to death.

The mist not permitting us to pursue the enemy, our further gains consequent upon this exploit, were limited to the capture of a flock of sheep, which we found upon this mountain. We proposed to kill them at the village of Barsile, the first to which we came, and the prospect of such food was most acceptable to us, exhausted as we were in consequence of the great scarcity of provisions which we had experienced from the commencement of our expedition. But we had scarcely begun, when our sentinels descried the company of soldiers which has been already mentioned. They also perceived us; but supposing that it was the Marquis of Parele, they imprudently advanced with their handkerchiefs on the ends of their muskets, to signify that they were friends. We surrounded them on all sides, and they discovered their mistake, but rather too late, for it cost them their lives. It may seem that we dealt too severely with our enemies; but it ought to be borne in mind that we had no place in which to keep our prisoners, and that to have allowed them to escape, would have been in two ways destructive to us, by their again fighting against us, and still more by the information which they would have given as to our numbers, which were not known, and were supposed to be greater than they were. Above all, it should be considered that any of our people who were taken by the French, were either hanged or sent to the galleys, and we were firmly persuaded that the Savoyards would not treat us with greater favour.

After this success, all the Vaudois who were amongst us, wished to proceed at once to their own respective villages. But M. Arnaud represented to them so well the certain destruction which they would thus bring upon themselves, that they remained together.

We next went to Pras, where we found some Savoyards, who had come into the place of the Vaudois when they were expelled. The avidity with which they had come to seize on possessions which did not belong to them, cost them their lives. None of them were spared whom it was in our power to kill. We found there also a little Protestant place of worship, which the Savoyards had used for saying their mass. We threw down the altar and cast out the images. Here M. Arnaud preached his first sermon to us. His text was, "Our help is in the name of the Lord."¹

¹ Psal. cxxiv. 8.

After we had remained in this place for some time, it was resolved to go into the valley of Lucerna, as being more habitable than that of St. Martin. However, a troop of our people remained there until we should return. As we were on the way, two battalions of a regiment of guards of His Royal Highness awaited us on the Col Julian, and seemed determined to dispute our passage. But having put our forces in order, we attacked them with such success, that we compelled them to take to flight, and pursued them for a good hour to a position still more advantageous, called the Sere-de-Cruel. But in this new position they made even less resistance than in the former. They abandoned it to us at the first discharge, and passing through the village of Beubisout in haste, they beat a retreat, and at the same time abandoned to us a part of the valley of Lucerna. We then made our cantonment in the hamlet above Beubi, whence we afterwards sent out different detachments.

One of these having made an incursion into the valley of Cayras, we brought back from it a considerable booty of cattle. This enabled us to change our diet, for we had lived for many days upon nothing but chesnuts. The animal food coming after this, we had it for ten days without mixture of any other thing whatever. At the end of that time, there came to us some peasants of that valley, asking us to restore them a part of their cattle, and promising to pay us a certain sum agreed upon, and to furnish us with some salt and other things of which we had need. We were very glad of this interview, and hoped that we might in future have some intercourse with them; and it was very much on this account that we granted them their request, although, indeed, some such arrangement was very necessary for us. They demanded an escort to conduct them over the mountain, and to which they should give the things that had been agreed upon. We gave them a few men for this purpose; but instead of keeping their word with us, they brought the men into an ambuscade of a company of French soldiers. Our people discovered this just in time to throw themselves into a building of four stone walls which had served as a sheepfold, and which became a sort of rampart for them, in which they defended themselves like lions, till the captain who attacked them, enraged that four men should resist him so long, resolved to storm their fortress, and rushed on, sword in hand. But his boldness cost him his life, and the lives of some of the bravest of the soldiers who followed him. The rest, finding that only death-strokes were to be got by fighting with men thoroughly desperate, thought proper to retire. Our men then left the scene of combat unharmed. It may easily be conceived, that although those who had deceived us in this case had failed in their design, we did not like them the better upon that account, and did not omit the first proper occasion which presented itself of punishing them.

We sent another detachment to make an incursion into the valley of Angrogna. But the Marquis of Parelle had occupied a position which commands the entrance of the valley, and after a whole day spent in a combat of musketry, without our being able to force it, we were obliged to return without having gained anything by our enterprize.

On our way back, however, we attacked the garrison of Le Villars, and carried the outwork which defends the entrance of the place, whereupon the garrison threw themselves into the church, making use of it as their last entrenchment. To carry this stronghold, we rolled great casks before us, always advancing nearer; but when we were just near enough the gate and ready to enter, there came a detachment sent by the enemy from the town of Lucerna. As we were not strong enough to make head in two directions at once, we left the church to oppose the relieving party; and whilst we were engaged

with them, the garrison in the church issued from it and fled. Upon this the detachment which came to their assistance also retired. Not being able to pursue them, and being unwilling that all our efforts should end in accomplishing nothing, we demolished the church. The enemy, however, being reinforced by a new detachment, returned to attack us. Being thus opposed by a force greater than our own, and feeling ourselves to be the weaker party, we retired with the loss of a few men killed and taken prisoners. M. Montoux, minister, was amongst the latter. The enemy, having set fire to the village, retired also.

Upon this, it was thought proper to form a little flying camp of ninety men to scour the valley and observe the enemy. Being near the fort of La Tour, we came upon two women who were gathering chesnuts, and to whom we did nothing except questioning them. On finding themselves at liberty, they went and gave information to the Marquis of Parelle of the place where we were and our supposed numbers. The marquis did not allow the opportunity to pass unimproved, but despatched a party during the night to form an ambuscade and surprise us. When the day broke, unarmed men were sent out, who made a pretence of gathering chesnuts. We, having perceived them without suspecting the artifice, ran after them to the place where the party in ambush arrested us by a discharge of musketry. We replied in a similar style. At the sound of the firing, one of our captains, who had come to the vicinity with the view of seizing some grain, attacked the enemy on another side, and we had begun to pursue them, when a double detachment of horse and foot came to reinforce them. The foot soldiers advanced to take possession of a height to which we might have retired, and the cavalry followed the course of a river, thinking to place us between the foot soldiers and themselves. But perceiving their design, we saved ourselves by running with all speed till we gained Le Villard. Deeming this position strong enough to arrest them, we barricaded a bridge which was there, and entrenched ourselves behind the walls of a garden which fronted the bridge. A portion of the enemy having pursued us, delayed to attack us, that they might give time to the other detachments to come up and take us in the rear. But discovering their scheme, we abandoned this post. We were pursued beyond Beubi, which is more than a league and a half from the place we were first attacked. They left a garrison at Beubi, and we rested at Serre-de-Crust, rather less than a quarter of an hour's march from that place.

All this trouble having been caused to us by those two women, and we considering that all with whom we had any intercourse must be proper objects of suspicion to us, as all conspired to seek our destruction, and moreover, that these people followed us in order to gather our chesnuts and grapes, which was to deprive us of the means of subsisting for any considerable time, it was resolved that, in future, no quarter should be given to any one.

The new garrison of Beubi was a great annoyance to us, as we could no longer move about with the same freedom as before. But we kept the garrison also very closely shut up, and no convoy could reach it without a strong escort. We occupied the heights in the neighbourhood, and as soon as we discovered a convoy, we were ready to fall upon it. We had always the heights to retreat to. The enemy placed a watch at the distance of a musket-shot from the gate of their garrison, and we surprised it during the night and put all who composed it to the sword except two, who escaped and carried the tidings to the garrison.

About this time a Vaudois named Gros, who had hitherto preferred his patrimony to his religion, came and joined us. But being unable to submit to the

fatigue and hunger which we were obliged to endure, he took the first favourable opportunity of deserting us again; and having asked a cousin whom he had in our troop to accompany him a little way, he conducted him to the enemy. He played us another trick, which we discovered a few days after, on the death of a captain whose detachment we defeated. Those who killed him found in his pocket a memorandum of the places of concealment in which we had stored up the little provisions which we had. It was in the handwriting of Gros himself. Hereupon, having made a serjeant of the guards prisoner, we pretended to consider that Gros was a prisoner also, and proposed an exchange. He fell into the snare, thinking that he would find opportunities enough of escaping again. But being convicted by the memorandum in his own handwriting, and having no answer to make when he was asked for news of his cousin, he was immediately incapacitated for any further treachery.

There was yet another Vaudois who, being won over by the two capuchins and the Chevalier De Molte, whom we still kept prisoners, fled along with them.

The Savoyards at Roura thought themselves pretty secure, because of their greater distance from us, and of the garrisons which were between, but we came upon them by surprise. We killed all whom we could find of both sexes, carried off much cattle, and set fire to the village. We burned also every house in the neighbourhood where the enemy could find shelter; and they doing the same thing on their part, it was in a short time so completely done, that it would have been difficult to have found in the whole valley a roof under which to be protected from the rain.

His Royal Highness having sent three regiments to join the garrison of Beubi, they proceeded to attack us. It became necessary for us to beat a retreat, having first sent away forty cows and 800 sheep which we had on the mountain. But whilst we were retreating, a lamb fell behind on the way and its mother left the flock to seek it, whereupon she was followed by a second and that by a third; and so one after another all the sheep went over to the side of the enemy, who raised shouts of joy as if they had gained a battle. Having taken up a position at a place called Le Quille, we were there attacked by the enemy on more sides than one, but we repulsed them at all points; and they, having continued these assaults against us all day, retired in the evening. We, seeing no good prospect of being able to maintain our ground much longer in that valley, adopted the resolution of returning to the valley of St. Martin. Fifteen of our friends, however, spent the winter there, moving rapidly about amongst the rocks from one hole to another, and living on whatever they could contrive to get hold of. We passed the Col de Julian again, and went to Pras, where we found the troop still remaining which we had left there. They had found means to make some bread, and upon our arrival they shared it with us, of which we had much need.

After having reposed there for two days, we proceeded to seize the villages of Périer and Villesèche, which are situated at the entrance of that valley and at no great distance from Peyrouse and Pignerol. A small garrison which was in Périer retired at our approach. There we burned a monastery, and demolished it to the foundations. It was within that monastery, according to the Vaudois, that most of the woes inflicted upon them were devised. The vintage not having yet taken place, we replenished our cellars. We collected also a large quantity of chesnuts, with the design of drying them for winter use. Being near La Peyrouse, we attacked a post which was about a cannon-shot from it, and having driven out the French who occupied it, and killed some of them and

taken others prisoners, we caused one of them to be hanged by his comrade in the sight of our enemies.

We had here too good a position for the French, with whom we had to do, to permit us long to occupy it. A great detachment was sent out from Pignerol and passed the Col du Pis, the highest mountain which bounds that valley. We encountered them, dividing our forces so as to meet them in each of the defiles by which they had to come. But being inferior to them in numbers, and being attacked in different parts at once, we were compelled to give way, but not until we had disputed, as well as we could, all the passes in which we could act against them with advantage. They set fire to every habitation which they found in their way, from the highest to the lowest part of the valley. They burned the chestnuts which we had laboriously collected, poured out our wine, and retired by Peyrouse. We returned to re-occupy our position, wasted by fire as the place was, and thence we continued to make our excursions. Being generally upon the heights, to see what could be seen, we one day descried three mules approaching, two of them laden with bread, and one with wine for a post in the neighbourhood, and conducted by two companies of Piedmontese. Upon this, a Vaudois captain, named Tron, exclaiming, "He that loves me, follow me," eighteen of us went with him in pursuit of the mules. We could not come up with them until they reached the post whither they were going, but the two companies abandoned it to us. Thus, we had bread and wine, which we carried off, after having killed the mules, for we could not bring them by the paths which we were accustomed to use. The chestnuts now began to fail, and we were at a loss to find anything on which to live. This was the reason that thirty French refugees, losing courage, resolved to return to Switzerland by the mountains of Dauphiny. But they had the misfortune to be taken by the French, who conducted them to Grenoble, where sentence was passed upon them, and some were hanged and others sent to the galleys. One of them was put to a cruel death for having assumed the title of Commandant, which, however, the Vaudois had not accorded to him. He was broken on the wheel. A dozen Vaudois, who also thought fit to leave us, were arrested as they were passing by the . . . They had chosen this route in the hope that, on account of the language, they might have less difficulty. His royal highness merely kept them prisoners.

The French being informed of our condition by those of our people whom they had taken prisoners, again sent out a great detachment to seize upon the villages of Périer and Villesèche. They came again by the Col du Pis. Although we were only about 480 men, we did not hesitate to go to meet them. But not being sufficiently strong to occupy all the defiles, as would have been requisite, and fearing that we might be cut off, we retired after a few discharges. They thought to fortify themselves at Macel. But as this would entirely have cut off our communication with Pras and the valley of Lucerna, we took post on a height above the village, from which we fired upon them, so that they were obliged to retire.

They placed garrisons at Le Périer, Villesèche, and Le Becet, by which we were so closely hemmed in, that we could no longer find anything on which to subsist. We spent some days to no purpose in moving about around their garrisons, thinking that some convoys would make their appearance. Three days having passed, during which we did not succeed in seizing anything, we were reduced to the necessity of feeding on the coarsest wild fruits which we found in the woods. One of our parties having gone in the direction of Angrogna, surprised a small body of the troops of his royal highness, who fled and abandoned their very camp, and thirteen mules which had brought them munitions

of war. Our people killed the mules, set fire to the tents, and carried away some provisions which they found there.

We then resolved to seek a proper place to winter in. That which seemed to us the best, was a little hill at the base of the mountain of Le Clapié. It is called the Four Teeth [*Les Quatre Dents*.] I suppose it has received this name from its form; for this little hill has four points in the form of teeth, which served us for bastions and half-moons; the second commanding the first, and the last commanding all the rest. It is situated above the village of La Balsille. We there made some entrenchments and barracks, which we dug in the earth, in order to render them less subject to cold, covering them with hay, straw, or boards, as we could find materials for our purpose. Thirteen days were employed in this work, during which we had no food, except some coleworts and radishes, which we boiled without salt, fat, or butter. Often, indeed, we ate them without taking time to cook them.

We afterwards discovered a few houses on the mountain, which had escaped burning, with corn unthrashed, of which several barns were full. We carried it to our post. There were two mills in the neighbourhood, one at the distance of a musket-shot, and the other of half-an-hour's walking. But the millstones only were there without any machinery. We fitted them up again at the expense of two other mills which we plundered in Dauphiny, and we laboured so assiduously, that in a few days our mills began to yield us flour.

The enemy, contrary to their usual conduct, had given us time to accomplish all this, without incommoding us, till one morning they surprised those of our men who were at the mill farthest away, of whom they killed two and carried other two to Pignerol. When we heard the firing, we ran to the spot, but were not able to reach it soon enough; so that the enemy broke the millstones, and set fire to the building, after having thrown the corn and flour into the river. But we gave them something to do at the two most difficult parts of the way which lay between them and our stronghold, keeping them in check so long, that our people who were at the other mill had time to retire. This they did after taking away all the machinery and some boards which covered it. The whole place seemed nothing but a paltry ruin; for our people had also taken the precaution to cover the millstones with water. The French, arriving and seeing nothing but a ruin, planted themselves behind it to fire at us. There they remained till evening. And when they retired we convoyed their rear-guard with discharges of musketry, which were not all thrown away. They returned afterwards several times to attack us, but managing always in the same way, we preserved our mill during the whole winter. As we continued to make incursions into Dauphiny, the enemy being apprised that one of our detachments had gone towards Bouriet, sent a party from Villesèche to cut it off. But we seeing them, advanced to meet them. We found them just arrived at the base of the mountain. But as it was of importance to gain the height, by which our people must return to their own place, we climbed within pistol-shot of each other, without a musket being fired. We very soon, however, got before them, being better used to that sort of climbing than they were, and seized the pass. There they attacked us several times, but they were repulsed. In the evening, our people arrived, and we returned to our fort, and the French to their garrison.

There now took place so great a fall of snow, that it was almost impossible for us any longer to make incursions into Dauphiny. Moreover, there was no village on the frontier, when there were not now troops, and when we approached any of them, the enemy entrenched themselves in the churches, in which also they slept, so as to prevent us from taking them by surprise. Sometimes we

made an attempt upon one village, sometimes upon another. When we arrived, we divided our force into two parts, the one half confronting the enemy, whilst the other entered the houses and loaded themselves with bread or flour. Those who had confronted the enemy, then became the rear-guard, and then we divided what we had got, which often was very little, among the whole detachment.

Towards the peasants of that region, we conducted ourselves in a very different way from that which we adopted towards the Savoyards. For we frequently paid for the victuals which we took, when no resistance was made to us. Whereupon, some of the people of the village of Bourcet came and offered them to us for payment. They added, that we must go to their village and take them. We sent eight of our men along with them, who, on arriving at the village, found themselves surrounded by soldiers; and the soldiers hastily firing on them, killed one of our captains. The rest found means of escaping. We soon punished this treachery, one of our detachments burning the village.

We afterwards made an expedition to . . . , passing by the Col du Pis. This mountain being very high, there was so much snow upon it, that for two leagues we found it in many places more than four feet deep. And as no previous parties of any kind had passed that way, we found it necessary to make a path for ourselves, which was not done without much labour. Arriving in the neighbourhood of the village during the night, we sent scouts to reconnoitre, who brought us word that the garrison was stronger than we, and entrenched in the church. We did not think our force sufficient to attack them; we therefore found ourselves obliged to return without doing anything, and without gaining anything by our toil but a great appetite. Many had brought no bread with them, some, because they had it not, and others, because they counted upon getting it; so that those who had a little were under the necessity of sharing it with their companions.

On our way back to our fort, we did not know what was to become of us. We were surrounded by mountains covered with snow, with enemies at the mouths of all the passes which led from them, and without any provisions. In this hard extremity, having no longer any help to expect from men, we lifted up our hearts and our hands to God, whose Providence and infinite goodness had already supplied our wants before we had even asked it. He had preserved a kind of manna in our frightful wilderness, by which we saw that he never utterly abandons those who have really put their trust in him. Thus it was. When we arrived in the valleys, there were some fields in elevated situations which had not yet been reaped, and the corn having been laid flat upon the ground by the rain, had been afterwards entirely covered with snow. All who are acquainted with that country, are aware that these heights are covered with snow during six months of the year. But by a special interposition of Providence, at the very time when we were at the point of perishing for hunger, there came a south wind and melted the snow which covered the corn, and had preserved it for us. Hereby we saw that God was always for us. This wind began in the month of January, and continued till the end of April. In this wonderful and peculiar manner we were supplied with bread all the time that we were shut in upon every side. The enemy also ceased to harass us, because the snow made the roads impracticable. And as they were not aware of the source from which our means of subsistence were derived, and had been informed that we were destitute of provisions, they thought themselves sure of having us without any risk.

Here I must not omit to state what our conduct was amongst ourselves. In general it was founded upon perfect mutual confidence. Therefore, whatever was done, and whatever happened, every one was contented. When the whole

body went on any expedition, and left only a detachment to guard the stronghold, everything that we had was equally divided on their return. When a small party went out, the members of it were allowed to keep to themselves for their reward, whatever they might get. Our barracks contained each a company, which was as a family residing under the same roof. However, as there is a great depth of corruption in most men, there were some individuals of our body who did not do exactly as they ought. They had in some excursion made prize of a little money. But instead of making this known, they even denied it. Against this conduct our minister spoke very strongly in some sermons which he made upon the subject. He declared that those who kept the forbidden thing, put themselves in danger of the chastisements of God. Time shewed us how foolish it is to despise such warnings; for the most of these persons, and particularly those of them who were Vaudois, being tempted by their money to return to Switzerland, were taken on the way, as has been already related.

M. Arnaud preached three sermons to us every week, and conducted prayer twice every day, when the enemy left us at peace to meet for it. He led forth no detachment without having first implored the Divine aid, and when they had reached any place where they were to spend the night, they did not lie down nor rise up without engaging again in prayer. In our barracks, some of us read aloud one or more chapters at daybreak, a psalm or two were then sung, and this was followed by a prayer. This exercise was repeated three times a-day. Thus it was that our time was spent on that mountain. In spite of us, indeed, it was a Lent, kept with very meagre fare. We ate nothing for some months except bread made of the grain which Providence had led us to discover, as I have already mentioned. This bread was very brown, and had little substance in it. We had nothing to drink but water.

The month of April being come, we began to be released from winter bondage so as to be able to renew our excursions. Every one, as it may well be imagined, was anxious to see an end of our Lent. We sent out a detachment to try if anything could be got with which to keep Easter. It was necessary to march by night, to avoid being discovered by the French, for we passed very close by them. We passed over a mountain where there was still much snow, and were exposed all night to snow then falling. But notwithstanding all this, we arrived an hour before daybreak at a place half a quarter of a league from Pramort. There part of us awaited the dawn, and the rest went on to St. Germain. These two places, both in the valleys, were inhabited by Savoyards, who dwelt in great security, trusting to their garrison, and imagining, as others did, that we must all have died of famine in course of the winter. This being the case, they were, in no small degree, astonished when we burst into their villages, which was at daybreak, and just about the same time the garrison beat the alarm. We did not succeed in surprising the garrison, which fled by the one end of the village as we entered by the other. Not many, even of the peasants, lost their lives. After having collected together all the cattle, we set fire to the village. Whilst we were thus occupied at Pramort, our comrades were doing the like at St. Germain, and from these two places we carried off a considerable booty. Towards evening, the party from St. Germain rejoined us, and we re-passed the mountain. We thought to have kept the same road, under cover of the night, by which we had come. But the French having been apprised, posted themselves at a pass which we could not avoid, without retracing our steps. This, therefore, we were compelled to do; and, after having passed over the mountain, we were under the necessity of ascending it again on the other side.

We were so fatigued, and so overcome by sleep, that we flung ourselves down upon the snow to sleep. But the cold soon compelled us to rise, and when the one left us, the other laid hold of us. In this condition it was that we moved along the mountain side, not far from its summit, till we had reached the vicinity of our fort. In this counter-march we lost some of our cows, which, sliding and falling upon the frozen snow, were seized by the enemy, who followed closely on our track. It was the only advantage that they gained. We arrived happily at our fort, without any other loss.

In the beginning of May, the French came, in order, as they said, to exterminate us. They were 11,000 men, as we afterwards learned; and having made themselves masters of all the positions around our entrenchments, they remained there within pistol-shot. The sentries were obliged to keep themselves concealed, because there was a continual firing on the one side or the other. As their intention was to cut off all possibility of our escape, by occupying all the passes; they were obliged, for this purpose, to place some of their troops on the highest parts of the mountain, where there was a considerable quantity of snow, and where they had not even wood to make a fire. Besides which, all the time that they remained in our vicinity, snow, hail, or rain never ceased to fall; and, what was most remarkable, was, that every time they attacked us, the weather was almost the same, which made them say, that we had the command of the winds and of the rain.

All their precautions did not hinder one of our detachments from making a sortie by night, in order to annoy a regiment of dragoons, encamped on a wooded slope, above which was a great rock. There our people, having gathered a great quantity of large stones, and arranged them as well as they could on the edge of the rock, launched them all at once. As they fell, they set loose other stones, and all together came down with a terrible din upon the poor dragoons. The dragoons having been obliged to kindle fires upon account of the cold, the light of their fires enabled us, amidst the darkness of the night, to see burning billets thrown up as high as the tree-tops when the stones came in contact with them. We learned afterwards that many of the dragoons suffered upon this occasion. Those who were struck by the stones, escaped death only by the loss of a limb. Some were cut through the middle. When it was day, they placed a guard at the spot from which the evil had come upon them; our people, in the meantime, having left it as they went to it.

This regiment of dragoons was encamped by itself, apart from the rest of the enemy's troops, so that their provisions must of necessity be carried past our fort. They were carried past it only during the night. A corporal of our company, and three men with him, meeting this convoy upon one occasion as it passed, without regard to the number of the enemy, fired upon them, and each of our men killing his man, they seized what these men had carried, and each brought back to us a bag of bread, which served as a supply for us all. The corporal who performed this exploit, found himself seized by the collar when he had fired, but as he was stronger or more adroit than his adversary, he threw him down and killed him with his bayonet. The French being apprised of what was taking place by the noise that arose, and more perfectly by the fugitives, marched their piquet towards the scene of action. We descried them by the light of the moon, and saluted them with great discharges of musketry, upon which they made haste to get out of the way again.

We were at this time 370 men in all, divided into fourteen companies. Each company had its assigned post, more or less dangerous according to the strength of the company. There were two stationed at one point, which was the most

exposed of all, but they did not amount together to more than ninety men. M. De La Parat, lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Artois, having been commanded to carry this position by force, advanced at the head of 700 grenadiers, and taking advantage of a thick fog, he was not discovered till he was close to the sentry, who had scarcely time to cry "To arms." Our men, promptly seizing their arms, and rushing from their barracks, were the first to fire, and having discharged their pieces, they dashed forward sword in hand. This movement was executed so rapidly, and was attended with such success, that the enemy were seized with a panic and took to flight, and not knowing how to find the gorge by which they had come, many of them flung themselves headlong over the rocks. Besides these, however, seventy were left upon the ground where the action took place. M. De Parat being wounded in the thigh, we made him prisoner, along with two serjeants who were attempting to bear him off. There was also a captain of grenadiers found amongst the slain. Our people were in too great haste to take the spoils of the slain; had this not been the case, only a very small number of the enemy would have escaped, unequal as was the force opposed to them. We saw their extreme disorder without being able to aid our comrades, because the French were within a short distance of all our posts, and would not have failed to embrace the opportunity of entering if we had left any of them unguarded. The most remarkable thing in this action was that none of our people received any injury, except one man whose musket burst and slightly wounded him in the hand. This was all that we suffered from an army which ought to have exterminated us at once. And, indeed, it was not their fault that they did not. They had the best possible intention of doing so, but God being for us, all their efforts were necessarily fruitless, and turned to their own disadvantage. Behold another manifest proof of this.

We had neglected a place where the hill sloped suddenly away from the very centre of our fort, because of the extreme difficulty of ascending there. The French, perceiving this, caused a detachment to advance upon this point, whilst M. Parat made his assault. This design succeeded so well, that they had reached the base of a poor entrenchment of dry stones which we had made there. There was no guard there, for the reason which I have already stated; and they were on the point of entering, when a woman prevented them. She had gone for water and was returning by this place, and perceiving the enemy, she began to roll down the stones of the fortification upon them. They had no opportunity of firing at her; and she ceased not from her efforts till they were constrained to retire, which was very soon the case, as they were upon a very steep slope, where the stones that were thrown down produced an extraordinary effect.

But for this opposition which Providence seemed to have prepared against the enemy, there can be no doubt that we were in great danger of utter destruction. The good woman to whom, under God, our preservation was to be ascribed, was a Savoyard, whom we had found in the country, and who had always followed us, taking great care of our wounded. We became the objects of this affection to her, because she embraced our religion.

About an hour before the enemy attacked us, we had sung, at the post where my company was stationed, the sixty-eighth psalm, which the enemy might well enough hear. When we brought in the lieutenant-colonel, he told us that when he was ordered upon that duty, and had made himself acquainted with the place, he had sworn an oath that he would sleep that night in our barracks. But he did not think that it was to be as a prisoner. Next day, our people cut off the heads of all the dead, and fixed them upon the points of the palisades where

they had entered. This was done in sight of the enemy. They sent us a surgeon to heal M. De La Parat, with a ridiculous stipulation, that we were to get no benefit of his medicines. However, we paid no attention to this, but kept them carefully because we had none ourselves. And here I ought to mention that after we lost our own, we had nothing to apply to our wounds, but a composition which the Vaudois make, and of which human fat is an ingredient. Every kind of sore was bathed, not with spirits, but with cold water. Notwithstanding all this, almost none died. So true it is that he whom God keeps is well kept.

The enemy having intimated to us that they would give us what ransom we wished for the lieutenant-colonel, we replied that we could not think of selling the blood of our brethren, and that if they would give us prisoners in exchange, we would be very happy to give him into their hands. But they would do nothing. We said to them that they could not wonder if we made reprisals. Our mode of proceeding seemed very strange to them, and great exaggerations were published by them on this subject, as that when we took prisoners we put them to cruel deaths, flaying them alive, or subjecting them to other torments equally terrible. I was present when the greatest numbers of prisoners were taken, and can protest that I never saw anything of the kind; and that when the prisoners were put to death, it was from mere necessity, because of the injury which we might have sustained from letting them escape, or to try if there was no way of putting a stop to that barbarity which the enemy had always shown, both in this war and the preceding ones, sparing neither men, women, nor children. The story current amongst the enemy that we flayed the prisoners alive, may have arisen from the circumstance already mentioned, that the Vaudois made use of human fat in preparing a salve for wounds. When, therefore, they found a fat corpse, they opened it to take out the fat, and the enemy, finding the bodies in this condition, were apt to imagine what I have above stated, their own treatment of us tending to confirm them in such an opinion. But this error was advantageous to us: for they conceived at last a notion of this thing so terrible, that they no sooner saw us appear than they became completely panic-stricken. The following circumstance I saw with my own eyes, and could not have well believed it otherwise. Two of our people, creeping along to surprise an advanced sentry of that regiment of dragoons which I have already had occasion to mention, and being discovered, the regiment quitted its post and ascended a height, from which they began to roll down stones upon the two men.

The enemy, seeing how little success had attended all their enterprises, and distressed by the continual snow and hail, were compelled to decamp. As this movement took place entirely under our eyes, we waited until they had all defiled, to make an attack upon them, which we did at the descent of a hill. They did not perceive us till we were upon them. They fell into confusion and fled, without having time even to form a rear-guard. We pursued them for a league and a half, firing upon them continually, whilst they never fired a single shot. The most remarkable thing was, that the weather became fine as soon as they were gone.

It was not long, however, till they came back, with a reinforcement of 3000 men of the troops of his royal highness, making, with the French troops, a total of 13,000 men. They brought with them two cannons, and with great difficulty dragged them to a height from which they might act against our fortifications. As we had always a detachment out somewhere, and it so happened that we had then one of forty men in Pragela, we numbered in fact only 330

men. They invested us again on all sides. They then sent several communications to us, promising to give us good terms if we would surrender, but declaring that if we waited till the first cannon was fired we should have no quarter. We having rejected this proposal, they afterwards added, that if we would retire into Switzerland they would send hostages whom the Swiss should keep till we were all arrived there, and that the king would give each of us 900 louis d'or. As these were mere Machiavellian proposals, the whole object of which was that they might have us without peril to themselves, we replied that they must fire their cannon and we would find means to answer them. They again demanded the lieutenant-colonel, offering us whatever money we might wish for his ransom. We made them the same answer as before, that we wished only to get other prisoners in exchange; and at the same time we gave orders to the man who kept ward over him, to kill him in the event of our fort being stormed, which he did. We also intimated to the enemy that we wished to have no more conferences with them. They continued, however, whilst they laboured at their battery, to call to us very often through a speaking trumpet, to surrender before the cannon began to fire, if we would save our lives, to which we replied only by discharging our muskets.

The battery having begun to fire, made terrible havoc of our entrenchments, which consisted only of dry stones, and it became impossible to remain behind them. A sufficient breach having been made, the enemy divided themselves into several bodies, in order to attack us on all sides. We were thus obliged to retire to our innermost stronghold; and to do this we were under the necessity of exposing ourselves to the fire of more than 3000 men, who kept up an incessant fire on the points against which they had been led, whilst the rest pursued us. Yet we had none killed, although many were wounded. Being no longer able either to advance or retreat, we arrested the enemy by musket shots, and by rolling down stones upon them. However, we could not have continued our resistance much longer, if the night had not come on, when the enemy relaxed their efforts; but keeping us shut in upon all sides, and doubling their guard, which was now limited to a much narrower space than before, they had no thought that we could escape from them. Thus were we reduced to a most deplorable condition, and to all appearance it was a thousand to one that we should all perish. But God yet once more displayed his power in our behalf, employing as his instrument for our deliverance an old Vaudois captain called A'Polet. This good man, who had been a great hunter of roebucks, and knew all the paths, encouraged us, and promised that with the help of God he would extricate us from the midst of our enemies. As the first step towards the execution of his plan, we kindled a number of fires, as if we had intended to pass the night where we were. Then we moved off in single file, each man holding by the coat of the man before him, for the night was so dark that if any one let go the coat of his comrade, it was necessary to cause the head of the file to halt. We were often compelled to hold by the brambles and bushes to keep ourselves from falling down the steep. Besides all the other risks which we ran, we passed close by several of the enemies' posts, so near, that to avoid being heard, we all put off our shoes. At last, after having marched all night, with extreme toil and incredible danger, we found ourselves at daybreak out of danger. Of course the enemy did not fail to attack our fortress, as they were commanded, and it is easy to imagine how great must have been their surprise. The greater part of them believed that our minister was a magician, and that he had transported us from thence in the clouds. We continued to march all day without finding anything to eat. Next day we arrived at Rodoré, where

we found herbs beginning to grow in some of the meadows, and halted to gather them; but as we were going to cook them, the enemy, who had come by a shorter road in order to cut us off, appearing at hand, we were compelled to decamp in haste. We did not fail, however, to carry with us our pots, and some as they ran ate the half-cooked vegetables without any seasoning. We succeeded in increasing our distance from the French on paths which we knew much better than they. And having passed over the mountain, we arrived at Pramort, where there were four companies of Piedmontese. On our arrival, two of them threw themselves into a church, and the other two into a house. There we besieged them, and some of our people having found means of mounting on the roof of the house, made an opening in it by which we entered and were hand to hand with these two companies. We gave quarter for the first time to a captain, two lieutenants, and a surgeon. We would have dealt as tenderly with the other captain, but he was too aged to be able to follow us, which cost him his life. As for the soldiers who were in the church, we had already applied fire to the door, which was burning satisfactorily, when the French made their appearance, and we were obliged to relinquish this enterprise. Having sent our prisoners on before us, and also some cows which we had found at this place, under the care of our wounded men, we amused the enemy for some time until they should reach a sufficient distance; after which we retired to a place called Les Clots, a narrow pass at the base of a mountain bordering on the valley of Lucerna.

When we were established in this stronghold, his royal highness sent us word by a special messenger, that he had entered into the grand alliance with England and Holland, and that he would soon give us proof of it. But seeing his troops acting against us in conjunction with those of the French, we supposed that this was merely a snare to entrap us, and accordingly this message produced no further effect. But whilst we were still in the same place, another message came to us to the same purpose, with the addition, that to prove the truth of it, we had only to fix a place where as much bread would be brought to us as we had need of. We fixed a place, and took all possible precautions against being surprised, if there should be any design of the kind. Finding that the promise which had been made to us was kept, we took as much bread as we could carry, and returned to the place from which we had come. On this and the cows which we had brought from Pramort, we were able to subsist for some days.

The French did not now know where we were, till they were conducted to the spot by one of our detachments, which having attacked them, and having been repulsed, was pursued by the enemy to our very hold. This led us to send away our wounded men and our prisoners, with the surgeon, who had been sent for M. de Parat, into a hole of the rock upon the mountain.

The enemy having sent out a number of detachments with a view to cut us off, we did as much in the same way on our part against them as the disproportion of our forces would permit. We anticipated the design of a party of forty grenadiers, which was marching to intercept our passage by the summit of the mountain, and intercepted theirs. After we had thrown them into disorder, eighteen of our number pursued them, sword in hand, for half a league, till they reached their reserve, with which they took shelter. M. De Clerembeau was not more fortunate. For, having ascended in another place with a large detachment, he was attacked by our people, and so roughly handled, that such of his men as escaped slid down the mountain in a sitting posture to the base. The snow being frozen, was in excellent condition for such an amusement. But,

unfortunately, these fugitives came upon the place where our wounded men were, who, not being in general so severely wounded that they could do nothing to preserve themselves from capture, all contrived to make their escape except two. These two were captured, and the surgeon was recaptured, and the two Piedmontese officers set at liberty. Our two wounded men were tied together by the neck, and so conducted, thinking that it would have been an act of kindness to have killed them on the spot, and their lives were prolonged only that they might die in public. Having passed through the valley of Lucerna, and arrived at Villarod, which was in their path, they thought it desirable to have some refreshment. There was there a Vaudois captain, with a detachment, who, having abjured his religion, had entered into the service of his royal highness. M. De Clerembeau, not knowing that his royal highness had entered into the grand alliance, asked the captain if he would have the goodness to give some refreshment to the remains of his detachment, which had escaped from the fury of the barbas, saying that they had had almost nothing to eat for some days. The Vaudois captain affected to sympathize very deeply in his misfortunes, and said that nothing could be more reasonable than his request; that he would go to give orders about everything, and that in the meantime he must cause his men to lay down their arms and go into a house where he would see that everything that was necessary should be brought to them. All this being done as the captain desired, he caused his own detachment, whom he had close at hand, to seize the arms of the enemy, after which he told M. De Clerembeau that he arrested him and all his men, in the name of his royal highness. This was cause of no little surprise, but at the same time of very great joy to our two wounded men, whom the captain ordered to be set at liberty. Those of our people who had so severely handled this detachment, returned to us laden with their spoils.

All this did not prevent the French from finding means of hemming us in. We were compelled to fight every day, and often in such close combat, that not having time to charge our muskets without giving our enemies opportunity of rushing upon us, we made good use of part of the weapons with which David slew Goliath, and drove them back with stones. At this crisis, his royal highness again sent a messenger to tell us to take courage, and that if we could contrive to get out of the dangerous place in which we were, and would come into the valley of Lucerna, we would find plenty of provisions for our use. He knew our malady; for hunger was the worst enemy with which we had to contend. He added also, that he had a regiment of French refugees on the march to join us. It was the regiment of Loche. All this gave us so much the more pleasure, because till this time we had still feared that his royal highness was against us. This good news being soon diffused, the courage of our men at all our posts was redoubled, and that very evening we found means of making our escape.

We reached Beubi, where the garrison had orders from his royal highness to yield that post to us, and to leave us some flour and some wine which they had. This order was executed even before our arrival, for they got out of our way with as much haste, as if we had still been enemies. We, for our part, carried what we found there to a height at a small distance, where we resolved to remain until we should have a perfect certainty of the alliance of which we were still in doubt. But to put an end to all our suspicions, his royal highness sent us some convoys of ammunition and provisions, and caused those of our people that had been taken prisoners to be restored to us. The detachment which had gone to Pragela, before we were besieged in our fort, rejoined us

now, and we received confirmation on all hands of the news that his royal highness was really our ally. Our wounded men, who had been dispersed by the fugitives of M. De Clerembeau's detachment, also returned. There was one of them who having wandered among the mountains and having nothing to eat, killed a young wolf which he came upon, and subsisted for some days upon its raw flesh. He rejoined us about the end of this time, his wound being healed, for which he had never done anything except to wash it with fresh water, which served him instead of spirits, and balsam.

Shortly after this, his royal highness sent the Chevalier Verceil to take command of us . . . , &c.

The remainder of the memoir is chiefly filled with particulars already known, and which are related in the *Israel of the Alps*.

APPENDIX No. IV.

NOTE, BY THE TRANSLATOR, ON THE PRESENT STATE OF THE CONTROVERSY RESPECTING THE ORIGIN OF THE VAUDOIS.

It is my wish merely to present, in the following pages, such a view as the necessary limits will admit, of the opinions and arguments which have been advanced by two or three of the authors who have taken the most prominent part in this controversy, and whose works appear most deserving of attention. The temptation to enter into the discussion of the subject, will, as far as possible, be resisted; but I do not hold myself bound to abstain from the expression of opinion or the indication of an objection to an argument.

Were I to enter into the discussion of the important subject to which this Appendix relates, I would arrange my observations according to the parts of that subject. But my present intention will perhaps be better accomplished, consistently with the narrow limits to which I must confine myself, by a different mode of procedure. I propose, therefore, to exhibit a concise analysis of a few of the most important recent works upon this subject, in the order of their publication. The first of these, and the only one which I shall notice of which the author belongs to the Church of Rome, is the work anonymously published in 1836, but afterwards acknowledged by M. CHARVAZ, then Bishop of Pignerol, "*RECHERCHES HISTORIQUES SUR LA VÉRITABLE ORIGINE DES VAUDOIS ET SUR LA CARACTÈRE DE LEURS DOCTRINES PRIMITIVES*," an octavo volume of considerable thickness.¹

M. Charvaz begins by assuming that Bossuet did not feel it to be necessary to discuss the question of the origin of the Vaudois in his *History of the Variations of Protestantism*, because most of the writers of his own and of preced-

¹ See the "Bibliography," pp. 411 and 412 of the present volume.

ing times held the same opinion upon that subject with himself.¹ Yet afterwards, apparently unconscious of the inconsistency, he refers the opposite opinion to the period of the Reformation, and to the dishonesty both of the Vaudois and the Reformers, whom he represents as more anxious to establish an apparent apostolic descent, than scrupulous about the means of accomplishing it.² In addressing himself to his task of proving that the Vaudois had no existence prior to the latter part of the twelfth century, M. Charvaz singles out two advocates of the opposite opinion, against whom more especially to contend with the weapons of argument, sarcasm, and ridicule. These are two Vaudois ministers, M. Brez, the author of a *History of the Vaudois*, published in Paris in 1796;³ and M. Muston, now the author of the *Israel of the Alps*, but who had then only given to the world the first volume of a *History of the Vaudois* on a different plan,⁴ upon account of which he was banished from the land of his fathers, and separated from his friends and from his flock.

It may be noticed in passing, that M. Charvaz descants not a little upon the uncharitable spirit displayed, as he thinks, by these writers, and by the whole class to which they belong, in the use of such expressions as *atrocities*, *ferocious fanaticism*, and the *monstrous tyranny of Rome*. He wonders at their want of gentleness, but ascribes it to their religion!⁵ His own gentleness and charity prevent him from giving utterance to any severe censure of the deeds which have formed, as he says, "the text for the outrageous declamations of the Vaudois historians." He describes only the declamations as outrageous [*bloody*];⁶ he applies no such epithet to the deeds. Thus he affords an illustration of a kind of charity very peculiar, but sufficiently familiar to those who have read much in the writings of the controversialists of Rome. That the treatment to which the Vaudois were subjected, can be appropriately characterized in language less severe than that which Protestant historians have employed, M. Charvaz does not think it necessary even to attempt to show. But he would fain relieve his church from the blame, if the deeds are blameworthy; and whereas the want of gentleness and charity seems at first to be in the mere use of the severe condemnatory language, it by-and-by seems rather to be in the application of that language to the Church of Rome, to which the events which are the text of the outrageous declamations ought by no means to be ascribed. No, the Vaudois were never persecuted on account of their religion; they suffered only as rebels against the state!⁷ The effrontery with which such an assertion is hazarded, can only be excelled by the parade of charity with which it is accompanied. And when we find M. Charvaz charging Vaudois authors with dishonesty in the use of documents, or seeming to establish a point by quotations from authors not easily accessible for verification, it is right to bear in mind not only the common tricks of the apologists of Rome, with whom dishonest quotation is habitual, but also how, in this instance, he shows himself capable of misrepresenting the surest and plainest facts of history.

For sources of true information respecting the Vaudois, M. Charvaz refuses the Vaudois historians, because (he says it with pain!) they are not to be trusted; they abound in falsehoods and contradictions.⁸ And in support of his strong statements upon this point, he quotes a letter of Morland, which is nothing to the purpose. Morland complains of the difficulty which he finds in obtaining exact information concerning the events of a period of war and trouble, and that

¹ *Avant-propos*, p. ii.

² See "Bibliography," in the present volume, pp. 408, 409.

³ *Avant-propos*, p. x.

⁴ *Sanglantes*.

⁵ *Avant-propos*, p. xi.

⁶ P. 96, *et seq.*

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 405.

⁸ P. 19.

the published narratives are inaccurate in many things. And this M. Charvaz is pleased to accept as a proof not only of the unfaithfulness of the Vaudois pastors, by whom some of these narratives were written, but of Vaudois authors in general. Had not this conclusion been one which it suited his purpose to draw, M. Charvaz would have easily found many reasons for inaccuracy of details in the contemporary narratives of a time of trouble, quite consistent with truthfulness, and would have seen the folly of extending an inference from a few such narratives to all the writings of Vaudois pastors.

He has yet another reason for refusing to admit the Vaudois historians as authorities in the earlier periods of Vaudois history: they do not write the history of the sect of Valdo, but that of an imaginary sect which nobody ever knew anything about till they proclaimed it. But this is so manifestly the very question at issue, that it is hard to imagine how even a Popish controversialist could venture to introduce it, at the outset, as a reason for his choice of authorities.

Prevented, by these strong reasons, from giving any heed to Vaudois evidence, M. Charvaz has recourse to the evidence of old authors who have written concerning the Vaudois sect. That the evidence thus obtained may be a little one-sided, does not appear to occur to him as any objection to its absolute sufficiency. His mode of procedure, in these historic researches, is to fling aside at once all that comes from a Vaudois source, and to receive with full confidence all that is said of the Vaudois by their adversaries.

No fact, he says, is more clearly established by contemporary evidence, or unites more perfectly all the characteristics of historic certainty, than that the Vaudois were regarded as a sect of quite recent origin at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and that they first made their appearance in the latter half of the twelfth.¹ The first witness whom he adduces is Bernard, abbot of Foncald, who, in the end of the twelfth century, wrote a *Treatise against the Vaudois*.² He rests much upon the fact, that this author designates the Vaudois as *new heretics*, who suddenly made their appearance in the time of Pope Lucius (Lucius III., 1181-85), and were condemned by that pope, and by the Bishop of Narbonne; and he argues that even if *some years* elapsed between the first promulgation of their errors and the condemnation of them, these heretics must be held not to have appeared till towards the end or within the second half of the twelfth century.³ But he forgets that if the existence of the Vaudois in the *earlier part* of the second half of the twelfth century can be proved, it is as fatal to the supposition that they derived their doctrines and their name from Valdo, as if they were proved to have maintained the same doctrines and borne the same name in the previous century: for it was not till 1173 that, according to the *Chronicle of Laon*, Valdo began to devote himself to a life of piety and evangelistic zeal; it was not till 1178 that he went to Rome to lay before Pope Alexander III. his scheme of a religious fraternity, and it was shortly after this year that he became the object of dislike on the part of the bishops and clergy, and that he and his disciples incurred ecclesiastical censures, and finally excommunication, which was confirmed by Pope Lucius in 1184.⁴ Moreover, the words of Bernard of Foncald, "*Subito extulerunt caput novi heretici*," do not very clearly declare that the heresy originated at the time of which he speaks, but may signify no more than that these heretics then, for the first time,

¹ P. 33.

² See the *Israel of the Alps*, vol. i. p. 18, note, and the "Bibliography," in the present volume, p. 414.

³ Pp. 33-38.

⁴ See Gilly, article "Valdo," in the seventh edition of *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

attracted attention by new efforts for the promulgation of their opinions. And if the words were more precise, yet they could not well be admitted as proving more than that Bernard, his perfect truthfulness being taken for granted, was not aware of the previous existence of the sect. His evidence on this point cannot well be regarded as more than merely negative, seeing that he does not declare the connection between the Vaudois and Valdo, but gives another derivation of the name of the Vaudois, "*Nimirum a valle densâ*."¹ However, this derivation may be regarded as merely a jest upon the part of the old abbot;² yet his omission of all mention of Valdo is not only important, as rendering his evidence concerning the novelty of the sect merely negative, but also as showing either that he was very imperfectly informed concerning the subject of which he wrote, or that the connection between Valdo and the Vaudois was much less intimate than even Vaudois and Protestant historians are accustomed to represent it. The testimony of this witness, viewed as a whole, is certainly not favourable to the case, in support of which M. Charvaz has called him.

The second witness whom he adduces is Alain de l'Isle (*Alanus Magnus de Insulis*),³ a celebrated professor of theology in the university of Paris, towards the end of the twelfth century. This author certainly says that the Vaudois derive their name from *their heresiarch* Valdo,⁴ but his distant residence renders his testimony on such a point of little value,⁵ whilst his spirit is displayed in bitter and ridiculous declamations against Valdo and his disciples. Moreover, he speaks of the new heretics of his time as the promulgators both of new and old heresies, "*Imò veteribus et novissimis hæresibus debacchantes*." But that the "heresies" of the Vaudois were more ancient than the days of Valdo, is the very point with reference to which the question of the origin of the name is of importance.

M. Charvaz next quotes from Eberard of Béthune,⁶ but to what purpose does not appear, as Eberard never mentions Valdo, and, like Bernard of Foncald, gives a derivation of the name Vallenses from *vallis*,⁷ making the supposition not improbable⁸ that he wrote before Valdo had done anything to attract notice. Peter of Vaucernay, whom M. Charvaz next adduces,⁹ and whose history of the Albigenses was probably written in 1212, certainly derives the name of the Vaudois from Valdo, but his whole account of them is such as may be supposed to have been written by a credulous and bigoted monk, but could never have proceeded from the pen of a well-informed and trustworthy historian. As to the inhabitants of the Alpine valleys, Peter of Vaucernay might very probably know little about them; and even as to the Albigenses, the main subject of his history, he relates things utterly absurd and incredible.¹⁰

After these witnesses, M. Charvaz brings forward, with no little parade,

¹ See *Israel of the Alps*, vol. i. pp. 13, 14, and notes there.

² His words are, "Qui quodam præsigio futurorum sortiti vocabulum, dicti sunt Valdenses; nimirum a valle densâ; eo quod profundis et densis errorum tenebris involvantur." The passage is given by Charvaz in his Appendix.

³ See "Bibliography," in this volume, p. 413.

⁴ "Hi Valdenses dicuntur a suo hæresiarchâ qui vocabatur Valdus."

⁵ It is perhaps worthy of notice, as bearing on the value of the testimony of Alanus Magnus, "the universal doctor," that he records the familiar appearance of Satan to the Albigenses in the form of a great cat. (See Faber, *Vallenses and Albigenses*, pp. 253 and 255.)

⁶ P. 40, &c. See *Israel of the Alps*, vol. i. p. 18, note, and p. 413 of the present volume.

⁷ "Quidam autem qui Vallenses se appellant, eo quod in valle lacrymarum mancant, Apostolos habentes in derisum," &c.

⁸ See *Israel of the Alps*, vol. i. p. 18, note.

⁹ P. 42, &c.

¹⁰ See Faber, *Inquiry into the History and Theology of the Ancient Vallenses and Albigenses*, p. 255, note.

"one who, of all that were contemporary, or nearly contemporary, with Valdo, has recorded, with the greatest minuteness and precision, everything relative to the time, the place, and other circumstances, of the appearance of this sect."¹ This important witness is Stephen of Belleville, or of Borbone,² who certainly gives a sufficiently minute and circumstantial account of the commencement of Valdo's evangelistic labours, and declares him to have been the first author of the heresy of the Vaudois ("Valdenses autem dicti sunt à primo hujus hæresis auctore, qui nominatus fuit Waldensis"). The passage quoted from this author, M. Charvaz thinks, leaves nothing to be desired, the evidence which it contains is so conclusive as to the origin of the Vaudois heresy. Father Stephen, however, was not quite a contemporary of Valdo; the date assigned by M. Charvaz, for his having already acquired a great reputation by the exercise of his ministry at Lyons, is 1223, fully thirty years after the events which he relates; and whilst allowance ought certainly to be made for the influence on his mind and narrative of the prejudices of his class, it seems worthy of notice, that he calls the Lyonesse reformer not Valdo, but Waldensis, or Valdensis, which seems an appellative, and as such needs to be accounted for; and also that he speaks of Valdo's followers, the *Poor Men of Lyons*, as having joined with other heretics of Provence and Lombardy, whose errors they adopted and propagated. ("Postea in Provinciae terrâ et Lombardiae cum aliis hæreticis se admiscentes, et errorem eorum bibentes et serentes.") M. Charvaz thinks himself entitled to ridicule M. Muston for assuming, as he says (in his first work), that these pre-existing heretics, of Provence and Lombardy, were the Vaudois of Piedmont. But the proof that the Vaudois doctrines existed in Lombardy and Piedmont before Valdo's time, is as complete as M. Charvaz's own witness can make it.

His next witness, whom he thinks as good as those already adduced, is Father Moneta, "a celebrated professor of philosophy, in the university of Bologna,"³ to whose work he assigns the date 1244, and who speaks of the Vaudois heresy having originated with Valdo about eighty years before—"Non sunt plures quam octoginta anni, vel si plures aut pauciores, parum plures vel pauciores existunt"). This statement Moneta makes for the purpose of arguing that the Vaudois cannot be the church of God—"Ergo non sunt successores Ecclesie primitivæ; ergo non sunt Ecclesia Dei"). "But if the Vaudois assert that their way existed before Valdo, let them prove it by some evidence," says Father Moneta, "which," he adds, "they can by no means do."⁴ Father Moneta may not be a very good witness to prove that the Vaudois originated from Valdo, although, certainly, a very willing one; but he is not a bad witness to prove that in his day already the Vaudois represented themselves as having existed before Valdo, so that this is not, as is sometimes alleged by Popish writers, a novel claim of comparatively recent times.

M. Charvaz's next witness is Reynerus Saccho,⁵ who, having been for some time a Vaudois minister, became a Popish priest and inquisitor of the province of Lombardy. These circumstances, M. Charvaz thinks, entitle him to the highest possible credit; and a passage in which he declares the Leonists, or Poor Men of Lyons, to have originated from Valdo, is vauntingly adduced as decisive; and because it is so decisive concerning the origin of the Vaudois, the Vaudois authors, M. Charvaz says, have not ventured to quote it! It is not necessary to follow him into any question concerning the identity of the Vaudois and the Poor Men of Lyons. Admitting all that he asserts on this point, the testi-

¹ P. 43.² See p. 414 of this volume.³ Ibid.⁴ See Charvaz, pp. 49-52, and Appendix, p. 457.⁵ See p. 412 of this volume.

mony of his witness, Reynerus, on the question of the relation of the Vaudois to Valdo, is manifestly worthless.

Not much more to the purpose is that of Peter de Polichdorf,¹ whom he next quotes, and who, he says, "lived, according to Basnage, towards the middle of the thirteenth century, and must have been perfectly acquainted with the Vaudois."² Incidentally, however, it appears from the passage which M. Charvaz quotes from Polichdorf, that the Vaudois of his day by no means recognized Valdo as the founder of their sect, and on this point his testimony is liable to no suspicion. He is very angry with these "sons of iniquity," for referring their separate ecclesiastical existence to the time of Pope Sylvester, when they represented the Roman church as having become corrupt by the acquirement of temporal possessions—"Ortus et origo Waldensium hæreticorum talis est: licet iniquitatis filii coram simplicibus mentiantur, dicentes sectam eorum durasse a temporibus Sylvestri papæ."³ That Polichdorf makes such mistakes in matters of fact, as to make the author of the Vaudois heresy a rich citizen of *Walden*⁴ instead of Lyons, and to give the time of Pope Innocent II., who died in 1143, as that in which his heresy originated, does not seem to M. Charvaz a reason for doubting his evidence concerning the connection of the Vaudois with Valdo. These are mere errors in *matters of detail*,⁵ he says, and easily accounted for, by considering that Polichdorf was a German, and somewhat more remote than the previous witnesses from the scene of the events. With still greater absurdity, if possible, M. Charvaz goes on to quote a fragment of uncertain authorship, sometimes ascribed to Polichdorf, from which he tries to make it appear that the Vaudois of Polichdorf's time were accustomed to mention more than one date of their origin, and more than one founder of their sect; that if their fiction (*mensonge*) regarding the times of Pope Sylvester were not credited, they might, at least, get credit for having existed from the time of Valdo. The probability that his author may have blundered in some of these matters of detail, does not occur to M. Charvaz.

And now he proceeds to adduce his last witness, an anonymous author, by some supposed to have been Ivonetus,⁶ but of whom he does not himself pretend to fix the precise date, and who, after all, only says that the Poor Men of Lyons derived their origin from Valdo (*Valdensis*). He thinks it unnecessary to go farther in the way of quotation, because "the depositions of witnesses, posterior to those who have been cited, could add nothing to their authority." He might have made the same reflection rather sooner; but with prodigious complacency, he tells us that these "contemporary, or almost contemporary" authors whom he has quoted, must be the source and authority of all history upon this subject.⁷ Let the reader look again to the dates of the contemporary, or almost contemporary authors, and compare them with the date of Valdo's labours. And let the character and prejudices of the witnesses be duly taken into account, that it may be seen whether M. Charvaz has established the point with regard to which they were adduced. A very little inquiry into the stories told concerning the *heretics* of these ages, by contemporary or almost contemporary monks and priests, is enough to deprive their testimonies of much value, even as to those things which they might have known with greatest certainty.⁸

M. Charvaz now takes up a new branch of his argument. He undertakes to

¹ See p. 413 of this volume.² Charvaz, p. 62.³ Charvaz, Appendix, p. 460.⁴ "Quæ in finibus Franciæ sita est," says he; but the site of *Walden* has never been discovered.⁵ Charvaz, p. 65.⁶ See p. 414 of this volume.⁷ Charvaz, pp. 75, 76.⁸ See Faber, *Ancient Vallenses and Albigenses*.

account for the alliance of the Vaudois and the Reformers, and after a description of Protestantism, to which it is hard to say whether ignorance or wilful falsehood has most largely contributed, he sets forth, with all the confidence of a historian stating the most notorious facts, the motives by which both Vaudois and Protestants were basely animated, the hatred of the Roman Catholic church which impelled the Vaudois to embrace the new tenets of the Reformers, and the anxiety for some show of antiquity which made the Protestants value such feeble auxiliaries. After this characteristic display of generous and charitable feeling, he goes on to state that a descent from Valdo not appearing sufficient, a claim to higher antiquity was invented, and Valdo was represented not as the founder of a sect, but as a disciple of a sect long previously existing.¹ It can hardly escape observation, that this account of the origin of the Vaudois claim to an antiquity reaching back beyond the time of Valdo, is directly contrary to the admissions of the old Catholic authors, just before adduced as witnesses by M. Charvaz, who, in the very passages quoted by him, plainly speak of such a claim as already put forth by the Vaudois in their time. It seems, however, to have escaped the observation of the Bishop of Pignerol. He had not a sufficiently good memory!

Proceeding to another part of his subject, he discusses the origin of the name Waldenses or Vaudois, a point, however, upon which he does not throw much light. He, indeed, affects to despise the derivation of Valdo or Valdensis from *vallis* (a valley); but seems to admit, that the latter form of Valdo's name has been used upon the supposition of its being a name derived from the name of a place.² As to the old Catholic authors who derive the name from *vallis*, playfully adding pleasant fancies of their own as to the kind of valley, M. Charvaz does not hesitate to set aside all that they have said of this sort, keeping firm hold, however, of their statement, that Valdo founded the Vaudois sect. Polichdorf was "certainly mistaken" when he made the heresiarch a citizen of Valden; but Polichdorf does say that Valdo founded the Vaudois sect (*Petrus Valdensis . . . ex quo secta Valdensis est orta*), "and this is enough for us (*et cela nous suffit*)," adds M. Charvaz, with no apparent consciousness of absurdity.³

M. Charvaz devotes a number of pages to the other names borne by the Vaudois, in what he calls the first ages of their existence, and to their union with other sects, in which will be found little that is relevant to the question of their origin: but an argument which he founds upon a passage of William of Puy Laurens, perhaps deserves to be noticed. That author mentions amongst heretical sects, the Vaudois or Lyonesse (Valdenses sive Lugdunenses). It is impossible, says M. Charvaz in a note, to imagine how this historian could call them indifferently Vaudois or Lyonesse, unless they really derived their origin from Lyons and from Peter Valdo!⁴ It is impossible for him to imagine that the new impulse given to their cause may have given rise, and particularly amongst those who knew nothing of them before, to a new name.

It may not be improper to mention also, an attempt which M. Charvaz makes to show that the advocates of the antiquity of the Vaudois are at variance amongst themselves as to the date to which they make it remount, some going back only to Claude of Turin, some to Pope Sylvester, and some to the apostles. This is only worthy of notice, however, as showing the unfairness which characterizes M. Charvaz as a controversialist. He is one of those who misrepresent their opponents, and to whom no sort of argument comes amiss.

¹ Charvaz, pp. 86-103.² Ibid. p. 117.³ Ibid. p. 133.⁴ Ibid. p. 153.

A large part of his work is devoted to an examination of the proofs which have been adduced to show that the Vaudois existed before the days of Valdo. He expresses himself in very strong terms against the Vaudois historians for resting too much upon certain passages which they quote from Reynerus Saccho and from Polichdorf, and dishonestly keeping out of view the great number of other writers, some of whom are more ancient than these, who testify expressly against this pretended antiquity. We have seen already who these other writers are, and what their testimony is. We may take for granted that M. Charvaz has not failed to supply this defect of the Vaudois historians. The passage of Reynerus, quoted by Léger and other authors as supporting the Vaudois claim of antiquity, causes him no little trouble. No sect is more pernicious, Reynerus says, than that of the Leonists, and this for three reasons, *first*, because it is of longer endurance, some saying that it has endured from the time of Sylvester, and some, that it has endured from the time of the apostles; *secondly*, because it is more general, there being almost no country in which it does not exist. ("Inter omnes has sectas, quæ nunc sunt, vel fuerunt, non est perniciosior Ecclesiæ quam Leonistarum. Et hoc tribus de causis. Prima est quia est diuturnior. Aliqui enim dicunt quod duraverit a tempore Sylvestri: alii a tempore Apostolorum. Secunda quia est generalior. Fere enim nulla est terra in qua hæc secta non sit. Tertia," &c.) In his next chapter, Reynerus gives an account of the origin of the Leonists, deriving them from Valdo of Lyons, and which we have already seen that M. Charvaz adduces in support of his view of the origin of the Vaudois. But it is in vain that he alleges that chapter to have been intended by Reynerus as a refutation of the higher antiquity ascribed by some to the Leonists, or claimed by themselves. The passage bears no such shape; and Reynerus remains a witness that in his day the claim was well known, which Popish writers would now fain represent as a novelty of modern times. And, moreover, it may fairly be taken for granted, that if Reynerus, who wrote little more than half a century after the days of Valdo, had regarded the claim to antiquity as utterly unfounded, he would not have failed to have exclaimed against those who had the audacity to advance it. The writers of his class and time do not generally err on the side of excessive gentleness. Nor does M. Charvaz himself, notwithstanding his pretensions in that way, when he calls Léger a liar, for asserting, as on the authority of Polichdorf, the prevalence of an opinion amongst the Vaudois of his time, that they had existed, at least, from the beginning of the sixth century. The words of Polichdorf have been already quoted, and the reader may judge for himself as to their import. It may be here mentioned, once for all, that M. Charvaz perpetually reiterates charges of dishonesty against the Vaudois authors, and makes it an argument against their religion, that it was found to have need of such support!

It is not necessary, for our present purpose, to follow this author very closely in the part of his work to which we have now come, nor even to inquire whether he is or is not successful in setting aside some of the arguments adduced by Vaudois authors. Let us pass on to his examination of the Vaudois documents. He begins by saying that Léger published many in his *History*, but that the Vaudois writers of the present day have prudently reduced the number to two—the *Book of Antichrist* and the *Noble Lesson*. The truth of this statement may be, in some measure, tested by reference to Part II. of the *Bibliography* in the present volume. As to the *BOOK OF ANTICHRIST*,² M. Charvaz refuses to admit that it can be a production of the twelfth century, because of

¹ Quoted by M. Charvaz, in Appendix, p. 471.
VOL. II.² See pp. 443, 444, of this volume.

the quotation which it contains from the *Milleloquium*, a work of which the author was born in 1243.¹ He also denies that it is a Vaudois work at all, and his reasons are curious. He not only argues from the absence of anything distinctively Vaudois, or which did not equally belong to the Cathari, and from the want of any mention of the Vaudois by name (he does not say that the Cathari, or any of the other sects whom he would represent as so distinct from the Vaudois, are mentioned by name), but he actually finds an argument in the absence of any mention of the founder of the Vaudois, and of the time and circumstances in which they originated.²

Having thus satisfactorily disposed of the treatise *Of Antichrist*, he proceeds to consider the *Noble Lesson*.³ On this he ventures an opinion similar to that which he has expressed concerning the treatise *Of Antichrist*, that it may not be a Vaudois work at all, but that the author may have belonged to the Cathari, or the Petrobrusians.⁴ It is curious, then, not only that the work, along with others, should have been preserved by the Vaudois only, but that the author should have mentioned the Vaudois only, and in the manner he does,⁵ and not his own sect. M. Charvaz feels this difficulty, and tries to get quit of it by saying, that such compliments are common amongst friends associated in the same cause!⁶

But, according to M. Charvaz, the most eminent philologists and paleographers assign to the *Noble Lesson* the date of the thirteenth century, or not earlier than the twelfth, so as to place it after the appearance of Valdo.⁷ Philology and paleography must be nicely accurate, to determine, in such a case, as to a few decades, less or more. But for the greater assurance of his readers, M. Charvaz favours them with a facsimile of a few lines of the *Noble Lesson*, from the Geneva MS.—As to the important line which fixes, or seems to fix, the date, he accounts for it by reference to the prevalence of the notion that the world was to be destroyed about the year 1000, and by the supposition, which many others have made, and the probability of which every one may estimate for himself, that such a date might be used at any time till the end (and his theory, of course, brings it very nearly to the end) of the century.

These are the parts of M. Charvaz's work which chiefly demand attention in connection with the present question. It is not necessary to examine, in the same manner, the chapters which he devotes to the pretensions of antiquity made by the Vaudois in their petitions to the Dukes of Savoy, the testimonies in favour of their antiquity which have been derived from the writings of Protestants, their alleged separation from the Church of Rome in the days of Claude of Turin, &c. Were there space for it, a few extracts might be given of his vilifications of Claude of Turin, on whom he heaps abuse, partly original, and partly collected from the writings of Theodemir, Dungal, Jonas of Orleans, and other eminent contemporaries of the iconoclast bishop. Towards the conclusion of his work, he turns to account the outward conformity of the Vaudois before the Reformation to the Church of Rome; contrasts the doctrines of Valdo

¹ On this point see Dr. Muston's remarks, in p. 444 of this volume.

² Charvaz, p. 242.

³ See the *Israel of the Alps*, vol. i. p. 15 and p. 28; and the present volume, pp. 420-422 and 458-460.

⁴ Charvaz, p. 259.

⁵ See *Israel of the Alps*, vol. i. p. 23.

⁶ It appears to me that the argument of Dr. Muston, in pp. 420-422 and 458-460 of this volume, derives additional force from a consideration of the form of the name Vaudois in the *Noble Lesson*, "Ilh dion qu'es Vaudes e degne de punir." Without pretending to know much of the Romance tongue, I think I may venture to express the opinion that this is not an adjective formed from the name Valdo, or from the name of any man whatever.

⁷ Charvaz, p. 253.

and his followers, in the thirteenth century, with those of the present Vaudois; exclaims against Valdo's vain imagination that he could understand and explain the Scriptures, and his error of thinking that laics can preach, and finds occasion to bestow a few passing words upon Bible Societies. There is nothing in this latter part of the work of any real importance, except what relates to the doctrines of the Vaudois; and in the works which still remain to be noticed, this subject is both more fully and more fairly treated.

I proceed now to give some account of an academic thesis (ad sacra Christi natalitia anni 1848 pié ritéeque celebranda) by Dr. Herzog, ordinary professor of theology in Halle, "DE ORIGINE ET PRISTINO STATU WALDENSIUM SECUNDUM ANTIQUISSIMA EORUM SCRIPTA CUM LIBRIS CATHOLICORUM EJUSDEM EVI COL-LATA." The plan of this thesis has been stated by Dr. Muston in the "Bibliography" of the *Israel of the Alps*.¹

Dr. Herzog begins by expressing his opinion that the disputed question of the origin and pristine state of the Vaudois, admits of being much elucidated by a comparison of the most ancient Vaudois documents with the writings of the Roman Catholic authors who have mentioned them since the end of the twelfth century, and his surprise that this comparison has not already been made. He blames those who have written on this subject, for confining themselves too much to one class of authorities, and applies this censure to Muston on the one side,² and to Bishop Charvaz on the other. Even the writers who attribute the greatest authority to the Waldensian documents, have not, he says, closely enough examined them.

The whole controversy, he says, may be reduced to this, Did the Vaudois exist under that name before the year 1170, when Valdo made his appearance as a reformer, or is Valdo himself to be regarded as the founder of the sect? With which question another is connected, Did the Vaudois, before the time of Valdo, occupy the same regions which they now occupy? This is certainly the question to be tried, but it is not so easy to agree with Dr. Herzog, when he goes on to state the test by which he thinks it may be determined, namely, to examine carefully if those things which the "Catholics" report concerning the Vaudois doctrines and institutions agree with the things which are to be found in the books of the Vaudois themselves; for if so, he thinks it plain that the account given by the Roman Catholic authors must be received, and the Vaudois accordingly held to have originated from Valdo; but if the Vaudois documents do not correspond with the Roman Catholic report of the doctrines and institutions of Valdo's followers, then he thinks it may be concluded that there was another and more ancient sect separated from the Church of Rome, and occupying those same regions in which the documents were found. "Nam si demonstrari potest, libros Catholicos eandem hominum societatem spectare quam Waldensium libri produnt, liquido patet, Catholicis fidem adhibendam esse, nec dubitandum, quin Waldenses omnino a Waldo illo oriundi sint. Quod si contra," &c.³

Now, that which Dr. Herzog thinks so plain ("liquido patet"), I think by no means plain at all; and as this is of so great importance, it may not be improper to pause here for a little and consider it. The fruits of his learned researches still remain in this and his other work, hereafter to be noticed, undiminished in value by any fallacy which may be found in his argument; but if that argument shall be found based upon an entirely fallacious principle, the conclusion at which he arrives may be regarded as probably erroneous, and the

¹ See p. 415 of this volume.

² With reference, of course, to his first work only.

³ Herzog, *De Orig.*, &c., p. 2.

materials which he has provided ought to be gratefully accepted and used anew. Now, surely it is not enough to warrant a conclusion in favour of the accuracy of the account given by Roman Catholic writers of the origin of the Vaudois, that it shall be found from comparison of their writings and the Vaudois documents, that they relate to the same sect. Dr. Herzog himself afterwards admits that the Roman Catholic writers are by no means accurate in all their statements regarding the Vaudois. That the authors of the Vaudois poems, and other works, were of the number of those whom the Catholics called Waldenses ("ex numero eorum fuisse, quos Catholici Waldenses vocarunt"), is a conclusion which he reaches, notwithstanding discrepancies of some things contained in these books from the things reported by the Catholics; for who does not at once perceive, he asks, that these and such like things were unjustly imputed to the Vaudois by those who hated them, or were true only of some small part of them? ("Attamen quis non statim intelliget, hæc et alia ejusdem generis exosis hominibus ab adversariis injuste imputata esse, vel nonnisi paucos spectare?") Is it difficult to suppose, then, that the same untruthfulness extended to the other and very important point of the origin of the Vaudois? The supposition does no injustice to these Roman Catholic authors, nor to the class to which they belong; and if known prejudice and a motive to deceive make probable the falsification of history, the probability is not in this case wanting. There is no point on which authors, zealots for the Church of Rome, and full of passionate hatred against the Vaudois, ought to be read with more suspicion than that of the antiquity or recent origin of the detested sect. And Dr. Herzog ought surely to have considered, and given some weight to the consideration, that those who hold the opinion of the existence of the Vaudois anterior to the time of Valdo, do not regard his followers as forming an entirely distinct and separate sect; for this renders it of still less consequence as to the question now at issue, to prove that the accounts given by the Roman Catholic authors relate to those whose religious views agreed with the poems and treatises preserved in the valleys of Piedmont. And I will add only one other observation, that the whole amount of Roman Catholic testimony to the descent of the Vaudois from Valdo is by no means great. Even were intentional misstatement and the influence of prejudice entirely out of the question, very little evidence is offered which, when the circumstances of time and place are considered, deserves much attention. We have already seen what are the quality and the quantity of this evidence, as adduced by Bishop Charvaz.

We may now return to the examination of Dr. Herzog's thesis. It appears that the Roman Catholic authors upon whose testimony he depends are in general the same with those quoted by Bishop Charvaz. Of the Vaudois documents, in so far as they have been published, he says it is evident that they have been written by men living at very different times and in very different circumstances. But he ascribes the highest authority to the poems called *La Nobla Leyczon*, *La Barca*, *Lo Novel Sermon*, *Lo Novel Confort*, *Lo Payre Eternal*, *Lo Desprezzi del mont*, and *L'Avangeli de li quatre semencz*, and to the prose compositions called *La Potesta dona a li Vicaris de Xrist*, *Sermon del Judyci*, *Epistola amicus*, *Epistola fideli*, *De la temer del Segnor*, *De las Tribulacions*, and *Glosa Paternoster*.² Concerning the language in which they are written, he quotes Raynouard as to its general identity with the language of the Troubadours, and thence infers that the language affords no proof that they were written in the regions now inhabited by the Vaudois.³

¹ Herzog, *De Orig.*, &c., pp. 36, 37.

² Herzog, *De Orig.*, &c., pp. 4, 5.

³ See *Israel of the Alps*, vol. i. p. 15, and particularly pp. 446-448 of this volume.

Dr. Herzog bestows a chapter on the question, Whether or not the Vaudois books were known to the Catholic authors whom he has enumerated? and this he decides in the affirmative, but only on such grounds as these, that they tell us of books which the Vaudois of their age used; that they mention a translation of the Bible, or of part of it, into the vulgar tongue, as having been made and used by the Vaudois, and that such a translation exists, and is claimed by the Vaudois of Piedmont as the work of their ancestors; and that the Council of Tarragon, in 1242, decreed that those should be treated as persons suspected of heresy who heard the preaching or reading (*lectio*) of the Inzabbati (another name of the Vaudois); the word lesson (*leyczon*, *lectio*) being one of very common occurrence in the Vaudois documents. It will not seem very presumptuous to assert that this chapter is of little value in reference to the question of the origin of the Vaudois, and cannot even be regarded as containing any proof that Stephen De Borbone, Yvonetus, and the other Roman Catholic authors quoted by Dr. Herzog, were very intimately acquainted with the people or sect from whom the existing Vaudois poems and treatises have been inherited. Of evidence that they knew anything of the works now existing, there is not a shadow. Nor if there were, would it greatly affect the main question.

Dr. Herzog next enters into learned and interesting inquiries concerning the religious opinions of the Vaudois, and spends a number of pages in proving that the authors of the Vaudois poems and treatises, and the sect whose religious opinions they represented, were perfectly free from the Manicheism, and other gross errors usually ascribed to the Cathari; and after many quotations from Bonacursus, Moneta, Reinerius, Ermengardus, and other Catholic authors, concerning these errors of the Cathari, and from the Vaudois documents, but particularly the *Noble Lesson*, asserting the most opposite doctrines, he condemns in the strongest terms the opinion of Bishop Charvaz, who, without assigning any reason, supposes the *Noble Lesson* to have been the work of some one belonging to the sect of the Cathari. ("Profecto igitur ridicula sententia episcopi Pinerolæ esse videtur ter dicentis, nullo argumento allato, auctorem carminis *Nobla Leyczon* e Catharorum numero fuisse. Tantum enim abest, ut ejus auctorem potius contra hos aliquoties tacite pugnare credideris, veritatem asserendo errori oppositam.")¹

That the ancient Vaudois did not agree in all doctrines and practices with the Protestants of the present day, but retained many things which are now retained only in the Church of Rome, Dr. Herzog has no difficulty in proving, and with this a considerable part of his thesis is occupied; but how this bears upon the question of their descent from Valdo, or origin anterior to him, I confess myself unable to perceive. For if a theory can be easily framed to account for this fact, upon the supposition that Valdo was the founder of the sect, it seems not very difficult to frame a theory by which it may be as completely accounted for upon the opposite supposition. The historic inquiry concerning the doctrines and practices of the Vaudois, anterior and long anterior to the Reformation, is indeed extremely interesting. But Dr. Herzog's thesis has a special reference to the question of the origin of the Vaudois, and the chapters which he bestows upon the subject of their religious opinions and practices have no other bearing upon that question, than as showing that the Vaudois poems and treatises have really been produced by authors belonging to the same sect of which we obtain information from Stephen De Borbone, Reinerius, Yvonetus, and other Popish authors. I refrain from attempting to follow him in his ex-

¹ Herzog, *De Orig.*, &c., p. 12.

hibition of the tenets of the earlier Vaudois, for which, it may be observed, that notwithstanding his anxiety to establish the authority of the Popish authors as to the point of descent from Valdo, he depends rather upon the Vaudois documents than upon their testimony.

We have seen already by what a fallacious argument it is that Dr. Herzog persuades himself to receive the testimony of the Popish authors, who assert Valdo to have been the founder of the Vaudois. But he finds a difficulty which must be removed if this opinion is to be adopted—the alleged date of the *Noble Lesson*—a date not affixed to any MS., but embodied in the poem itself.¹ But why, Dr. Herzog asks, if the author meant to reckon eleven hundred years from the birth of Christ, did he not plainly say so? He thinks, therefore, that the reference must be to the time when the New Testament was written—

"Ben ha mil e cent ancز compli entierament
Que fo scripta l'ora, car sen al dernier temp;"

and that the time which, in unusual phraseology, is said to have been written ("fo scripta l'ora"), must be the *σχολη ὥρα* spoken of by the Apostle John in his first epistle, chap. ii. 18. And he adduces evidence to show the expectation which prevailed of the destruction of the world in the year 1000, the similar expectation still prevailing after that dreaded date was past, and the kindred apprehensions of the coming of Antichrist, in connection with which he quotes the warning in the *Noble Lesson* against participation with Antichrist. And after this, and from these premises, he, without hesitation, concludes that the *Noble Lesson* was written about the end of the twelfth century, after Valdo had taught for a considerable time; a conclusion confirmed, he says, by the perfect agreement of all which it contains with what we learn from Catholic authors of the doctrines, actings, and sufferings of the Vaudois. ("Itaque constat, illud carmen sub finem seculi duodecimi, postquam Waldus jam diu docendi initium fecit, scriptum esse. Id quod eo maxime comprobatur," &c.) It seems almost incredible, that with no other show of arguments than this, Dr. Herzog should think it proved that the *Noble Lesson* belongs to the end of the twelfth century. His dismissal of this important document is somewhat too summary.

He proceeds to examine into the antiquity of some of the other Vaudois documents. He easily disposes of the exact dates assigned to some of them by Léger,² arguing from the want of dates in most of the MSS. used by the earlier historian Perrin, and holding these dates, even when affixed to the manuscript volumes, to be no trustworthy evidence. And this must certainly be admitted: a date may have been inscribed upon a MS. by another hand than that which wrote it, and does not necessarily prove anything either as to the time of composition or of transcription. And Léger shows no reason for thinking that the dates which he quotes, as if they were indisputably accurate, are anything else than dates thus affixed.

Dr. Herzog adopts the argument of Bishop Charvaz, concerning the *Treatise on Purgatory*, that it cannot belong to the beginning of the twelfth century, because it contains a quotation from the *Milleloquium*, the author of which is known to have died in 1328. And to Monastier, who, in his *History of the Vaudois*, has sought to repel this objection by saying that he has had in his hands a MS. of the *Treatise on Purgatory*, in which the quotation from the *Milleloquium* does not occur, so that it appears to have been inserted by some later copyist,—Dr. Herzog replies that he has omitted to advert to a very im-

¹ See pp. 458, 459, of this volume.

² See pp. 444, 445, of this volume.

portant circumstance, namely, that in the very copy upon which he depends as authentic, mention is made of Hugh of Saint Victor, who died in 1141. Dr. Herzog derives his knowledge of this circumstance from Monastier himself. The quotation from Hugh of Saint Victor, is from his book *De Sacramentis*. And Dr. Herzog refers to authorities in proof that he is known to have written this book towards the end of his life. The reply to Monastier is in fact a new argument, and which, besides turning upon a question of a few years only, not of a century or half a century, is manifestly liable to be set aside, unless supported in some other way, upon the general ground stated by Dr. Muston,¹ of probable or possible interpolation by transcribers. For it is most improbable that either one or other of the copies now existing is the original copy of the *Treatise on Purgatory*.

Against the antiquity assigned to the *Book of Antichrist*, Dr. Herzog urges reasons substantially the same with those upon which Dr. Muston comes to the same conclusion,² and at the same time he uses an argument founded upon his own peculiar interpretation of the passage in the *Noble Lesson*, which is so generally regarded as containing the date 1100, and in which mention is made of *the last time*. Insisting strongly upon the incomplete separation of the Vaudois from the Church of Rome, until the period of the Reformation, as a reason for holding that the *Book of Antichrist* does not express such sentiments as they entertained, Dr. Herzog thinks himself warranted in not only concluding it to have been produced after the Synod which met in 1532, at Angrogna, but in supposing that the author has imitated the language of the ancient Vaudois ("sermonem veterum Waldensium plus minusve bene imitatus est"), and that both he and the person who affixed the date have been guilty of a pious fraud, which however is not to be imputed to the whole congregation.³ I will venture to express my opinion, that even if the *Book of Antichrist* were proved to be a work of the Reformation period, there is not the shadow of a reason for suspecting a pious fraud on the part of its author, and that even the date may have been affixed afterwards in perfect good faith, although erroneously. This suspicion of pious fraud against men whose principles give no ground for it, is one which ought not to be lightly admitted.

The *Confession of Faith*, to which Léger assigns the date 1120, Dr. Herzog unhesitatingly sets down as a production of the Reformation period, as Dr. Muston also does, and on much the same grounds.⁴ He quotes passages to show its even verbal correspondence with the letter of the Vaudois delegates to Ecolampadius.⁵ He regards the *Book of Antichrist*, the *Treatises on Purgatory* and on the *Invocation of Saints*, the *Catechism*, and the *Confession of Faith*, as all indicating a knowledge of evangelical truth more perfect than was possessed by the earlier Waldenses, or than the *Noble Lesson* indicates.⁶

Finally, he examines the names *Valdo* and *Vaudois*, in order to determine their relation to one another. Against the derivation of Valdo's name, from his connection with a people previously bearing the name of Vaudois, he uses arguments which probably may not appear to many quite so powerful as he expresses his confidence that they are. ("Quam sententiam prorsus falsam et erroneam esse, firmissimis argumentis probatur.") FIRST OF ALL, he says, according to the testimony both of the Catholic writers and of the Vaudois themselves, this was not a name which they themselves assumed. Ebrard, he admits, does say that they called themselves *Vallenses*, but he easily sets aside

¹ See pp. 444, 445, of this volume.

² Herzog, *De Orig.*, &c., p. 40.

³ Herzog, *De Orig.*, &c., pp. 40, 41.

⁴ See p. 445 of this volume.

⁵ See pp. 478, 479, of this volume.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 41, 42.

Ebrard's testimony, "Qui in hanc rem non accuratè inquisivit." (So that it would seem a testimony is to be received or not, for no other reason than its agreement or disagreement with a foregone conclusion. This is not a point on which the testimony of Ebrard is liable to the same suspicion which affects the evidence of Popish authors on some other points concerning the Vaudois.) The use of the name *Vaudes* in the *Noble Lesson*, in the line already well known to the reader, he contends, is such that it appears to have been a name reproachfully given to the Vaudois by their adversaries. And in accordance with this, he proceeds to show that they rejected the name, for in the letter which they addressed to Ladislaus, king of Bohemia, they call themselves "*Lo petit tropel de li Chrestiens apella per fals nom falsament Pauvres o Valdes*;" and Samuel Cassini, a Franciscan, who wrote a book against the Vaudois in 1610, has these words, "Dicis, te non esse Waldensem sed membrum ecclesie Christi."¹ It seems scarcely necessary to state the ready explanation of which all this admits, and which renders it of no moment whatever in reference to the point as to which it is adduced by Dr. Herzog. IN THE SECOND PLACE, he says that the name *Vaudois* is certainly not derived from *vallis*. But as his argument under this head is not long, and as it appears to me, in so far as it has any bearing upon the subject, altogether to tend to a conclusion contrary to that which Dr. Herzog draws from it, I think it best to give it entire, and in his own words. "Porro certissimum est, nomen *Waldenses*, *Valdesii*, *Vaudes*, *Valdes*, *Wadoys* omnino non a *valle* trahendum esse, nec vertendum *Thalleute*. Quæ sententia ex mera incertitia linguæ Romanæ et Franco-gallicæ orta est.² Vox enim *val*, *vauz* in illis linguis significat *vallis*, *valles*. Unde dictum popolare: *par monts et par vauz* (*über Berg und Thal*). Ita quoque in *Mireour du monde*, p. 177. Ab hoc verbo differt vox *Vaud*, *Vaudes*, *Vaudois*, *Valdes*, *Waldensis*, &c. Cujus differentie insigne testimonium in pago *Waldensi* Helvetico invenitur. Rodolphus rex Burgundorum anno 1011 dono dedit Henrico Lausannensi episcopo comitatum *Waldensem*; v. *Memoires et documents publiés par la société d'histoire de la Suisse romande* (t. vii. p. 2). Idem nomen sæpius usurpatur in aliis diplomatibus. Eginolfus episcopus vocatur in pago *Waldense* (t. vi. p. 4). Ludovicus Sabaudie dux Dominus *Vaudi* vocatur in diplomate anni 1300 (t. vii. p. 78), *Seigneur de Vaut* in diplomate anni 1331 (t. vii. p. 102). In hoc eodem vero comitatu vel pago *Waldensi* regio sita est, quæ ab antiquissimis temporibus ad hunc usque diem *Vaux*, *la Vaux* vocatur, quæ ab antiquissimis temporibus ad hunc usque diem *Vaux*, *la Vaux* vocatur, idemque nomen singulæ ejus partes acceperunt. Ludovicus Sabaudie dux illo diplomate anno 1300 jam citato in episcopum Lausannensem omnia jura transfert, quæ in totâ *valle de Lustriaco* (*vauz de Lutry*) habet. Eadem vox usurpatur in diplomate anni 1348 (t. vii. p. 142)."⁴ There may be something here which I have failed to apprehend, yet all seems plain enough; and I can only express my surprise that anything here adduced should be regarded as affording an argument against the derivation of the name *Vaudois* from *Val*. Yet it ought to be remembered that this is, after all, a point of mere secondary consequence. For the name *Vaudois* may have some totally different origin, and yet may be much older than the age of Valdo, and he may have derived from it

¹ Herzog, *De Orig.*, p. 42.

² Concerning this point of knowledge of language, the reader may compare Dr. Muston's remarks in pp. 446-449 of this volume. They refer particularly to a note at the end of Dr. Herzog's thesis, connected with that part of it which is devoted to the question of the religious opinions of the earlier Vaudois.

³ There is certainly a slight inaccuracy in this translation.

⁴ Herzog, *De Orig.*, &c., pp. 42, 43.

his name. But, IN THE THIRD PLACE, Dr. Herzog asserts that Valdo was the only name of the rich citizen of Lyons who became an evangelist and reformer,¹ and that the name *Peter* was first given to him by mistake by Polichdorf, writing in Germany in the fifteenth century.² And this he regards as of much consequence in proving that the name Valdo was not in any way indicative of his country or race. This by no means appears to follow; and Dr. Herzog omits to account for the occurrence, in the very earliest works in which Valdo is mentioned, of such forms of his name as *Valdensis*, *Waldensis*, *Valdesius*, *Valdius*, *Waldius*, &c.; although it must be granted to be very uncertain that he bore the name of Peter, and the name *Valdes* or *Waldo* was certainly, as Dr. Herzog asserts, common enough in the middle ages. It is "of very common occurrence," Dr. Gilly says, "in Gallic and Germanic documents, from the ninth to the twelfth century, and w is the Germano-Burgundian spelling;" and Valdo's "prænomen *Petrus*," he adds, "occurs, we believe, for the first time in a Latin book of Peter de Polichdorf, written during the last half of the fourteenth century."³ It might be interesting to investigate the origin and use of the name Valdo or Waldo, but it seems hasty to conclude, from its occurrence as a proper name both before and after his time, that it was merely so in the case of the Lyonnese reformer of the twelfth century, or that even as used in previous centuries, it had no reference to country or race.

The next work of which it is requisite to take notice, is *DIE WALDENSER IM MITTELALTER; ZWEI HISTORISCHE UNTERSUCHUNGEN VON A. WILH. DIECKHOFF, LICENTIATEN UND PRIVATDOCENTEN DER THEOLOGIE ZU GÖTTINGEN* (Göttingen, 1851). Dieckhoff's work was published almost immediately after Dr. Muston's *Israel of the Alps*, which the author had not seen when he wrote.

In his preface he declares the insufficiency of the researches hitherto made into the history of the Vaudois. He regards his own work as merely a contribution to a better knowledge of this subject, and points out how much still remains to be done, particularly in inquiries concerning the Taborites, Bohemian Brethren, and other allied sects of the middle ages, and of their relations to the Vaudois, which he holds to have been intimate. He expresses his regret that the documents connected with the history of the Bohemian sects have as yet been so little studied, and that so many of them have hitherto remained entirely locked up in a language with which the students of ecclesiastical history are in general unacquainted. As to what he himself has accomplished, he expresses himself with confidence that it has opened up the way to a better knowledge of Vaudois history, by removing causes of error which have generally misled inquirers at the very outset. For he holds, as we shall see, that he has succeeded in proving the Vaudois manuscript literature to have been fabricated after the Reformation, and that what existed previously was altered, and can afford no evidence of the previous tenets and circumstances of the Vaudois, or of their existence at the early period to which it has been usually referred. But he concludes with the just reflection, that any change which historic researches may make in our views of the relations of the Vaudois to the Church of Rome, can in no way affect the question of right and wrong in the Reformation, or as between Protestantism and the system to which it is opposed. If, however, it must be admitted that the reference to the Vaudois has often been made in the controversy against Popery neither very judiciously nor very accurately, it by no means follows that there is no important use to

¹ Compare *Israel of the Alps*, vol. i. p. 14.

² Gilly, article "Valdo," in seventh edition of *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

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³ See p. 413 of this volume.

he made in that controversy of a reference to them, and to the other opponents of Popish error in the middle ages. Even if we were to adopt all Dieckhoff's conclusions from his researches into Waldensian literature, there would still remain sufficient evidence of a long-continued and widely extended opposition, during the middle ages, to the corruptions and spiritual despotism of Rome. And this cannot be regarded as unimportant even by those who reject, as contemptuously as Dieckhoff himself, the notion of a sort of episcopal succession, purer than that of Rome, transmitted through the Vaudois; who refuse, like him, to link one ancient sect arbitrarily to another for the sake of a mere external continuity, and agree with him in regarding such a demand for external continuity as more in harmony with the principles of Popery itself than with those of Protestantism; who, like him, believe that neither was any of the sects opposed to Rome a witness for the whole of Christian truth, nor the dominant church itself, with all its corruptions, entirely destitute of it; and who look upon the Reformation not as the more extensive adoption of a testimony transmitted without modification through a long succession of ages, but rather as a triumph of the truth within the church, casting away the falsehood by which it had been oppressed ("Wie die Kirche trotz der Irrthümer, denen sie verfallen war, doch nicht aufgehört hatte, die Wahrheit des Christenthums in sich zu haben, so werden wir auch die Reformation als eine Krise betrachten müssen, in welcher die Wahrheit in der Kirche das Falsche von sich stößt.")¹

Dieckhoff complains, in the commencement of his work, of the injury done to the interests of historic truth, by the polemical aspect in which every question regarding the Waldenses has been viewed; shows how naturally it resulted from the circumstances in which Vigneaux, Perrin, Gilles, Morland, Léger, and other Vaudois and friends of the Vaudois wrote, that they should anxiously seek out whatever was favourable to the character and antiquity of the sect; and points to Flacius, the author of the *Catalogus testium veritatis*, and "father of Protestant historic investigation," as having led the way in researches too exclusively limited to what was good in the early Vaudois and agreeable to the Scriptures, and contrary to the errors of Rome. All this may be just, and it may be quite true, that Protestants have in general followed too closely in the track in which Flacius, almost of necessity, prosecuted his investigations; but when we find the author, who finds fault with this, describing the views which Vaudois and Protestant authors have generally adopted concerning the origin and history of the Vaudois as a "post-Reformation tradition,"² we must call to remembrance, what has been, I trust, sufficiently made manifest in previous pages of this appendix, that we have the evidence of Popish authors, writing in a spirit of the greatest hostility to the Waldenses, for the existence of such a tradition at least as early as the thirteenth century. And this undeniable fact takes away, I think, all value from the consideration, to which Dieckhoff and others attach great importance, of the opposition of this Waldensian "tradition" to the statements of these Popish authors.

But looking to this conflicting evidence, on the side of the Vaudois and on that of the Church of Rome, Dieckhoff proposes to himself the task of a critical examination to determine what deserves to be believed. He thinks the testimony of the "Catholic" authors has been too hastily rejected, not on the ground of any incredibility proved to exist in the matter of their testimony, but on the ground that they are unworthy of trust; a ground, nevertheless, which, if we bear in mind the spirit which they display, and the testimonies which men

¹ Pp. 4-7.² Pp. 10, 13, etc.

of the same spirit and the same religion have more recently borne concerning the lives of Luther, Calvin, Knox, and other Reformers, and concerning the whole history of the Reformation, we may claim the right still to maintain as good ground for the rejection of their testimony unless corroborated by other evidence. He does not think himself entitled, however, as the value of their evidence is disputed, to make use of it for a test of the authenticity and genuineness of the Vaudois documents. But neither will he receive as accurate and satisfactory the accounts given of the Vaudois by the Protestant historians of the seventeenth century, of whom he asserts that writing with too much regard to apologetic interests, they have kept as much as possible out of view the errors which prevailed amongst the Vaudois before the Reformation. He thinks that with regard to the Vaudois manuscript documents, attention has hitherto been too exclusively devoted to the inquiry what is the earliest date at which they may possibly have been composed, and this with a view to support the opinion that the Vaudois existed before Valdo, but he deems it important to inquire what is the latest date at which they may possibly have been composed, and upon this evidently important question it is of course obvious enough that the question what changes were introduced amongst the Vaudois by the Reformation has an important bearing. That these changes were great, he finds evidence in Protestant and Vaudois authors, from whom he makes a number of quotations, beginning with one, which may here suffice as indicating the general character of the whole, from Crispin's *Acta Martyrum*: "Valdenses autem, etsi boni erant homines, cumprimis Deum metuantes, summoque verbi Dei studio affecti, tamen luce Evangelii jam exortâ, cognoverunt multa desiderari in suis ecclesiis, quae ad veram religionem ac pietatem pertinerent: pleraque etiam ignorantiae ac temporum culpa jamdiu recepta retineri, quae a pura Evangelii doctrina Ecclesiaeque disciplina abhorrerent."¹ But that upon which he chiefly depends is the evidence as to the doctrines and practices of the Vaudois before the Reformation afforded by their first communications with the Reformers, particularly George Morel's letter to Ecolampadius,² from which he concludes that, contrary to the view generally adopted by Protestant and modern Vaudois authors, all the Acts of the Synod of Angrogna were reformatory,³ a conclusion to which he attaches the greatest importance for the further prosecution of historic inquiries ("Erst dann liesze sich ein sicherer Gebrauch von jenem Beschlüssen machen, wenn es feststände, dass sie alle reformatorische gewesen sind: erst dann würde es gestattet sein, sichere Rückschlüsse auf den früheren Zustand der Sekte zu machen.")⁴ He thinks it certain enough that the author of that letter did not represent things as worse than they actually were, and even hints a suspicion that he may have concealed many things which would have appeared to the disadvantage of his brethren⁵—a most unworthy suspicion, for no document of that or of any age bears stronger internal evidence of candour than that letter of the Vaudois Barba to the Swiss Reformer. It is too easy to see, from the very expression given to this suspicion, with what circumspection it is necessary to follow the steps of Dieckhoff's critical examination of the evidence concerning the Vaudois and their early history. And immediately we find him laying it down as a safe principle on which to proceed,

¹ P. 20; quoting Crispin, vol. i. p. 225.—All the quotations made by Dieckhoff on this point are very interesting, and would have been copied here, but for want of space, although I regard him as exaggerating their importance in the use which he makes of them.

² See *Israel of the Alps*, part i. chap. 7.

³ Compare *Israel of the Alps*, part i. chap. 7, and "Bibliography," in this vol., pp. 478, 479.

⁴ P. 19.

⁵ P. 22.

that whenever anything appears in a Vaudois document contrary to any of the errors evinced by Morel's letter to have prevailed at the commencement of the intercourse between the Vaudois and the Reformers, we must conclude that document to be either of later date than the Reformation, or to have been subjected to alteration and interpolation—a principle, the adoption and unhesitating application of which, can only be warranted however by assumptions, which he does not pause to show that we are entitled to make, particularly that there had been no declension in the Vaudois church, nor any Barbas at any time more enlightened than those whose grievous deficiency in education Morel's letter exhibits,¹ and that all his statements were equally applicable to all the Vaudois, those on the Italian as well as those on the French side of the Alps. And it is very obvious that even if we were to adopt the conclusions which Dieckhoff reaches by the application of his rule, in all that relates to the doctrines or practices of the Vaudois before the Reformation, it could lead to no warrantable conclusion as to the important question of their origin. And here it may be incidentally noticed as somewhat strange, that with Morel's letter before him, Dieckhoff should have represented the opinion of the existence of the Vaudois anterior to Valdo as a *post-Reformation tradition*; for in that letter their high antiquity is twice asserted.² Proceeding, however, to test the Acts of the Angrogna Synod by the account of the Vaudois in Morel's letter, Dieckhoff has no difficulty in concluding them to be entirely of a reforming character. To what extent they are so, is doubtless an important inquiry; but its bearing on the question of the origin of the Vaudois is not such as to make it requisite for us to follow him very closely in his prosecution of it. The principle upon which he proceeds it is necessary for us to have in view, as he seems more anxious to apply it to the Vaudois Manuscript Literature, than to the Acts of the Angrogna Synod; but it is satisfactory to find that when he comes to point out instances of Reformation doctrine in the Vaudois books, he insists chiefly upon such things as are in perfect accordance with the account of the Vaudois in the middle ages, given in the first chapter of the *Israel of the Alps*, and that the Vaudois works, to which he particularly signalizes as not of the early date ascribed to them, are not those upon which Dr. Muston's arguments rest, one of them being the *Confession of Faith*, to which Léger, without the support of any evidence, assigns the date 1120, and another, the *Treatise on Antichrist*, concerning both of which Dr. Muston's opinion agrees with that of Dieckhoff, and is based upon the same grounds.³ In connection with the *Treatise on Antichrist*, Dieckhoff proposes and briefly considers the question of a possible declension through the effect of persecution from a better state of things to that described by Morel at the period of the Reformation, but it is only in reference to the single point of a complete formal or outward separation from the Church of Rome; and although he adduces no better evidence than that of Stephen De Borbone and Yvonetus, it may freely be admitted that he is probably correct in supposing the separation never to have been so complete before the Reformation as it afterwards became.

¹ It is given by Scultetus in his *Annals*, and Dieckhoff copies it entire, with the answer of Escolampadius, in his Appendix.

² Near the beginning of the latter, in the words, "Quandoquidem, ut rem semel capias, sumus qualescunque doctores ejusdam plebis indigē et pusillæ, quæ jam plusquam quadringentis annis imo ut frequenter nostrates narrant a tempore Apostolorum, non tamen, ut facile judicantur quique pii, citra Christi ingentem favorem, inter spinas sævissimas commorata est;" and near the end of it, in the words, "A tempore Apostolorum semper de fide, sicut vos, sentientes concordavimus."

³ See in this volume, pp. 444, 445, and 478, 479.

But taught by the instances which he has found of the evident influence of the Reformation in "some of the most important of the known pieces of Vaudois manuscript literature," to suspect that much more of it may be of the same nature and origin, Dieckhoff proceeds to examine, as is unquestionably very proper, into the history of the manuscripts by which these Vaudois works have become known to us.¹ He admits that there is abundant evidence of the existence of Vaudois books at an early date; but he adduces evidence also to show that the ancient MSS. had become very rare by the end of the sixteenth century, which, if anything to the purpose, can be so only by leading to the supposition that they may completely have perished, and that entirely new works, or copies, thoroughly modified into accordance with Reformation doctrine, may have been substituted in their stead; a supposition to which his remarks on the language of the existing books appear to tend, concerning which he concludes that the dialect in use amongst the Vaudois after 1530 was so similar to the Romance tongue, that a forger or interpolator would find no difficulty, and that therefore the language can afford us no evidence of the antiquity of the books.² He labours more than perhaps was necessary to set aside the authority of Perrin as to the antiquity of manuscripts,³ calling attention to the circumstance that Perrin includes the book of George Morel⁴ amongst the old books which he enumerates, and that he describes as a very old book, "*livre fort vieux*," a manuscript with the title "*Aïço es la causa del nostre despartiment de la Gleisa Romana*," the original authorship of which, according to Dieckhoff, is to be referred to the Bohemian brethren and to the beginning of the sixteenth century,⁵ from all which he concludes it to be very probable that many of the manuscripts which Perrin collected were composed after the Reformation. He doubts very much if any of the manuscripts now existing in Geneva and elsewhere were really those collected by Léger, and animadverts upon the circumstance that Léger, although later than Perrin, appears to have had ancient MSS. in greater number, and is more confident in the statement of their dates. The authority of the dates assigned to the Vaudois documents by Léger, he has of course little difficulty in overthrowing; and when he censures Léger's use of manuscript documents as "uncritical," his judgment may be admitted as in all probability quite just; but when he imputes to the persecuted Vaudois minister the tricks of a literary impostor, it is not easy to repress a feeling of indignation that such a charge should be advanced and sustained as it is by proofs ridiculously slender.⁶ Of the wretched hypercriticism with which he afterwards endeavours to point out dishonesty in Perrin's quotations from Morel's letter, I regret that I cannot exhibit a few specimens. So anxious is he to make out a dishonest intention, that he forgets the possibility of honest quotation in reference to a particular point, whilst what has no immediate bearing on that point is omitted, which consideration is almost of itself sufficient to justify Perrin in all that is alleged against him as to this document. The object of all this labour to make out charges of dishonesty is to throw discredit upon every quotation made by Vaudois historians from old Vaudois documents, and to create a suspicion of forgery concerning the existing documents themselves. Nor does it suffice this author to cast doubt upon the genuineness of what have been usually deemed existing relics of the Vaudois of early times, but he finds it necessary to adopt the theory of an intentional fabrication and corruption of documents, with the intention of deception concerning important historical

¹ P. 34.

² P. 37.—On this point see Dr. Muston, in "Bibliography."

³ See the article on Perrin, in the "Bibliography," pp. 398, 399, of this volume.

⁴ See "Bibliography," p. 465.

⁵ P. 41.

⁶ Pp. 45-59.

points,¹ making very little allowance, as it seems, for the easy possibility of mistakes as to the date of documents upon the part of uncritical historians, far from all seats of learning, and in the midst of wars and persecutions, or for the probability of the frequent recension of the works circulated in manuscript among the Vaudois and their accommodation, with no fraudulent purpose whatever, to the reformation which had actually been accomplished.

From the position which he has thus gained, however, Dieckhoff proceeds with the most perfect confidence in his further critical examination of the Vaudois documents. It would certainly have been necessary for him to have established a charge of fraudulent dealing with documents against more than Perrin (and in all that he says concerning Léger, there is rather a repeated utterance of unworthy suspicions than any attempt to make out a specific charge by proof), it would have been necessary for him also to have adduced some surer proof of fraudulent purpose than his comparison of Morel's letter and Perrin's quotations from it can reasonably be held to afford, ere he proceeded to deal with the Vaudois manuscript literature in general, on the assumption that the same fraud has been practised wherever we find anything favourable to the false notion of doctrines and practices before the Reformation harmonious with those of subsequent times. For this is the weapon of criticism which he now takes into his hand, and shows himself resolved to use unsparingly—"Was wäre durch die Fälschung dieses einzelnen Stückes für den Zweck des Fälschers gewonnen gewesen, wenn er andere Zeugnisse über den wahren früheren Zustand der Sekte unverändert hatte? Gewiss, wenn einmal eine solche Fälschung unternommen wurde, wie sie sich an der waldensischen Umarbeitung des Morel'schen Berichtes herausgestellt hat, so musste sie auch mit Nothwendigkeit über einen größeren Kreis von Zeugnissen und Schriften ausgedehnt werden, und die historische Kritik ist vollkommen berechtigt, alles das, was in der waldensischen Manuscripten-Literatur wegen seines, dem falschen Scheine der Uebereinstimmung zwischen Alt- und Neu-Waldensischem dienenden Inhalts verdächtig erscheint, als Produkt derselben absichtsvollen Fälschung zu verwerfen, deren Absicht, wie wir gesehen haben, eben auf die Hervorbringung dieses falschen Scheines gerichtet war.") If Perrin were really proved guilty of fraudulently dealing with Morel's letter, the suspicion thence arising could only affect the other Vaudois works and fragments given in his history, unless we might suppose that there was a conspiracy amongst the Vaudois to deceive the world concerning their whole earlier history, and that all who wrote the now existing Vaudois manuscripts were concerned in it.

But however we may reject Dieckhoff's theory of wilful falsification, the part of his work to which we now come is interesting, from the connection which he certainly exhibits between the Vaudois literature and that of the Bohemian churches. That a connection subsisted, in times previous to the Reformation, between the Vaudois or Waldenses of the Alps and the Bohemian Christians (who were often also called Waldenses) has indeed been long known. But this is a subject well deserving of more investigation than it has yet received. Dieckhoff holds, that in a *Confession of the Waldenses in Bohemia in 1431*,² he has found the original of a very considerable part of the Vaudois manuscript literature published by Perrin and Léger.³ A document, called by Balthasar Lydius, "*Confessio Taboritarum*," which however is not properly a confession of faith, but a vindication of themselves by the Taborites against the accusations of John Rokenzana and the Prague "masters," professes to be founded

¹ Pp. 68, 69.

² See "Bibliography," in this volume, p. 479.

³ P. 73.

upon an older confession, agreed upon in the year 1431, and it appears itself to have been prepared not long after.¹ Between this Taborite production and some of the Vaudois documents, Dieckhoff points out correspondences which unquestionably are not accidental. He devotes many pages to this subject, and fortunately gives the corresponding passages at great length in parallel columns in an appendix, so that we are enabled the more easily to follow his argument, and to judge of the soundness of his conclusions. Viewed as illustrating the connection between the churches of the Cottian Alps and the churches of Bohemia, the correspondence exhibited is full of interest. Several Vaudois works are found to agree very closely in matter, often even in words, with the parts of this *Taborite Confession*; in particular the "*Almanach Spirituel*," the treatise "*Del Purgatori Soima*," and that "*De l'Envoication de li Sanct*." But when this exact correspondence is exhibited, what proof is there of a recension executed after the Reformation, and with purpose to deceive? That the Vaudois works, as we now have them, are in some points nearer to our Protestant doctrine than the *Taborite Confession* is, Dieckhoff thinks, proof enough that they have been subjected to recension since the Reformation, although the instances which he adduces do not seem capable, either singly or collectively, of supporting a very weighty conclusion. But why may not such a recension have been honestly made? Except a reference to Perrin's mode of dealing with Morel's letter, I can find nothing alleged by Dieckhoff as a reason for supposing that these works have been altered in order to support the "modern Vaudois tradition" of antiquity. Yet he seems only to doubt if the translation was altogether executed for the sake of the falsification, or if the falsifier found an earlier and more honest Vaudois translation already in existence!

But what evidence have we that the *Taborite Confession* is the original, and that the Vaudois works are mere translations and recensions of parts of it? That the title "*Del Purgatori Soima*," corresponds with that of a section of the *Confession* "*De Somniato Purgatorio post hanc vitam et mendacis Sacerdotum super illo seminati*," and that we have other such but less notable correspondences in titles, will not of itself prove much. For the supposition of a common and more ancient original might not unreasonably be entertained. And that some of the fragments occur in several of the Vaudois works, and in somewhat modified forms, does not diminish the probability of this supposition. That the Vaudois *Treatise on Purgatory* contains quotations from the sermons of John Huss,² certainly makes it probable that the original was Bohemian; but the manner in which reference is made to Huss, rather seems to favour the supposition that the Vaudois translation was made before the Reformation. It is not upon any of these documents that the question depends as to the antiquity of the Vaudois church: but all Dieckhoff's labours appear to me to confirm our right to use them, their Bohemian and Vaudois forms being compared, as evidence of what the Vaudois were before the Reformation.

It is interesting to observe, what Dieckhoff is careful to point out to us, the want in the *Taborite Confession* of any clear statement of the fundamental Reformation doctrine of justification; and that the whole argument against purgatory is framed in a manner different from what it certainly would have been if that doctrine and its relation to the doctrine of sanctification had been well understood. It is interesting also to observe, how in the Vaudois *Treatise on Purgatory*, whilst the general structure of the argument accords with that in

¹ Pp. 74, 75.

² Dieckhoff shows (pp. 88, 89, and 388-391) that the *Master John* quoted in this treatise is not John Chrysostom, as Monastier had imagined, but John Huss.

the *Taborite Confession*, the great truths of the gospel are also more fully introduced. Thus where the *Taborite Confession* sets forth that men are to be purified from their sins in this life, and speaks of faith and charity, and works of faith and piety, and patience in adversities, and the forgiveness of injuries and the like, as the means of this purification, the whole passage is much modified in the Vaudois treatise, and the most prominent place is given to faith, by which, it is said, "Saint Peter shows, in the fifteenth chapter of Acts, that hearts are purified, and which he shows to be sufficient for purifying men's hearts without any other external aid." To find, in this and similar improvements of the Vaudois recension, proof of a later date, may be reasonable and just; but to regard them as the manifest work of a literary impostor, evinces only the power of a foregone conclusion. The fact that different copies of the Vaudois *Treatise on Purgatory* differ much from each other, is surely of itself favourable to the supposition of honest rather than of fraudulent recension. But Dieckhoff, comparing them together, and finding in them such an agreement as to incline him to the opinion that there must have been a Vaudois translation earlier than any of them upon which they were more immediately founded, only wonders if this older version was also made with the same purpose of deceit! His incessant repetition of the words *Fälschung* and *Fälscher*, in such total absence of proof to support the charge, becomes positively painful. He has by no means even proved, in regard to the *Treatise on Purgatory*, and other Vaudois treatises of the same series, that there was not a Vaudois original older than any *Taborite Confession* whatever, and of which the Taborites made use in preparing their *Confession* of 1431 and the subsequent defence, by which the substance of that *Confession* is now known to us, against the accusations of Rokenzana and the other Prague "masters."

Yet from assuming it as a thing absolutely certain, that this *Confession* was strictly of Bohemian origin, Dieckhoff derives great advantage for his outset in his next argument, which is directed to the object of showing the Bohemian origin of the *Catechism*,¹ generally regarded, upon Léger's authority, as a *Vaudois Catechism* of the year 1100. Of course, the date given by Léger has no real authority whatever; but it may be proper to add that to reject his authority on this point is no impeachment of his good faith as an historian. Nor does the rejection of this date involve the rejection of the *Catechism* as a document affording evidence of the doctrines of the Vaudois before the Reformation, in order to which the circumstance that it was known and used amongst them is of more importance than the answer to the question, Whether it was composed in the valleys of the Alps or in Bohemia? Dieckhoff's anxiety, however, is great to proceed from probability to certainty, assuming, on the ground of his previous discoveries just noticed, an antecedent probability that it also is of Bohemian origin. And this attempt he prosecutes throughout many pages, comparing the Bohemian form of the *Catechism*, as it exists in a German translation published in Luther's time, with the Vaudois form. The correspondence between this "Catechism of the Bohemian Brethren" and the *Vaudois Catechism* has been long known; but it has been generally taken for granted, perhaps too hastily, and only on Léger's authority, that the *Catechism* was originally Vaudois. The question is not of the highest importance either with reference to the origin of the Vaudois, or to their state during the middle ages. The clear and precise statement in the *Vaudois Catechism*, as it now exists, of some doctrines which are not so well stated in the *Bohemian Catechism*, Dieckhoff

¹ See "Bibliography," in this volume, p. 467, 475.

of course refers, and not without some appearance of probability, to the influence of the Reformation. But his argument, founded chiefly upon a comparison of the arrangement in the two forms of the *Catechism*, from which he concludes that the Bohemian form is the original, and that the *Vaudois Catechism* has been derived from it, is of such a nature that no abridgement can do justice to it. Ten pages of his work would require to be copied in order fairly to exhibit it. Perhaps I may be allowed to describe it as wire-drawn. But whatever may be its value as an argument, no great historic question can be much affected by it.

Taking a retrospective glance, however, Dieckhoff now expresses himself much satisfied with the results of his labours. For he supposes himself to have succeeded in proving the worthlessness of the documents upon which the delusion in regard to the early history of the Vaudois has been based.¹ Let the reader consider what the documents are, of which the value has been discussed, and let him also consider how far the question of the origin of the Vaudois depends upon them, and he will perhaps be surprised at the expression of such an opinion. The *Noble Lesson* and the other Vaudois poems have not yet been noticed!

I pass somewhat hastily over a portion of Dieckhoff's work, in which he examines into the probable time of that forgery or falsification of documents which he holds to be so certain. It is proper, however, to mention that after all which he has said before, he excuses Perrin, as a man who seems rather to have been himself deceived than to have been a wilful deceiver. His suspicions fasten upon Vigneaux, whose own knowledge of the state of things before the Reformation must have prevented him from being altogether deceived in such a matter. It will be remarked how confidently in all this our German contemporary assumes a very complete knowledge, on his own part, of the state of things amongst the Vaudois before the Reformation, and the amount of change then introduced. His suspicion of Vigneaux it is scarcely impossible to avoid characterizing as equally preposterous and ungenerous. Without having a page of that author's writings in his hands, knowing only the date at which he lived, and the fact that Perrin derived great part of his materials from compilations made by him, this investigator of historic truth points him out as the probable perpetrator of a gross imposture, and, at least, as a principal participator in systematic literary forgeries!² Dieckhoff's theory is indeed a very complete one. The writings which had been used by the Barbas might at first have been changed with no intention of deception as to the former state of things, but merely to accommodate them to continued use: this he at last admits. But this favoured the notion of the unchanged continuity of the sect, and a wide field was opened for pious fraud; and political reasons operated to make it very desirable that the sect should not be identified with the churches of the Reformation, for its members might thus hope to enjoy ancient privileges and to escape persecution, and the fabrication and falsification of documents were employed as means to promote this deception. But who were to be deceived? and how was this deception to serve the political purpose? Did Vigneaux and Perrin suppose that their works would influence Popish bishops or Popish princes? Or were the great ones of the earth very likely to ponder the pages of the *Vaudois Catechism* and the *Treatise on Purgatory*? However, it is not necessary to muster many objections against Dieckhoff's theory. It is enough to observe that it is entirely a product of the imagination.

¹ P. 116.

² Pp. 124, 125.

Yet this theory, more than any evidence of falsification in any particular instance, seems to have emboldened its author to adopt a new method of solving the difficulty which, if the Vaudois are not believed to have existed before Valdo, arises out of the line of the *Noble Lesson* so often quoted as indicating its probable date. May not that line be an interpolation? That the *Noble Lesson* is really the production of a period long anterior to the Reformation, he admits to be certain enough; but seeing that we have such abundant proof of wilful falsification (*absichtsvolle Fälschung*), why should we hesitate to set down this as another instance of it? Dieckhoff has no hesitation; but besides the reason just indicated, his only other reason is the impossibility of ascribing to this poem so early a date as the beginning, or even the end of the twelfth century, which Gieseler, Neander, and Herzog assign to it. He applies to it the *innere Kritik*—a powerful weapon certainly, but one which requires cautious handling—and finds that it cannot be older than the year 1230, because it describes a state of things which did not exist till about that date. With like confidence, and on similar grounds, his countrymen fix dates for different portions of Isaiah's prophecies, assigning some of them, therefore, to one author, and some of them to another; although, indeed, they differ a little in the opinions which they so confidently advance. Until some other evidence be adduced to bring down the date of the *Noble Lesson* to the thirteenth century, we may be contented to learn a little from it as to the state of things before that period. In refusing to accept the date 1100, which so many have imagined that they found in the text of the ancient poem itself, Dieckhoff also proceeds upon what he deems the ascertained historic fact of the descent of the Vaudois from Valdo, concerning which he thinks himself bound to accept the testimony of the "Catholic" witnesses. But he refuses to adopt the method adopted by Gieseler, Neander, and Herzog, of dealing with the date in the poem itself. He cannot believe that the eleven hundred years are to be reckoned from any other period than the beginning of the Christian era; he rejects this as an unnatural interpretation of the line. "Einmal nämlich wird die Rechnung auf diese Weise viel zu künstlich." Moreover, he adopts, as of great weight upon this point, the argument of Muston,² from the description of the Vaudois given in the poem, that it cannot have been composed within a few years of the origin of the sect, and agrees with him that if it could be proved to have been composed, as Gieseler, Neander, and Herzog suppose, in the end of the twelfth century, it would evince the existence of the Vaudois long before the time of Valdo.³

For historical research concerning the Vaudois, he thinks the true point of departure is to be found in the testimonies of the "Catholic" writers. He admits that these are liable to much suspicion, but seems to think that they have been in general too hastily rejected, upon the mere ground of confidence in the Vaudois manuscript literature. In a long and elaborate note he examines the "Catholic" testimonies, upon which he thinks we must depend in this matter—"die zu Grunde gelegten katholischen Zeugnisse." He begins with that of the English clergyman, Walter Mapes,⁴ which, relating as it seems to do to the third Lateran Council, A.D. 1179, he finds not to consist well with his opinion that the Vaudois derived their origin from Valdo, for Valdo had at that time made little progress in his career; and Dieckhoff can by no means assent to the notion, which Hahn and others have entertained, that the heretics described by Mapes were not Vaudois; wherefore, founding upon a general similarity of the

¹ P. 121, note, and pp. 141-144.

² In his first work. But see the "Bibliography" in this volume, pp. 420, 421, and 459.

³ Pp. 142-144.

⁴ See *Israel of the Alps*, vol. i. p. 15, note.

story of Mapes to a record in the *Ursberg Chronicle*, of occurrences at a council in Rome in 1210, he concludes that there must be an error in the date! Mapes, indeed, says very expressly, "Vidimus in concilio Romano sub Alexandro Papa III. celebrato," which fixes the date unquestionably as 1179, but Dieckhoff thinks it quite likely that the words "*sub Alexandro Papa III. celebrato*" were interpolated by some copyist in subsequent times, who was not himself well-informed as to dates, and that the name of Innocent III. should have appeared instead of Alexander III.¹ But we may reject both this arbitrary conjecture and Hahn's notion, that the "heretics" of 1179 were not Vaudois, and easily suppose proceedings of the same kind to have taken place at the Roman councils in 1179 and 1210, unless we are constrained by the necessity of deriving the Vaudois from Valdo. The next "Catholic" author whose testimony Dieckhoff adduces as important is *Alanus de Insulis*, and he spends some closely-printed pages in distinguishing him from other persons of the same name, and determining the date of his testimony, which he thinks cannot be after 1215, whilst he thinks it cannot be long before 1200. But he finds it necessary again to have recourse to the convenient theory of interpolations; for in the work of Alanus against heretics, mention is made of an excommunication of Waldenses by the Lateran council, which Lateran council cannot have been before 1215,² yet there is reason to think (according to Dieckhoff) that the genuine *Alanus de Insulis* died in 1202, so that there is really no help for it but to apply the sharp critical knife and cut out all that relates to the Lateran council as an interpolation ("ein späterer, unechter Zusatz"), for which excision, however, many additional good reasons are immediately presented.³ The other "Catholic" testimonies upon which the greatest dependence is placed, are those, already familiar to us, of Bernard of Fontcaude, Eberard of Bethune, Peter of Vaux-Cernay, and Stephen of Borbone.

In what remains of Dieckhoff's volume, are many things both interesting and important, of which it is impossible here to present a complete view, and which have reference more to the state of the Vaudois and their history during the period between Valdo and Luther, than to the question of their origin or of their existence anterior to Valdo. Yet I venture to express the opinion, that even in respect to this question, it is not unimportant to notice the existence, in the earlier part of the twelfth century, of the *Poor Men of Lombardy*, as a religious denomination, distinguished from the *Poor Men of Lyons*, although nearly allied, the latter being described by Stephen de Borbone as the true Waldenses—"qui dicuntur Waldenses, a suo heresiarcho." The *Poor Men of Lombardy* are regarded by Dieckhoff as followers of Valdo, who, having crossed the Alps amidst the distresses arising from the Albigensian war, had mingled more or less with other sects in Italy.⁴ His general view of the state of matters before and after that period, is, that there were many similar religious movements, of which that of Valdo and his followers was only one—a view, the perfect correctness of which is by no means inconsistent with the existence of the Vaudois in the valleys of the Alps for centuries before the birth of Valdo.⁵

¹ P. 344.

² P. 353.

³ The third was in 1179, the fourth in 1215.

⁴ Pp. 159-164.

⁵ "Die waldensische Sekte gehört als einzelnes Glied einer weit über sie hinausgreifenden Reihe von Entwicklungen an, die alle durch ein Gemeinsames des Strebens und der Auffassung der zur Geltung zu bringenden christlichen Frömmigkeit beherrscht erscheinen. Hierin ist es begründet, wenn die Waldenser schon in den früheren Bestrebungen eines Petrus von Bruis und eines Heinrich in der ersten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts die ihrigen wiederfinden wollen."—P. 166.

Even the authors who most earnestly contend for the historic apostolicity of the Vaudois, have generally regarded them as connected with other sects on both sides of the Alps, who maintained like themselves, more or less perfectly, a testimony against the corruptions of Rome, and amongst whom was preserved, as amongst the Vaudois, the religion which in earlier and better times had been that of the whole church of these regions.

I deem it not unimportant also, in respect to the question now under consideration, and particularly with reference to the value of the whole of Dieckhoff's previous argument founded upon Morel's letter, that in the latter part of his work may be found proofs of a state of things in earlier times very considerably different from that which Morel's letter depicts. For, in the first place, he admits that before the terrible period of the Albigensian war, the followers of Valdo opposed themselves more openly to the Church of Rome than they did after they had been broken down by persecution.¹ He proves, by no less authoritative testimony than that of Alanus de Insulis, that these "heretics," in the beginning of the thirteenth century, not only maintained their right to preach without permission from the Romish hierarchy, but to perform all spiritual functions, professing themselves bound to obey good prelates only.² He acknowledges that the opposition to Rome was openly maintained in Upper Italy after it had been in a great measure suppressed in France, and that in the "Catholic" accounts of the middle of the thirteenth century, it is no longer the south of France but Upper Italy that is represented as the principal seat of the Waldensian heresy. He quotes Moneta as stating the chief distinction between the Poor Men of Lombardy and the Transalpine (ultramontane) *Poor Men* to consist in this, that the former stood out in more decided opposition against the Church of Rome, and particularly against its priests and their exercise of their functions, so that, whilst the Transalpine Poor Men submitted to receive the sacraments from the Romish priests, *those of Lombardy administered the sacraments amongst themselves.*³ Can it be doubted after this that the state of things described in Morel's letter was a declension from better times—a consequence of those persecutions by which the Papal church sought to wear out the saints of the Most High? Does it not even become probable that Morel's letter more accurately describes the state of the Vaudois on the west side of the Alps, than of those in the valleys of Piedmont? It is strange, however, that Dieckhoff seems not in the least degree conscious of anything in all this to weaken the force of the leading argument in the first part of his work, founded upon Morel's letter. Nay, although Dr. Muston, as well as Dieckhoff, deems it a probable argument against the high antiquity of the *Treatise on Antichrist*, that the Church of Rome is therein very disrespectfully spoken of,⁴ yet we may hesitate

¹ P. 155.

² Pp. 214, 215.—It is rather curious, however, to find Dieckhoff theorizing as to the distinctive peculiarity of the Vaudois sect, and making it to consist in their preaching without authority of the Romish hierarchy, and this upon the ground that the great complaint made against them by their Popish adversaries is for their so doing. P. 167, &c.—How any sect could be supposed to exist without preachers and preaching, he does not condescend to explain. The theory is maintained by a reference to Valdo's preaching, and by proofs that the Vaudois did assert a right to preach without consent of the prelates, one of which, however (from an edict of King Alphonso of Arragon, in the year 1194), is strangely contrary to the theorist's purpose, for it actually represents other heretics equally with the Vaudois, as addicting themselves to *funesta prædicatione*. ("Si quis igitur ab hac die et deinceps prædictos Waldenses et Zappatos aliosque hæreticos, cujuscunque fuerint professionis, in domibus suis recipere, vel horum funestam prædicationem aliquo loco audire, vel his cibum vel aliud aliquod beneficium largiri præsumperit," &c.

³ Pp. 219-221.

⁴ See p. 445 of this volume.

about concurring with him when we find Rainerius charging the Poor Men of Lombardy with asserting of that church "quod Ecclesia est Ecclesia malignantium et Bestia et Meretrix, quæ leguntur in Apocalypsi."¹ And whatever modifications and recensions may have taken place at subsequent times, nay, although the *Treatise* in its present form may even be satisfactorily traced to a *Taborite Confession*, the probability of an old *Vaudois* original will not seem inconsiderable, if Dieckhoff is right in maintaining that *the Taborites derived their views in a great measure from the Vaudois.*²

Following the chronological order, I intended now, in the next place, to have noticed an article from the pen of M. E. Cunitz, in the (Strasburg) *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie Chrétienne*, for August, 1852, in which the works of Muston and Dieckhoff are reviewed. And if there had been room for it, I would gladly have quoted from that article an extremely clear and succinct view of the early Vaudois as they are represented in the writings of their adversaries, which, however, it is hard to understand how any one can think it right to accept as a fair historic representation of them. But as M. Cunitz does little else than adopt the opinions and arguments of Dieckhoff, following him even to the length of his rejection of the date in the *Noble Lesson* as an interpolation, we may pass on to the only other work which now remains to be noticed, after mentioning an argument of his own, directed against Dr. Muston, in regard to the language of the Vaudois works, which he denies to afford any proof of their having been produced by the Vaudois of Piedmont; for the same language, he maintains, with slight modifications, prevailed over the whole south of France. "M. Muston denies that the Vaudois of Provence and of Dauphiny could or would have written in this idiom, and yet the Barba Morel . . . belonged to these provinces and used this dialect. Moreover, M. Muston, founding upon the language alone, concludes that he has discovered one of the oldest Vaudois MSS. in a New Testament preserved at Lyons, and yet this MS. could not have belonged to the inhabitants of the valleys, because it is a relic of the sect of the Cathari, and contains their liturgy. Thus the whole argument falls to the ground by which he seeks to prove that all this literature originated in the churches of Piedmont. Every probability is in favour of its rather belonging to the sectaries who were spread over the south of France; who, from the state of civilization around them, were more likely to possess the learning of which some of these works afford evidence, than the poor inhabitants of the remote and lonely valleys which descend from Mount Genevre and Mount Viso." I give his argument in his own words. But the question as to the existence of the Vaudois before Valdo does not depend very much on this question of language; nor would their high antiquity be rendered less probable should it be ascertained that a considerable portion of their MS. literature originated in the south of France, and after the time of Valdo.³

It now only remains, for completion of the design of this Appendix, to give some account of a recent work by Dr. Herzog, whose academic thesis has been already noticed. It is entitled "DIE ROMANISCHEN WALDENSEN, IHRE VORREFORMATORIEN ZUSTÄNDE UND LEHREN, IHRE REFORMATION IM 16. JAHRHUNDERT UND DIE RÜCKWIRKUNGEN DERSELBEN, HAUPTSÄCHLICH NACH IHREN

¹ Quoted by Dieckhoff, p. 222.

² Pp. 272, 273, note.

³ The *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie Chrétienne* contains, also, in the numbers for June, 1851, December, 1852, and February, 1853, articles by Professor Reusz, of Strasburg, on the Vaudois translations of the Bible, which I regret that I can do nothing more than merely point out as containing much that is of importance to the study of the ecclesiastical history of the middle ages.

EIGENEN SCHRIFTEN DARGESTELLT" (Halle, 1853), and is a work containing much new and valuable information, the fruit of patient research, and displays not only the learning and talents for which the author enjoys a high reputation, but a candour in judgment which, even when venturing to dissent from his conclusions, it is impossible not to mark with respect. It is a work which, upon many accounts, deserves to be noticed much more fully than is possible at present, all that I can attempt being merely to indicate the nature of its contents, and to make somewhat particular mention of those things which most closely bear upon the question of the origin of the Vaudois, the proper subject of these pages.

Dr. Herzog has undertaken and executed a more thorough examination of the Vaudois manuscript literature than was ever previously made. This statement of what may be called the origin of his work, is of itself sufficient to show that it must be entitled to great attention. He visited Geneva, Grenoble, Dublin, and other places where Vaudois MSS. were to be found, carefully perused these MSS., collating them with the printed text in those cases in which the works had already been printed, and making transcripts of the most important with his own hand, or causing them to be made under his eye, and subjecting them to a careful revision. The result of all this is, that we have now through his labours the Vaudois literature more completely before us than ever hitherto, and the several parts of it in a more correct form. The difficulty of reading and transcribing these MSS. being, in some cases, very great, and some of those who previously undertook it being by no means very well qualified for the task, it is not to be wondered at, that in the printed text of Vaudois works there have hitherto been numerous inaccuracies.

Dr. Herzog's work is divided into four books; the first, "Introductory," is occupied chiefly with an historical account of the Vaudois literature and a description of the existing MSS., in connection with which the question is considered of the language in which the Vaudois works are written; the second book is devoted to an examination of the condition and doctrine of the *Romanic* Vaudois, according to those documents in which a Hussite influence is not manifested; the third book treats of their relation to the Hussite sects, and the influence of these upon their literature; the fourth, of the Reformation and its influences, and particularly with regard to their views and representations of their previous history.

Throughout the whole work, it appears to me, that Dr. Herzog regards the two questions as more intimately connected than they really are, of the origin of the Vaudois, and of the form and measure of their opposition to the Church of Rome. However fully it may be proved that the Vaudois after the Reformation erred (and it was an error into which it may well be conceived that they were very apt to fall without any "pious fraud" whatever), in exaggerating the opposition of their fathers to Rome, and representing their church as having possessed, during the dark ages, a greater measure of scriptural light than it did in reality possess, I confess myself unable to see how from this a conclusion should be drawn unfavourable to its existence before the days of Valdo. It might be natural for the Vaudois to adopt readily, too favourable a view of their past history on both points, but error on the one point does not necessarily involve error on the other.

As to the condition and doctrines of the Vaudois before the Reformation, and before the Hussite influence began to prevail amongst them, Dr. Herzog modestly confesses his inability, from the sources of information which have yet been opened up, to give a full and accurate representation of them.¹ He blames

¹ P. 24.

Dieckhoff, however, for accepting, so completely and unhesitatingly, the accounts given of them by their "Catholic" adversaries. For although, as to the relation of the Vaudois to Valdo, Dr. Herzog still proceeds upon the testimony of these authors, as when he wrote his academic *Programma*, he does not think it right to receive as perfectly accurate all their statements concerning the doctrines and character of the heretics whom they so cordially hated; and he asserts, concerning the Vaudois of the middle ages, that whilst there prevailed amongst them much Romish error, both of doctrine and practice, they yet maintained the *formal principle* of Protestantism; and on this ground he accounts for their immediate concurrence in the Reformation when it took place, and contradicts the assertion of Bossuet, so often repeated by Popish writers, that they had more in common with Catholicism than with Protestantism.¹ They were not, he says, as some have represented them, free from error, resisting completely all the influences with which they were surrounded; they appear, from their own literature, more such as we might expect from their whole circumstances; they appear as opponents both of the Romish church and of the heretics who sapped the very foundation of Christianity; they appear as aiming, not without weakness, but really and perseveringly, at the great object of a moral and religious reformation.²

Dr. Herzog thinks it probable that most of the old Vaudois MSS. were destroyed in the persecutions previous to the Reformation, and that after that great event a new period of literary activity began. He thinks also that the productions of this later period were, in some instances, given out as ancient works, in order to sustain the pretensions of high antiquity and hereditary purity. For, to a certain extent, he still maintains the theory of a "pious fraud;" but "this conjecture," he says, "can only be entertained with reference to some of the documents published by Perrin and Léger. The other writings, certainly, do not belong to a time subsequent to the Reformation; for they contain many Catholic elements. Nay, even of those writings which Perrin and Léger have published, some are to be found in Geneva and Dublin, in a form which is certainly older than the Reformation."³ However, he thinks that persons not having opportunity of examining the Geneva and Dublin MSS. were very excusable in extending the conjecture farther.

He thinks it also not wonderful that the evidence of Hussite influence in some of the Vaudois documents, and even of the derivation of some of them from Bohemian originals, should have led to the supposition that all of them are, in this respect, alike, concerning which a date anterior to the Reformation must be admitted. But he unhesitatingly rejects this view, and assures us that the Vaudois writings, in which the Hussite influence has been so clearly traced, form a class by themselves, distinguished by a peculiar character, being more didactic than the rest, and having more of a learned air, more abundant citations, and more of a Latin tint in the language, besides a keener tone of opposition to the Romish church, and the scholastic style of the latter part of the middle ages.⁴

Concerning the language of the Vaudois documents, Dr. Herzog points out that although, as Raynouard says, it substantially agrees with that of the Troubadours, yet there are dialectic differences. But it being now known that there were a number of slightly different dialects of the Romance tongue, he thinks we ought to regard that of the Vaudois documents as having belonged to some particular district, and to inquire what that district was. He does not regard

¹ Pp. 19-23.

² Preface, pp. viii., ix.

³ P. 29.

⁴ P. 30.

the progress hitherto made in the study of these dialects to be such as would warrant us in saying that the dialect in which the Vaudois writings are composed was peculiar to the Vaudois. But he notes it as a highly significant fact, that hitherto no documents have been found in this dialect except Vaudois documents.¹ As to the district in which this dialect was spoken, he does not express himself with confidence. He refuses to accept the judgment of Vaudois authors as conclusive, whom he thinks biased by party feeling, and states reasons for dissenting from their identification of the language of the old documents with the present patois of the valleys. And on this point it at least deserves to be considered that the dialects of different districts may have well marked peculiarities; whilst that of one district may yet be readily intelligible to the inhabitants of another. Herzog appears to think it probable that the Waldensian literature originated in the valleys not of the eastern but of the western side of the Alps, although he seems afterwards to admit that the same dialect may have prevailed upon both sides; and of what consequence it is to assign the literature to one side rather than to the other does not clearly appear, nor can the probability in favour of the western side be deemed very great when it is found merely to rest upon the identity of the language of the old Vaudois documents with that of Morel's letter to Ecolampadius, whilst even of this letter it is afterwards shown that it contains more words derived from the French than they do.²

Comparing the language of the older documents, however, with this letter, and with the works borrowed from the Taborites, Dr. Herzog thinks there is no such difference as would lead to the supposition of a number of centuries of higher antiquity. He thinks we might, from considerations of language alone, regard them as probably belonging to the fifteenth century. But he shows that the contents of them do not accord with the state of things in that century, as we learn it from Morel's letter and other sources, whilst the works themselves bear every mark of proceeding from a people persecuted upon account of their religion, but not long secluded in Alpine valleys from the scenes of busy commerce, wealth, luxury, and gaiety, of all which a knowledge is exhibited such as it is not easy to suppose the inhabitants of Merindol, of Cabrières, or of Lucerna to have possessed. All this points to a higher antiquity, and Dr. Herzog thinks it not improbable that the language of the oldest documents may have been modified by transcribers, so as in the existing copies more nearly to resemble the language of the sixteenth century than it did in the originals.³

Proceeding to the examination of the existing MSS., Dr. Herzog adduces reasons for concluding with certainty that none of the volumes deposited by John Léger, and by his uncle, Anthony Léger, in the Public Library of Geneva, are amongst the five volumes now existing there.⁴—The MS. No. 206⁵ he regards as unquestionably the oldest of the Vaudois MSS. now existing in Geneva, and as belonging to the fifteenth century, probably to the beginning of the century. But the treatises which it contains are evidently transcribed from earlier originals, because some of them are given in an incomplete form.—The MS. No. 207⁶ he regards as belonging to the latter half of the fifteenth century, and quotes the opinion of Dr. Todd, of Dublin, to the same effect. This manuscript has been very generally regarded as belonging to the twelfth century, in consequence of an opinion to that effect expressed by Senebier,⁷ and adopted

¹ P. 32.² Pp. 33-42.³ Pp. 43-46.⁴ Pp. 47, 48.⁵ See "Bibliography," in this volume, pp. 455, 456.⁶ See pp. 456-460 of this vol.⁷ Author of *Catalogue raisonné des Manuscrits conservés dans la Bibliothèque de la Ville de Genève*, 1779.

from him by Raynouard.¹ But Senebier's incompetency to judge in such a matter is illustrated by his error in supposing the previous MS. No. 206, to be in the Catalan tongue, and by his making twenty-two blunders in copying eighteen lines from the poem *La Barca*. This volume, also, Dr. Herzog regards as evidently containing copies from older originals; and assigns for this opinion the following very conclusive reasons:—That the *Commentary on the Song of Solomon* is incomplete, wanting the first book; and that the text of the *Noble Lesson* is marred by omissions which destroy the sense, and exhibits proofs throughout of carelessness on the part of the transcriber.—The MS. No. 208² he assigns to the latter half of the sixteenth century; but in this case, also, he holds that the contents of the volume have been copied from older manuscripts, because, along with a number of treatises, all of which are of Taborite origin, or exhibit the Taborite influence, it contains one piece, the first in the volume, *Articles de la fe*, which is indisputably of older date.³—He regards the MS. No. 209⁴ as belonging to the latter half of the sixteenth century. The title on the back, *Conseils des Barbets du 15^{me} siècle*, is, he observes, in a more modern hand than the MS. itself.—The MS. formerly No. 43⁵ has now, it would appear, been ranked along with the other Vaudois volumes, as MS. 409a. Dr. Herzog refers it to the latter part of the sixteenth, or the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁶

Of the MSS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin (derived from that of Archbishop Usher), the first which Dr. Herzog mentions, is that (Class A, shelf 4, No. 13) containing the Vaudois translation of the New Testament and of part of the Old Testament.⁷ He mentions the date (mentioned also by Dr. Muston, in his "Bibliography," p. 450), and adds, particularly, that it is in the same hand in which the whole is written. From this MS. it was that the gospel of John was edited by Dr. Gilly in 1851. Dr. Herzog caused a copy of all the rest to be made, which he himself revised, and which is now in the Royal Library of Berlin, he having received a commission for that purpose from the Royal Academy of Sciences in that city. He describes the other Dublin MSS., and concerning them all he expresses himself as certain that they are the very MSS. which were used by Perrin, although it appears that Perrin possessed also other MSS. besides those which now remain. In the "*Book of George Morel*," in particular, Perrin's citations correspond with the very pages of the MS.—Dr. Herzog gives a particular account of the MS. No. 3,⁸ and mentions that it bears the date 1524 near the beginning of the volume, the rest being in a somewhat more modern hand. In his description of the *fifth volume*,⁹ he mentions that the fragment with which it begins, "*Ayzo es la causa del departiment de la gleysa romana*," is terminated by a note of the transcriber, "*Ayzi finis l'obra non complia d'aquest libre per mancamet d'exemplar*," a clear enough indication of the comparative antiquity, and also of the rarity of

¹ Senebier and Raynouard are not likely to be suspected of pious fraud upon this account. And yet this instance of an error springing up and getting firm root, without any dishonest intention on the part of any one, might show the propriety of a charitable judgment regarding Vigneaux, Perrin, and Léger, of whom much suspicion has been very rashly and confidently expressed.² See pp. 460-462 of this volume.³ He mentions that Monastier is mistaken in saying that the MS. of the *Treatise on Purgatory*, contained in this volume, wants the quotation from the *Milleloquium Augustini*, and accounts for this mistake by the extreme disarrangement of the leaves.⁴ See pp. 462-464 of this volume.⁵ See pp. 454, 455, of this volume.⁶ Pp. 48-52.⁷ See "Bibliography," in this volume, pp. 449, 450, and 465.⁸ Ibid. pp. 466-468.⁹ Ibid. p. 471.

the originals, from which the copies now existing of these Vaudois books were made.¹

Of the existing Biblical MSS., Dr. Herzog describes the Zürich and the Grenoble MSS. of the New Testament, and of certain parts of the Old Testament and Apocryphal books,² as written in the same language with the Dublin MS., and that the language which prevails in the Vaudois writings.³ These two MSS., he tells us, contain different recensions of the same translation which the Dublin MS. contains; and he mentions instances in which the Grenoble MS. agrees more nearly with the Vulgate than the Dublin MS. does; and, what is much more interesting, he informs us, on the authority of Professor Renaz, that the Zürich MS. is a translation improved from the Greek text.⁴ He says that Muston is mistaken in enumerating two Lyons MSS.; and that which does exist, is not, according to him, a Vaudois MS., but belonged to the Cathari, whose ritual (*Consolamentum*) is annexed to it, and has been edited by Cunitz (Jena, 1852).⁵ The Paris MS., A of Muston's "Bibliography,"⁶ No. 8086 of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* (or *Du Roi*), Dr. Herzog regards as in the language of the Troubadours.

That so many of the existing Vaudois MSS. belong to the sixteenth century, Dr. Herzog in conclusion remarks, is no proof of the recent origin of the works. On the contrary, these MSS. are evidently mere copies; and it is not difficult to account for an increased activity in transcribing at that time. Moreover, the dates which we find in two of them are of that part of the sixteenth century which was previous to the introduction of the Reformation among the Vaudois.

He then proceeds to give a more particular account of some of the works which bear the surest marks of antiquity. Assuming the antiquity of the Geneva MS. No. 206 itself, he begins with the works contained in it, comparing the different existing copies of the same work as he goes on. I regret that it is impossible to do more than merely to indicate the nature of this part of his labours, by which great light is thrown upon the interesting subject of the condition and doctrines of the Vaudois before the reaction upon them of a religious influence from Bohemia. He notes very carefully the points of agreement and disagreement with the Church of Rome, and calls attention to the evidence afforded by the nature of some of the works of an externally flourishing state of society. He does not undertake to determine the dates of most of the works; although showing from the nature of their contents, as well as from the external evidence of the Geneva MS., that they must be older than the time of Hussite influences. Some of them, indeed, appear to have been composed when the circumstances of the Vaudois were comparatively prosperous, and others in times of persecution. The *Exposition of the Song of Solomon*, in the Geneva MS. No. 207, is referred to a time not earlier than the latter part of the thirteenth century, because it contains the expression *fe forma* (fides formata), the first use of which is ascribed to Thomas Aquinas,⁷ whilst, if it were not for this

¹ Pp. 54-60.

² See "Bibliography," in this volume, pp. 440, 450.

³ Pp. 61, 62.—In a subsequent place, pp. 99-108, he gives a more particular account of the Dublin MS.; compares the quotations in the old Vaudois books with the text as found in it; shows how it generally agrees with, and how in many cases it departs from the Vulgate; and adduces arguments to show that it is of date much anterior to the Hussite influences.

⁴ P. 108.

⁵ I mention this merely as the opinion of Dr. Herzog and of Cunitz, without venturing to express either concurrence or dissent, which, without more particular information as to the MS. and an examination of the *Consolamentum*, could have no reasonable foundation.

⁶ Pp. 450, 451, of this volume.

⁷ But is it certain that he was the first to use it?

circumstance, Dr. Herzog evidently inclines to think that there are other indications of an earlier origin—particularly in the polemical character of the work, which is very much directed against heresies more prevalent at an earlier period. The Articles of Faith, in the Geneva MS. No. 208, and in the third Dublin volume, although they are found amongst works which are of Hussite origin, are unhesitatingly referred to an earlier date, because of their agreement with the Articles of the *Confession of Faith*, which a *Strasburg MS.*,¹ of the year 1404, represents the Waldenses as demanding from their ministers at their ordination. The *Treatise on Tribulations*, in one of the Dublin volumes, mentions a persecution under a Pope of the name of *Ynnocent*, and describes the faithful as compelled to flee to the mountains, and to abide in solitudes, where they suffer from hunger, cold, robbers, and wild beasts. Dr. Herzog thinks there are indications of an earlier date than that of the persecution under Innocent VIII., in the latter part of the fifteenth century, and concludes with the remark, that if we could with certainty refer this treatise to the time of the persecutions under Innocent IV., the early date of at least a great part of the Vaudois literature would receive the strongest confirmation.²

But more particular attention must be given to what Dr. Herzog says, in this part of his work, regarding the *Noble Lesson*; as its evident antiquity, and the date which it contains, supply the strongest arguments employed to prove the existence of the Vaudois before Valdo, whilst all who reject that view find it necessary to dispose, in some way or other, of the apparent evidence of the date. Dr. Herzog, in his anxiety to maintain the descent of the Vaudois from Valdo, would evidently be glad to accept Dieckhoff's theory of an interpolation of the two troublesome lines. But this he does not find himself warranted in doing, as the lines are certainly present in all existing copies of the poem, in print and MS., and thus certainly appear not to have been interpolated since the Reformation. However, he still accepts what help the possibility of an interpolation may give to his main argument; and even contributes his best endeavours to make the possibility appear more probable by pointing out the further possibility that another passage may be also an interpolation, as the removal of it would not destroy the sense, a principle of criticism that would make strange havoc if applied to many a work, both ancient and modern. He maintains, indeed, that the *Noble Lesson* is certainly of Vaudois origin, in opposition to Dieckhoff, who, in a long note,³ sets forth reasons for thinking that it may have been originally a production of the Bohemian Brethren. But as I did not think it necessary to state Dieckhoff's arguments, so neither do I think it necessary now to exhibit those by which Herzog refutes them. Dieckhoff's observations on his mode of explaining away the apparent date, Dr. Herzog does not meet. In favour of that mode of explanation already placed before the reader in the notice of his *Programma*, he now advances no better argument than that the date of the poem must be later than the time of Valdo, because it is certain that the Vaudois derived their origin from him. Upon this he founds as an ascertained truth, to the certainty of which everything must be made to bow.⁴ And thus when he proceeds to exhibit in his second book, the doctrines and condition of the Vaudois, before the Hussite influence was felt, he begins as from this starting point, and traces the whole character of the Vaudois movement to the original impulse which it received from Valdo. In particular, the much use made of the Scriptures, and high reverence paid to the Scriptures, which distinguished the Vaudois above all other Christians of

¹ Published in Niedner's *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, 1852.

² *Die Wald. im Mittelalter*, pp. 337-340.

³ Pp. 66-99.

⁴ Pp. 76-91.

the middle ages, he regards as originating in that love of the Scriptures which Valdo manifested. But how his mind was so strongly directed to the Scriptures, Dr. Herzog regrets that there is nothing to show. Now, it may be permitted to ask, if another explanation would not accord with the facts at least as well as that which Dr. Herzog has chosen; and what then is there in all these facts inconsistent with the supposition of the existence of the Vaudois before Valdo.

I think it ought to be here mentioned that Dr. Herzog¹ points out a flagrant error of Yvonetus, who does not hesitate to say that the Vaudois reject the Old Testament—a statement plainly contrary to the whole character of the old Vaudois literature. But this Yvonetus is one of the “Catholic” witnesses, upon whose testimony the chief reliance is given as to the origin of the Vaudois.

I have endeavoured to present a brief analysis of that part of Dr. Herzog’s work which more immediately bears upon this great question in ecclesiastical history. Of the remainder of the work I cannot attempt any such analysis. But its contents are highly important with respect to the period between Valdo and the Reformation, and the condition and doctrines of the Vaudois during that period. That Dr. Herzog is sometimes biassed in his judgment by his determination to derive the Vaudois from Valdo, in deference to the “Catholic” witnesses; and that he sometimes shows that disposition so general in the present day amongst his learned countrymen to build too confidently on the narrow basis of a single critical observation, are circumstances which may render it requisite to follow him with caution, and carefully to test the soundness of all his conclusions, but which do not detract from the merit of his laborious researches in the difficult field of Vaudois literature. He has not only removed the doubt which had been thrown upon the genuineness of many most important documents, but he has discriminated more clearly than was ever done before the products of the different periods of Vaudois history.

It is no inconsiderable advantage to the cause of truth when bad arguments are cleared away which have been used in its support. It is well to know that the dates which have so often been relied on as proof of the antiquity of certain Vaudois documents are of no value whatever, and that some of the works to which they have been assigned are of a comparatively recent origin; and that, therefore, it is not by these works that the historic apostolicity of the Vaudois themselves can be proved. But a conclusion, favourable to the claims which we have seen that the Vaudois have put forth, *not merely since the Reformation, but since the thirteenth century, at all events*, if it is to be reached with greater difficulty now than when these dates were supposed to warrant it of themselves, is reached by such means that it may be maintained with greater confidence; and the date in the *Noble Lesson*, not affixed, but embodied in the poem, seems so to resist all attempts made against it, that of itself it may be held sufficient proof of the existence of the Vaudois under their present name in the *beginning* of the twelfth century.

¹ Pp. 129, 130.

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